

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. XXVII.



London:

PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION

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T. RICHARDS, 37, GREAT QUEEN STREET, W.C.



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British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate, all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that institution, by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association propose to effect this object are :

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies; as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of Antiquities discovered in the Progress of Public Works such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and cooperation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archæology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and by means of Correspondents preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held, on the 2nd and 4th Wednesdays in the month during the season, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Members have the privilege of introducing their friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Members, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries ; or to the Treasurer, GORDON M. HILLS, Esq., 37, Thistle Grove, Brompton, to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to receive the parts of the *Collectanea Archæologica* at a reduced price.

THE CONGRESSES & PRESIDENTS HITHERTO HAVE BEEN

1844	CANTERBURY	.	.	}	
1845	WINCHESTER	.	.	}	
1846	GLOUCESTER	.	.	}	LORD ALB. D. CONYNNGHAM,
1847	WARWICK	.	.	}	K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A. (after-
1848	WORCESTER	.	.	}	wards LORD LONDESBOROUGH.)
1849	CHESTER	.	.	}	
1850	MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	.	.	}	(J. HEYWOOD, Esq. M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1851	DERBY	.	.	.	SIR OSWALD MOSELEY, Bt., D.C.L.
1852	NEWARK	.	.	.	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.
1853	ROCHESTER	.	.	}	
1854	CHEPSTOW	.	.	}	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1855	ISLE OF WIGHT	.	.	}	
1856	BRIDGWATER AND BATH	.	.	}	EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT.
1857	NORWICH	.	.	.	EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1858	SALISBURY	.	.	.	MARQUIS OF AILESBUURY.
1859	NEWBURY	.	.	.	EARL OF CARNARVON.
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1861	EXETER	.	.	}	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt., M.P., M.A., C.B.
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1864	IPSWICH	.	.	}	GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1865	DURHAM	.	.	.	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND.
1866	HASTINGS	.	.	.	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER.
1867	LUDLOW	.	.	.	SIR C. H. ROUSE BOURN, BART.
1868	CIRENCESTER	.	.	.	EARL BATHURST.
1869	ST. ALBAN'S	.	.	.	LORD LYTTON.
1870	HEREFORD	.	.	}	CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P.

The principal points in relation to the History and Antiquities of these several places will be found in the volumes of the *Journal*. The *Journals* already published are at the following prices, and may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association.

			To the Public.				To the Members.				
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.			
VOL. I.	1845-6	2	0	0		
II.	1846-7	}	1	11	6	...	1	1	0
III.	1847-8	...	...						
IV.	1848-9	...	...						
V.	1849-50	..	...						
VI.	1850-1	...	...						
VII.	1851-2	...	...						
VIII.	1852-3	...	...						
IX.	1853-4								
X.	1854-5								
XI.	1855								
XII.	1856								
XIII.	1857								
XIV.	1858								
XV.	1859								
XVI.	1860								
XVII.	1861								
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XIX.	1863								
XX.	1864								
XXI.	1865								
XXII.	1866								
XXIII.	1867								
XXIV.	1868								
XXV.	1869								
XXVI.	1870								

The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the Public £1:11:6; to the Members, £1:1:0.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, and profusely illustrated, it has been found necessary, from the number of communications received, and constantly accumulating, to publish occasionally another work, entitled *Collectanea Archaeologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is therefore put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries. Sold to the public at 15s. each part, but may be had by the Associates at 10s.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.¹

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The patrons,²—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.
2. The associates,—such as shall be approved of, and elected by, the council; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee,³ and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of officers and committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.
3. The correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the president or patron, or of two members of the council, or of four associates.
4. The honorary foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners, who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association, there shall be annually elected a President, ten⁴ Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for Foreign Correspondence; who, with seventeen other associates, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex-officio* Vice-Presidents for Life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

¹ The rules, as settled in March 1846, are here reprinted by order of the Council. The variations made since that date are introduced and indicated by notes.

² Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the list of members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

³ The entrance fee will not be demanded until five hundred associates are enrolled.

⁴ Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, and in 1864 to the present number. In 1868 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of officers and council shall be on the second Wednesday¹ in May in each year, and be conducted by ballot which shall continue open during one hour. Every associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President, or presiding officer, and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon, to the General Meeting.

OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair shall be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of the Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council; and, having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the annual general meeting, shall lay them before the annual meeting.

OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for Foreign Correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days² on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.

¹ In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852, till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

² In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connexion.

3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices, or among its own members.
5. The chairman or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connexion with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the annual meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the fourth Wednesday in November, the second Wednesday in December, the second and fourth Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely,¹ for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council; to which associates, correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

¹ At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867, the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.

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(Those marked with an Asterisk are *Ex-Officio* Vice-Presidents.)

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British Archaeological Association.

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1871.

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DELIVERED ON MONDAY, SEPT. 5, 1870, AT THE
CONGRESS HELD AT HEREFORD,

BY CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, ESQ., M.P., PRESIDENT.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It has been the practice of this distinguished Society, now assembled at Hereford, to commit the opening of their proceedings to the voice of one connected with the locality of their Annual Meeting; and before I venture, in obedience to this courteous rule, to offer one imperfect word on any other topic, I will ask leave to avail myself of the duty and high privilege arising from the double position in which I stand, of conveying to them, in company with this ancient city and the county of Hereford, a cordial welcome, and with it the expression of a hope that every hour of their presence amongst us may be productive of gratification to them, as fully as it is appreciated by those who are this week honoured by it. I wish I knew how it were possible to execute the task without a single word of reference to the performer of it; but it would be almost an affectation if I omitted to declare to you that, in addition to my own felt inability, the sense of those unexampled events now taking place on the continent of Europe, which have filled our hearts, and absorbed every thought and sympathy,—following, in my own case, upon recent labour of no ordinary pressure,—have gone far to disable me from the duty which I owe to you; and which, under happier times and circumstances, it would have been a pride and pleasure

to me to offer, at least to the best of my power. Had I been led to think that in the part assigned to me there was involved any emprise beyond the homely and hearty expression of a Herefordshire welcome, nothing could have induced me to enter on the duty of this hour. The illustrious Society, the parent society of British archæology, whose twenty-seventh meeting we are assembled to inaugurate, is here to teach, and not to listen; to point out to us, with all the aids and advantages of widely-gathered antiquarian skill and experience, the precious and too often overlooked or forgotten history of many local monuments of the past, such as our district so richly furnishes. Well might I shrink from the task of addressing such an audience. But I have not now to learn that true knowledge is ever gentle and forbearing, that it knows well how to sympathise with the most imperfect efforts,—nay, to condone even ignorance itself, if it but knows itself, and desires to learn; and I am cheered by the consciousness that I might appeal to the experience of every tyro who ever really loved the art he pursued, whether he did not always find his highest encouragement from those who were its acknowledged and most advanced proficient. Such is, at any rate, the feeling under which I shall venture on the attempt to weave into the offering of our welcome a few of the thoughts and questionings that occur to me and to others in reference to the archæological features of the district which forms the scene of your session of 1870.

I spoke just now of our “ancient city.” We all like to use that term, even where it may be one rather of affection than actual chronology. We are all archæologists at heart, and like to feel that we belong to the past; that our roots lie deep, like those of the native oaks of our county; that there are old, weather-beaten links that connect us with the almost forgotten days of an ancestral world whose deeds, but not memory, have passed away. It would seem like a waste of time were I to attempt a panegyric upon a branch of knowledge now so popular and so justly valued as that of archæology. Long before it had begun to be truly studied it was the remark of one of whom Dr. Johnson professed himself a disciple, “that time conferreth a dignity upon the most trifling thing that resisteth its power.”¹ Such were

¹ Sir Thomas Browne.

the words of one who, in the seventeenth century, spoke only with the feelings of an antiquary. What would have been his expression of that feeling now? You have only to look at the language of every historian who has written within the last twenty years, to witness the relation into which archæology has now entered as the acknowledged handmaid of history. So remarkable has been this progress, I may say this change, that it can hardly fail to have awakened in many minds a reflection that has taken something of the form of a paradox,—that the older the world grows, the more it should seem to care, the more curious it becomes, and in truth the more it learns about its origin, ethnological, linguistic, and historical. In the ordinary course of experience, and even of thought, it might seem quite natural to expect that a science which essentially bears reference to the past, should belong to a class of subjects to which time brings diminishing interest, should suffer from the pressure of the busy world around us. So far is this from the fact, that every work that issues from the press, on history, on language, on philology, on race, on geographical discovery, on the physical history of the globe, even on general literature, contradicts emphatically such a conclusion. It almost seems, on the contrary, as if it had been reserved for this latter age to open out a new and extending horizon derived as from a new world of old matter. What was, less than a generation ago, looked upon as a topic of rare, almost of eccentric curiosity to a small knot of inquirers, has by gradual but well marked steps dilated into a broad front of eager and extending research; and that, too, not in one but in many directions; the joint effect of which is, in some respects, to throw a fresh significance upon every branch of history, and to claim for archæology a position amongst the most valued studies of the world's advanced age. Some there are who regard the pursuit of it as unpractical; but I venture to think that a little thoughtful comparison will shew that this idea is not only erroneous, but opposed to some of the best practical evidences that can exist of the relative value and position of human studies. In politics, in ethics, in metaphysics, in poetry, viewed abstractedly as studies; in painting and sculpture, in geometry, architecture, and decorative skill, viewed as arts,—the vertebral principles, so to speak, have been before the world unaugmented by any

established addition or discovery for the last two or three thousand years. For the first four that I have mentioned, the name of Aristotle; for the rest, the names of Apelles, Phidias, Archimedes, and the artists of Nineveh, Thebes, Athens, and Pompeii, stand to this day unrivalled, almost unapproached. These subjects have been, in a certain sense, argued out: nothing really new, with one great exception, has been said about them for ages past, nor seems likely for ages to come. I am not aware that a single new principle of government has been evolved out of the human mind since Aristotle wrote the *Politeia*, or Plato his *Republic*, and each of the others stands in the same category. Upon these great subjects, though on many of them men may remain as divided as ever by opposite views, it is not so much that we shut our ears to new truths, as that there are no new truths to tell. Not so is it with archæology. The study which was but the other day regarded, as I have said, as the harmless pursuit of the curious and eccentric grompers among the dry bones of the past, has now awakened into such life and meaning as to startle even the most incredulous with facts that present an organised shape no more possible to pass by or overlook, than would be one of those extinct giant creatures of our globe were it suddenly to rise before us, at the recreating touch of a Cuvier or an Owen, from one or two of the fossil bones of its stupendous form. Indeed, it is in exact analogy with such a recreative power as this, that archæology develops its most useful results. It restores to the mere skeleton of history or tradition the flesh and lineaments, the very bearing and expression, which each age wore as it passed by. We see the illustrious figures of the past moving over the stage of life as Macbeth saw in spectral procession the future of Scotland's monarchy, even down to that one who shewed a double crown; in which, with transcendent art, our great poet brought down the story of his immortal drama to the time and into the very hearts of his audience. The history of our race, which even to our own day was content, indeed compelled, to walk alone by the light of tradition, or of documentary evidence not always more reliable or authentic, is now companioned by an active colleague who takes nothing for granted, owes little to theory or hypothesis; but points to early vestiges, substantive records, visible and tangible existences, that

have awakened a new century of thought, and seem to enlarge not only the scope but the very scale of our contemplation. As an illustration of my words, less than a generation back, if an antiquary had been questioned where the most ancient monuments or vestiges of our race were to be seen, he would at once have pointed to Egypt or the East. Very different would be his answer now. Without going out of Europe, without even crossing that narrow Channel which so graciously divides us from its complications, on the banks, once the extended beds of familiar English rivers, beneath the soil of many a modern village, indubitable traces are to be found of human life and habitation, reaching up to a period so remote that, in comparison with those primæval denizens of our island, the shepherd-kings of Egypt, or the almost fabulous dynasties of India and China, would seem but men of yesterday, —

“Antiquity appears to have begun

Long after their primæval race was run.”

It might almost raise a smile to see the antiquary of the last generation paying reverence to a coin or fragment of pottery for its extreme antiquity, reaching to some two or three thousand years, while beneath his very feet reposed the long forgotten implements and weapons of men who saw the hippotamus floundering and basking in the mud of the Severn or the Thames, or tracked the stately mammoth to his lair in the neighbouring Forest of Dean, or transfixed the giant reindeer with bone-headed arrows, and scraped out its marrow with flint knives. Such are the thoughts which unavoidably suggest themselves when we reflect upon the enormous periods of time which now present themselves to the contemplation of sciences in close alliance with archæology.

It would, I feel, be almost a waste of the time of an audience like the present, to dilate upon the threshold of a topic which must appear to them so trite; but as an old member of another society whose object is to hold its country meetings every year, not where there is most known, but most wanting to be known, I cannot but bear in mind, at every spot in turn where a peripatetic society fixes its camp, there is much of the same old ground to be gone over; much, perhaps, even of tautology to be endured and pardoned, in kind deference from those who know towards those who

wish to learn the objects and the advantages as well as the actual discoveries of that branch of knowledge which you never meet but to advance. I proceed, then, in the spirit of inquiry, to offer some remarks, and to ask for the solution of many difficulties, upon the field that will present itself during the present week to the archæological visitor to Herefordshire. In doing this I shall venture to assume the existence, in other minds, of a sense as enthusiastic as that which has dwelt from childhood in my own, in looking upon this county as the very heart and centre of the borderland that has separated in turn some of the most varying and remarkable races by which our island has from time to time been occupied. From the earliest dawn of traditionary history this has been the disputed territory, the battle-ground of opposing tribes and races. May we not almost look upon it as a sort of epitome in itself of the changeful dynasties and fortunes of the whole soil of England? By the Roman and the Silurian, by the Mercian and the Briton, by the Dane and the Saxon, the early Norman settler before the Conquest, and the Welshman, our fields have been fought over acre by acre and inch by inch. War has been here in all those forms of grandeur and of misery of which we have lately heard, and are still informed by such painful, such solemn evidence. Century after century it has swept, like an ebbing and flowing tide, backwards and forwards, from the Severn on one side to the frowning barrier of the Hatterel Hills on the other; sometimes ennobled by deeds of high daring and chivalrous generosity; more often marked by the dark and fierce passions that made the very name of border warfare and the inroads of the Marches a synonym and excuse for every form of rapine and cruelty, its combatants on either side realising, in the worst degree, the Roman general's contemptuous phrase, "*cauponantes bellum, non belligerantes.*" Certainly the most interesting and intelligible, as well as the most early recorded, of these conflicts, is that long twenty years' struggle of our Silurian ancestors, single-handed, against the power of imperial Rome, which found on the red plains of Herefordshire an opponent not unworthy of its arms. I need not recall to you who listen to me here, that in the neighbourhood of the very spot where we are now assembled, there once existed one of the bravest and fiercest races that ever defied the

practised arms of the world's conquerors. Far and near around this spot, the very ground we daily tread on witnessed their dauntless and never despairing resistance to the Roman invader. Even at this distance of eighteen centuries it is difficult not to feel a glow of pride at the description given by a hostile historian, of a race dwelling here whom no strength or strategy could divert from their patriotic courage, who kept the veteran troops of Rome's best legions in a state of constant vigilance and alarm even within their entrenched camps; for such, we know, were throughout the Claudian war strategically arranged by Ostorius along the course of the Severn and the Avon. Yet for nine years we find this brave people, under their great leader and king, Caradoc, defying the Roman arms and struggling to break through the chain of military camps established to repress them. It is doubly interesting to gather from the eloquent facts themselves, that had no historian on the British side, from the gallant and long protracted struggle, from the extensive operations to which the Romans were driven, our assurance of the genius and courage of that noble British chief,

“Descended from a sceptred race,
Who ruled Britannia's independent isle,
Beyond all annals of recording fame.”

The interest of this struggle only deepens after his final defeat and capture, and the well known scene in Rome, when we find our countrymen, unsubdued by their loss, revenging themselves by bloody onslaughts upon their invaders; and Ostorius himself, in spite of his victory, dying of vexation rather than of fatigue; and his death followed by a defeat so ignominious, that the province still threatened to be torn away from Roman power. And when was nobler tribute ever wrung from the pen of an enemy than that conveyed in the words of Tacitus in describing the close of that twenty years' warfare, where he tells us that “Julius Frontinus had the glory of subduing this powerful and warlike Silurian nation; in accomplishing which he had to compete with an indomitable foe, and with local strategy which had equally defied the utmost efforts of all his predecessors.” If such was the tale as told by the pen of the Roman annalist, what would not the record have been if King Caradoc had but had his *vates sacer*, if a few “telegrams from our own special corre-

spondent" could but reach across the gulf of those eighteen centuries?

But let me here put the question I have so often longed to ask, for when can I better seek its solution than now? Who were the Silures? Whence came the black eyes and hair, the small heads and features, the lithe forms and swart complexions that are described as the physical characteristics of the race located in this district? apparently in such strong contrast with the large limbed and fair race whom Cæsar found on his first landing in Eastern Britain, and which have been accepted as the ordinary British type. Were they a Keltic race? And if so, to which of the Keltic migrations did they belong? Or is that theory correct which assigns them (with Tacitus) to the Iberian rather than the Keltic stock, and connects them with the population of the Basque provinces of the Pyrenean districts, whom they so much resembled? Or are both these views consistent with each other? and did the Silures form part of that *third* Keltic migration that came from the south by sea, and has been called, from the country where the emigrants longest remained and exercised most influence, the Hispano-Gaelic migration? We are told that there is heard to this day, in a few hamlets of the Pyrenees, a tongue entirely dissimilar from any that falls on European ears,—an isolated, surviving vestige of some ancient tribe whose history and migration have been long buried in the mystery of time. Yet those few traditional sounds are of deep interest to the student of those early migrations through which the west of Europe was peopled by intrusive races who first conquered, and then united with the native populations. May we venture to suppose that it was from that last migration, bringing with it so much that we associate with the Iberian or Spanish stock, that the Silurian type was derived? And if this supposition be admissible, may it be allowed to an old agricultural student to connect with it collaterally a peculiarity found in this country, in the existence of a certain ancient four-footed race bearing striking points of resemblance with the sheep of Spain, the Spanish merino? I allude to the little Ryeland sheep whose silken fleeces once formed the unrivalled staple of the commerce of Leominster when that town was one of the principal markets,—indeed, the chief emporium of this part of the kingdom.

The probability of Spanish origin derives some support through another channel. I mean from the well known Phœnician traffic carried on between Gades and the Tin Islands on the coast of Cornwall, a traffic that dates back even before the founding of Carthage. On looking at the map it will be seen that the position of those islands and the mouths of the Severn and Wye, in relation to the coast of South Wales, is such that any vessel driven by the south-westerners of the Atlantic would soon find itself upon the coast of Glamorgan and Monmouth, and might easily sail up those rivers,—as, in fact, the Danes afterwards did more than once; notably on that occasion when they took prisoner the Bishop of Erging or Archenfield, and got from King Edward the elder, for his ransom, forty pounds of silver.

It appears to be one of nature's gentle laws that the earth should bear upon its face few traces, and those soon perishable, of the sanguinary quarrels of her children; and thus it happens that the soil trodden by heroes, and marked by heroic deeds, seems ungrateful to their memory. Where are now the vestiges of that fierce Silurian war? Where are now the blood-stained footprints of the thousand hand-to-hand conflicts which made the short Roman sword almost as terrible in close encounter as the modern arms of precision are compared with those which we remember. From the very nature of border-warfare, and the repeated, alternate occupation of the same territory, such vestiges would be more liable to obliteration; indeed, it would be hard to believe that

“Such things were here as we do speak about.”

We might almost say with Palgrave, “We must give it up, that speechless Past! Lost is lost, gone is gone, for ever,” were it not for the eye of the archæologist, and those half hidden marks which he has learnt to recognise. Of all these vestiges, the most interesting now, as once the most valuable, are those splendid causeways which even in this, the last of all the countries subjugated by Roman arms, the first that was flung away, yet traversed our island from end to end, across the plain, across the moor, across the mountain, in straight, undeviating lines that even to this day a glance upon our ordnance maps reveals to the eye. What we have done and are doing for the Indian peninsula, the Romans



did, during four hundred years, for the wild and trackless country which they found in Britain. The vestiges that remain to this day, as instanced at Madley and other parts of this country, attest not only their skill but their taste and culture. They were to the ancient world what the railway companies are to ours. The very word "street" we owe to those elaborately paved highways which few modern roads pretend to rival. From Caerleon on the south, to Wroxeter on the north, across this county, through Madley, Stretton Sugwas, Holmer, and Kenchester, stretches that fortified line along which, according to Sir R. Hoare,¹ the main body of Ostorius acted until he reached the camp at Brandon; from which, if this view be relied on, he assailed and carried the fortified entrenchments of the British at Coxwall Knoll. I am well aware how difficult a subject these Roman roads present, and how replete with archaeological controversy, never, perhaps, to be fully set at rest. There is a natural and over-eager anxiety to assign the Roman names that have been preserved, to certain known localities, and to identify the stations recorded in the itineraries with existing towns. Especially, I think, is this exemplified in that bifurcation from the main line that traversed the south part of this county, which should enable us to fix the site of Ariconium,—that perplexing spot, over whose existence and destruction there hangs a sort of Ossianic mist, never, perhaps, to be dispelled. "*Stat nominis umbra.*" The tale of its destruction, and the desolation that befel it, are its only history. We know the epitaph, but search almost vainly for the tomb. What was its real end? The commonly received account is that it was swallowed up by an earthquake; another, that it was rained upon with fire, like the condemned cities of the East. But these are, unfortunately, the patent extinguishers for annihilating Roman towns, and apply to at least half a dozen more in other parts of Britain where earthquakes and fire-storms must have been a good deal more common in those days than we find them in our own. The story of Boethius was that Ambrosius, the rival of Vortigern in the British crown (A.D. 446), bringing over a body of troops from Gaul, surprised him near his fortress of Ariconium, the seat of his government, and the capital of Erging or Archenfield, before he could collect all his forces.

¹ Brit. Arch. Journ., xxi.

Nevertheless (he continues) Vortigern drew up his men outside his stronghold, and endeavoured to make head against his enemy in the open field; but after some conflict was driven back into it by superior numbers. Then (says the narrative) the old Roman town shewed the solidity of its defences; but the enemy coming to close quarters, filled the ditch with faggots, and piling them against the gate, set all on fire. The gate was burnt, the town itself was soon ablaze, and Vortigern and all his family perished in the conflagration. Thus (he says) fell Ariconium, whose ruins yet strike the eye. The story is succinet enough, but the *ecce signum* at its close is exactly what is wanting. Philips, the poet, finds room for the supposed engulfment of the city in his poem on *Cider*; but by a stretch, even of poetic license, he unites into one the several stories of the earthquake and the siege, throwing into the bargain the incident of a landslip that really befell the neighbouring hill of Caplar. It forms one of the best passages of the poem :

"From beneath the solid mass
Upheaved, and all her castles, rooted deep,
Shook from their lowest seat, old Vaga's stream,
Forced by the sudden shock, her wonted track
Forsook At every gate
The thronging populace with hasty strides
Press furious, and, too eager of escape,
Obstruct the narrow way. The rocking town
Supplants their footsteps
For, lo! the ground her riven mouth disparts.
 With swift descent
Old Ariconium sinks, and all her tribes,
Heroes, and senators, down to the realms
Of endless night.....
Thus the fair city fell, of which the name
Survives alone ; nor is there found a mark
Whereby the curious passenger may learn
Her ample site, save coins and mouldering urns."

Our distinguished associate, Mr. Thos. Wright, in his account of a visit to the site of Ariconium, which, if he has not disinterred, he has immortalised, alludes to the extensive forges which the Romans are said to have had there. The subject is one of considerable local interest. Vestiges of smelting-floors are still to be seen in some of the most unlikely spots in that part of the county. Their character is peculiar.

¹ It is singular that the same mysterious account is given of the destruction of Silchester in Berkshire. (See *Journal*, 1868.)

Lumps of half fused and semi-vitrified ore lie about, still retaining so large an amount of metal that Andrew Yarranton, writing two centuries ago, says that iron was made in his day from the cinders and rough offal thrown away in the Romans' time in the neighbourhood of the Forest of Dean. These iron lumps are still found at great distances from the Forest, in places whither they had been carried for the sake of the wood for smelting. I have a field whose naturally light soil ploughs somewhat stubbornly owing to the abundance of these half smelted lumps of Roman ore brought from the "Scowles,"¹ a dozen miles away, into what were then the depths of a wooded district, but now laid out in large open fields with barely a tree to be seen. The fuel is all gone, the fires are out, and the smelting-floors are cold; while the new and improved iron ploughshare, such as no Roman ever dreamt of, grates against its ancient brother metal; each, no doubt, regarding the other as the intruder in the soil. Thus the Romans were the first ironmasters in this country. Their works in Dean Forest are still easily traceable. Quantities of coins of the later emperors have been found among the cinder-heaps.

But we owe to them far more than roads and iron works. Of all the conquerors the earth has ever known, they were the most generous. It was their own maxim that "experience is more portable than property," and what they brought enabled them to give back to those they conquered more than all that conquest ever took,—in roads, bridges, harbours, aqueducts, baths, forums, villas, and all the public works that peace and civilisation delight in. It was Roman law that formed the basis of the early English family system, of all our invaluable municipal establishments, to which Guizot and Hallam, the philosophic statesman and historian, trace the rise of modern freedom that first threw off feudal oppression and serfdom. They left in Britain no less than ninety-two considerable towns, about a third of which possessed superior privileges, municipal self-government, annual magistrates, a senate and popular assembly, exercising civil and criminal jurisdiction. To them we owe the best part of our laws of property, and to our departure from them we owe the worst part. More than a hundred Roman words, some of them to be still found also in Welsh, shew that, for

¹ The local name of the surface-mines worked by the Romans.

their knowledge of trees, flowers, and herbs, weights and measures, and all the little appliances of the house, the farm, and the camp, the ancient English or Anglo-Saxons were indebted to the Romanised Briton. Thus there is something of mournful interest in that clouding over of history that follows after Rome had withdrawn her troops and her civilisation; after the farewell of that celebrated second legion that had so long found, not a camp only, but a colony and a home in this part of Britain.

Then begins the long period of far ruder strife, as the tides of Saxon conquest surged forward and backward from the Malvern Hills and the Severn across the undulating face of this county. You will readily excuse my following the unprofitable strife that constantly changed the boundaries between the Welshman and the Saxon. I trust, before the close of this week, to feel less profoundly ignorant as to the very nomenclature of those tribes whose names appear in the chronicles of the period. I hope to learn whether the Logrians were really Romanised Britons; and who the Hwiccas were from Gloucestershire, and the Hecanas from the east of Herefordshire; and whether the Gewisas are to be identified with the West Saxons. It would be no easy task to gather any uniform or succinct history from the struggles that waged along the Mercian frontier. The English narrative seldom condescends to the details

“Of battles whose great scheme and scope
They little cared to know,
Content as men at arms to fight
Each with his fronting foe.”

But the Welsh chronicle is full of them, and especially of the ravages of the “Black Pagans,” whoever they may be, whether Norsemen from Ireland and the Western Islands, or actual Danes from Denmark. I dare say I do not stand quite alone in accepting complacently, as delightful history, that well known sketch of the forays of the Welsh border to be found in Sir Walter Scott’s romance of that

“Widow’d wife and wedded maid,
Betrothed, betrayer, and betrayed,”

who defended so gallantly the beleaguered fortress of La Garde Douloureuse. I would not grudge an extra day’s exploration in following the track of the fair Evelyn de Berenger to the Benedictine convent at Gloucester, from her

ancestral towers, wherever they might be in these parts: whose portrait I anxiously looked for, by the way, and which is the only omission I can detect in the brilliant gallery of Herefordshire Castles, for which we are so much indebted to the classic pen of my friend Mr. Robinson, and to the magic pencils of his kind collaborateurs, Lady Frances Harcourt and Mrs. Stackhouse Acton.

The first real epoch in this long predatory period seems to be the building of Offa's Dyke, which marks the enlargement of the kingdom of Mercia by the conquest of the lands between the Severn and Wye from the British, and the determination to make this a permanent acquisition by the great dyke or digging that bears the conqueror's name, stretching from Flintshire to the Wye at Bridge Sollers, and then leaving the river as the boundary down to Bigsweare, below Monmouth, stretching again across to the Severn at Beachley. Like the Roman wall of Severus (its elder brother in the north), the vestiges are still visible in many places; but Roman precedent might have shewn the great Mercian conqueror that brave men, or, as it has been lately worded, "a rampart of human breasts," forms the only true and impassable barrier; for not long after its erection, Offa's army seems to have suffered a defeat on their own side of the Dyke from the Welshmen, till the great chief himself coming to the rescue, drove them back, and signalised the victory by the erection of his stronghold and palace of Sutton Walls. Here was the scene of that oft told tragedy in which the legendary and the historic are so richly intermixed, the murder of Ethelbert, the loving and confiding king, "who came to treat of spousals," and found a treacherous death. As in the case of the murder of Duncan, the historians of our sex find a sort of consolation in telling us that it was the lady of the mansion who was chiefly responsible for the arrangements in carrying out this kind of hospitality; but, perhaps, if ancient history had been written by the ladies, if the lioness had been the sculptor, the story might have taken a different turn. I need not pursue the legend, how from the bones of that martyred and sainted and twice buried king, soon to become the shrine of saintly pilgrimage and devout expiatory offerings, arose the noble structure of that Cathedral which we shall visit tomorrow; but I may be allowed to express the belief that there is

hardly a member of this society, who has not before seen our restored minster, who will not acknowledge that the examination of it would alone repay his visit to Hereford. If ever the words were true, that "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever," they have been realised in the late restoration of this monument of skill, piety, and munificence; and I delight to add, that if ever such monument found worthy illustration, this has done so in the volume of Mr. Havergal, seconded by the architectural talent of Mr. Haddon. The delineation which it contains of that unique curiosity, the "Mappa Mundi," exhibits the triumph of modern art; and I am thankful to see that several papers are to be read on this subject. I venture to look upon the rise of our Cathedral as contemporary with the true commencement of English history; for I need not recall to those whom I have the honour now to address, that the gradual formation of the great central Mercian kingdom, as it swelled larger and larger against the British border, was in truth the nursery of the consolidated English people as distinguished from the separate tribal settlements of Jutes, Danes, Angles, early Normans, and others, in the different parts of the island. To compare old things with new, the growth of Mercia was to England what Prussia has become to Germany; and Offa's long and vigorous reign of forty years (for the murder of Ethelbert seems to have been too small a matter to disturb his appetite) was the first orderly and settled period in which England may be said to have taken rank with the states of the Continent as an independent power. That long ditch was, in fact, an English epoch; and though it failed to secure the frontier, for, as the learned and amusing author of *Traces of History in the Names of Places*, Mr. Edmunds, remarks, "Taffy was still a Welshman" (and let me say that I, for one, cordially accept and welcome the use of the term *English*, which archæological historians contend for, in place of the term Anglo-Saxon), yet the great Dyke was useful as a mark or march which could not be overstepped on either side without a sense of violated law, especially after Harold's subsequent enactment, that every Welshman found in arms on the English side should have his right hand chopped off. Yet after all, the river-boundary of the Wye, established two centuries later (in 939) by Athelstan, the fortifier of Hereford, who built the city walls,

became the effective boundary between the Mercian and the British; for it asserts itself to this day in the fact, that whilst the names of parishes and places on the peninsula of the Wye, between Hay and Monmouth, are almost exclusively of British origin, almost every place on the left bank of the river, even within the Dyke, is of Saxon derivation or adoption. Not that Athelstan's embattled walls, with their fifteen towers, thirty-five feet high, were more successful than Offa's Ditch in keeping out the irrepressible Welshman; indeed, I know nothing in the history of the city more tragic than the siege and capture by the combined Welsh and Saxon forces, the burning of the Cathedral, the slaughter of seven of the canons and of a multitude of the citizens, sparing neither age nor sex, that took place close upon the period of the Norman conquest. From this time the protection of the border ceased to be entrusted to the natural boundaries of river or mountain-frontier, or the still less efficient barrier of ditch and embankment. A new chapter may be said to open in border-warfare, with the Norman maxim, that to keep the enemy out of yours, you must threaten his territory: hence those border fortresses, commencing with the Conquest, which, far better than any continuous wall, fortified the whole line of country from the estuary of the Severn to the Dee. Speaking of the earliest of these structures in his history of the Conquest, Mr. Freeman says:

"Among the Frenchmen who flocked to the land of promise was one named Richard, the son of Scroob, who had received a grant of land in Herefordshire. He and his son Osborn had there built a castle on a spot which, by a singularly lasting tradition, preserves to this day the memory of himself and his buildings. The fortress itself has vanished, but its site is still to be marked; and the name of "Richard's Castle," still borne by the parish in which it stood, is an abiding witness of the deep impression which its erection made on the minds of men of those times. The building of castles is something of which the English writers of that age speak always with a kind of special horror. It is reckoned among the chief grievances of the reign of the Conqueror, and the anarchy of the time of Stephen. Both the name and the thing were new. To fortify a town, to build a citadel to protect it, were processes with which England

had been long familiar. To contribute to such necessary public works was one of the three immemorial obligations from which no Englishman could free himself; but for a private landowner to raise a private fortress, was something to which Englishmen had been unaccustomed, and for such a structure the English language had hitherto contained no name. But now the tall, square, massive donjon of the Normans,—a building whose grandest type is to be seen in the Conqueror's own Tower of London, and in the more enriched keep of Rochester,—began, doubtless on a far humbler scale, to rear itself over the dwellings of Englishmen. Normandy had, during the minority of William, been covered with such buildings, and his wise policy had levelled many of them with the ground. Such buildings, strange to English eyes, bore no English name, but retained the French designation of *château* (castle). Such a castle at once became the centre of all kinds of oppression. Men were harboured in it, and deeds were done within its impregnable walls, such as could find no place in the open hall of the ancient English *thegn*. So it was with the castle now raised within the government of the eldest son of Godwin. The Frenchmen built their castle, and wrought all the harm and *besmear* (an expressive word which has dropped out of the language) to the king's men thereabouts." (Vol. ii, 138, *Richard's Castle*.)

So little were the early English a castle building race, that at the time of the Domesday Survey there appear to have been only thirty of these structures in all England that were not built by the Conqueror himself or his chief barons. The border-land of Herefordshire had, of course, more than its share, in containing four or five. The transition was a violent one, from the spacious, open hall of the English *thegn* or earl, with its attached band of hearthmen, which had now disappeared; while the country began to bristle with those massive keeps whose impenetrable walls presented a defiant and exclusive isolation that too well expressed the sentiment of the Normans. The private fortress, a thing neither seen nor allowed before, became now a familiar feature of the landscape, each so placed with the other as to render alternate aid in case of general attack. They rose like the "dragon's teeth" from the earth. More than eleven hundred were built during the struggles between

Stephen and Henry. The great Cœur de Lion himself had, amongst his other qualities, the genius of a military engineer in developing the system of active mural defence and attack as distinguished from mere passive resistance. His typical specimen of Château Gaillard gave to every castle built after his time a more scientific construction and arrangement of the outworks. The well known motto, that "an Englishman's house is his castle," is said to have borne significant allusion to these frowning strongholds of open tyranny and secret crime, in accordance with the Horatian maxim,

"Hic murus aheneus esto,
Nil conscire sibi, nullâ pallescere culpâ."

The Romans built no private castles; their military architecture was exclusively devoted to public service, and devoid of individuality. "Civis Romanus sum" is not a selfish motto, but the patriotic badge of a member of a great state. The Saxon settlers in Romanised Britain inherited this; and civil law and local representative government were the defences that the English race, after the time and example of the great Alfred, were occupied in solving.

Nowhere, I think, has archæology proved more valuable than in thus distinguishing national character, and marking the speciality of each race, by existing proofs, freed from the bias of historians. Certainly no writer of this country will ever again follow the fatal habit of dating English history from the Norman conquest. For many noble elements of character we may be nationally proud of the infusion of the Norman blood; but the invasion from France was not a commencement, but an interruption, of English history. Norman law and literature, before the conquest of England, are equally worthless. Their law courts have nothing to match the splendid series of early English, or, as they are called, Anglo-Saxon charters; and eight centuries have not yet sufficed to obliterate the whole of the evils that Norman rule introduced. But not the less picturesque and interesting are those battered and almost shapeless walls whose ivy clad ruins still remain to us,

"Flinging their shadows from on high,
For Time to count his ages by,"

on many an elevated mound throughout this county, our visits to some of which during this week will bring many

an interesting and romantic association. After the Conquest our district gradually loses some of its speciality for the archæologist, as it passes into the region of national and authentic history. The wild forays of the border are by slow degrees brought within the pale of law and government by the court of judicature established under the lords presidents of the Marches, whose almost royal state at Ludlow Castle has already received ample illustration at the time when this Society held its meeting there. I am glad to see that a paper is promised us by the able antiquarian pen of Mr. James Davies, on the statutes affecting the Marches, from the establishment of the court to the time of Henry VIII. As it was not until the twenty-seventh year of that reign that the districts of Ewyas Harold and Wigmore were included within the boundaries of Herefordshire, some of our older family names are of earlier date than the county they belong to. It does not appear that the court of the Marches was finally dissolved until the period of the Restoration. I trust the time is not far distant when that which Mr. Robinson has done for the castles of Herefordshire, some able hand will accomplish for the churches.

Our visit on Wednesday will include two gems of ecclesiastical architecture, Kilpeck Church and Dore Abbey, not very far apart, each almost a unique specimen of its period, the Byzantine, Norman, and transitional Early English. I will venture no further than to say that if all might be judged of by those two, you will fully respond to the wish I have expressed. Amongst them are three which claim something more than architectural regard, as having belonged to that once illustrious order, the Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, whose chivalrous and charitable calling was never more deeply interesting to call to mind than at this moment, when the red cross on the white field (properly the bearing of the Templars) is bravely facing danger and death in the truly Christian duty of ministering to those wounded and suffering thousands on the murderous fields of a war which is not more desolating the land than afflicting the very soul of Christendom. The ancient order is not actually extinct; and I know of nothing more really admirable in its very early institution than that catholic and cosmopolitan feature which it maintained as an international order, confined to no country,—its only bond,

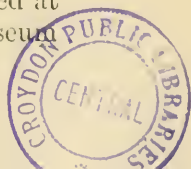
brotherly charity; its only tie, that of Christendom; its only banner, the *beau sean*, the blessed cross held by the Lamb that gave His life for others. The Knights of the Hospital formed the left wing, as those of the Temple did the right, in the Christian armies. Their vow was never to turn their backs upon the enemy; nor, in the case of the Hospitallers, upon the maimed and suffering. And if their history says truly, that vow was never broken: again and again they suffered themselves to be cut down in their saddles, fronting the foe, but were never known to yield. The territories of these two orders became enormous,—throughout Europe, in the Mediterranean, in Asia Minor, and the coast of Africa; exceeding the revenues of monarchs, as their power did that of the papacy. And this was the eventual cause of their persecution and ruin. It is somewhat singular that their last great foe, by whom the dissolution of their establishment (then in Malta) was all but consummated, was the first Napoleon. Their headquarters in England were the Temple in Fleet-street, and St. John's Hospital at Clerkenwell, to which the Preceptory at Dinmore and the connected Commanderies of Garway and Harewood were appendant.

But it is not, I hope, only for the material relics of national history that our county is dear to the archæologist. Great deeds and noted places do not make themselves: it is to the men from which that celebrity sprung that the favoured spots of earth owe their consecration. Their names still live more familiar than the records of the battle, more lasting than the monument of marble, and Herefordshire may point with pride to no inconsiderable list. I shall not weary you by a string of familiar biographies; but no Herefordshire man can speak of his native soil without recalling, in the first rank, such names as those of De Bohun and Devereux and Mortimer and Seudamore and Harley and Brydges, each a history in itself, to each of which our county has given either a birthplace or a home, and some of them are still brought near to us by living representatives. The towers of Eastnor recall to us the great name of Somers, to whose statesmanlike mind was mainly due the draught of that tie which completed the indissoluble union of England and Scotland. At Hampton Court are still seen the gracefully preserved mementos of Coningsby, the trusted friend of William of Orange,—a friend whose pride it was to have

staunched the blood of a royal master upon whom so much depended the future of Protestant England and Europe, the stern soldier whose tongue and features never relaxed into an expression of joy except in battle. The terraced gardens of Holm Lacy are classically identified with the genius of Pope, who found time in his visits there to its then noble mistress, to write those fresh and genial lines that immortalised the charities of John Kyrle, the Man of Ross. Near the first station between this city and Worcester is a spot doubly celebrated, where, in the future home of John Philips, the author of *Cider* and *The Splendid Shilling*, the "Merry Monarch," as he afterwards became, found a safe asylum in his less merry days of early wandering. Perhaps Mistress Eleanor Gwynne had hardly then seen daylight in Pipe-lane when her future royal lover was hiding himself at Withington,—Nell Gwynne, the cherry-lipped apple-girl, the ancestress of the ducal house of St. Alban's; and better far than that, the grateful friend of John Dryden, the benefactress of Otway and Lee, the generous-hearted founder of Chelsea Hospital. Let us spare a pardoning thought for "poor Nelly," who in her brightest, sauciest days of court sunshine never forgot the humblest friend; the only soul that touched a true chord in that worthless lover's heart, and had the last word from his dying lips, "Don't let poor Nelly starve!" It is pleasant, too, to know that not far from the spot where we are sitting, at a little hostelry in Widemarsh-street, the first sounds were uttered by the greatest actor that ever appeared on the English stage. To the matchless powers of David Garrick was due the honour of restoring the half-lost stage popularity of William Shakespeare. We may surely envy the ancestors of our Hereford citizens who were living here when Kemble and Siddons, Powell and Clive and Garrick, were residents in Hereford, and formed here a dramatic combination, a "stage cast," such as the world scarcely ever saw before, and may perhaps never see again. And amongst those who have passed away, may I, without audacity or false modesty, claim a corner for a half-forgotten patriot whose name and lineage I bear; one of the justices of those Welsh Marches, best known under the name of Serjeant Hoskyns; a man whose wit was too biting for the taste of a royal pedant (James I), and his speech too prematurely bold for the stomach of the "Addle Parliament."

Had he kept them for the Long Parliament, so soon to follow, they had found a different appreciation; but, "letting fly before the game's afoot," he had to share the royal hospitality of the Tower, where James had contrived to shut up, as in one great cage, all the genius and learning and enterprise of England, as instanced in Earl Percy of Northumberland, the Mæcenas of his day, Sir Walter Raleigh, and many others; of whom all were not equally fortunate in escaping to repay the royal reception at home, as the Sergeant, by a display of Herefordshire hospitality in a morris dance of centenarians,—a local tale, but aptly characteristic of the guest, the host, the health of the county, and the sort of "dish to set before a king" in those days. But we need not travel out of the present century for names that have done honour to Herefordshire. What shall I say of that accomplished statesman in whom we claim an all but native interest, whose words and works are alike quoted as ultimate authority by the man of science, the scholar, the philologist, the historian, and the politician,—George Cornewall Lewis? What our common country has owed to his wisdom and to his universal genius, I need not speak of. It is matter of history. But what this district owed to him, in a point less familiarly known, I may allude to, as having heard from the lips of the distinguished geologist, and President of the Royal Geographical Society, Sir Roderick Murchison, that it was to the stimulus of encouraging suggestion received by him during a visit at Harpton, that we are indebted for that text-book of early geology, the *Siluria*. Nor would an ample list be wanting of distinguished names still living amongst us, were I not withheld from so pleasant a catalogue by the certain dangers of omission. Authors and authoresses, men of science and of high art, naturalists, local historians, philologists, genealogists, master-pens in periodical literature, crowd on my mind as I think of the discoverer and restorer of the tomb of Mausolus, the authoress of *Naomi*, the author of *Names of Places*, and that charming morsel, *The Battle of Mortimer's Cross*, *The Ancient Customs of Hereford*, *The Forest of Deerfold*, and a hundred other productions; sufficiently assuring us that, if we have cause to lament the uncompleted state of our county history, it is not for want of the heads and hands that might well supply that "consummation devoutly to be wished." I shall, indeed, rejoice if

my slight words, set off by an occasion such as this visitation, should prove happily successful in awakening some literary conscience: it may be more than one that has delayed too long to meet this pressing want, and give to Herefordshire the boon of a perfected county history. Often it happens that mere accident has force to launch into activity the unforgotten purpose of some mind that lacks but the spur of adequate occasion. Glad shall I be if the auspicious labours of this week may furnish that momentum, and well content if the very errors and abounding omissions of which I feel painfully conscious in this mere attempt to glance at a few heads of our county's elder historic features may furnish a spur, such as I have seen when some skilful fencer is goaded to snatch up the weapon feebly handled for very vindication of its effective use. Nor do I despair that the labours of our men of science in the field club and in the study, in all those paths that surround the archæologist, may yet find here a fitting museum and central repository, the noblest evidence of organised and concentrated work. This should not be left to the precarious impulse of detached and private enterprise. In many neighbouring counties we have evidence of what local effort can accomplish for such institutions. But even these hardly meet the national want of a power adequate for the due preservation of the monuments of antiquity brought to light from time to time by accident. The sinking a foundation, the cutting of a new roadway or drain, the denudation of a river's bank, the grubbing up of forest land, often bring to light discoveries that belong to national history, and may even correct important error, and help to realise the great truth, that "as Time unveils facts, it undermines prejudices." In France, after the fall of the Bourbons in 1830, a special fund was set apart for the preservation of such remains of other ages as seemed worthy of conservation; and to this public aid has been due the preservation of most of the remarkable antiquities of that country. Without its aid and protection, castles like those of Pierrefondes and Chambord, the ancient episcopal palace at Avignon, the Roman amphitheatre at Arles, or that recently brought to light in Paris, would long since have shared the fate of the château of Jehan de Joinville and other monuments of the middle ages which perished at the first revolution. Possessed of such a National Museum



as we are in England, it is almost a pity that the hand of public protection should not be extended, in a country so rich in archæological remains as ours, over the discovery and exhumation of ancient objects, often (especially in poor districts) destroyed through ignorance or wanton mischief. The truth is, we are so full of written histories that we are apt to forget what Mr. Newton, our Herefordshire Layard, so eloquently says: "The record of the human past is not all contained in printed books. Man's history is graven on the rocks of Egypt, stamped on the brick of Assyria, enshrined in the marble of the Parthenon; it rises before us in the piled up arches of the Coliseum; it lurks, an unsuspected treasure, amid the oblivious dust of archives and monasteries; it is embodied in the heirlooms of families, of races; in the relics which affection and gratitude, pride of country or lineage, have preserved; it lingers, like an echo, on the lips of the peasantry; surviving in their songs and traditions, renewed in their customs with the renewal of nature's seasons. We trace it in the speech, the manners of nations; we dig it out from the barrow and the necropolis; and out of the fragments thus found reconstruct, in museums of antiquities, something like an image of the past." The footprints of those who have gone before us are not the mere subject of literary interest or curious inquiry; they find an instinctive response in our hearts, which rejects the mere parrot-tale of the showman or the *cicerone*. We are sensible of an occult relation, sacred to each individually, with all that has gone before us, with all that shall come after. We stand upon a mere point of time, with an eternity on either side. It is our especial privilege, alone of all created things (often our penalty), to look before and after, to remember and to hope. The vestiges that have been left to us from the past are the links that tie each generation with the immense antiquity behind it, spanning the abyss of time by monumental records often as unconsciously transmitted as the footprints of those extinct races that, pressed lightly upon the soft sand, reappear to our eyes, through the lapse of ages, in fossil shapes of almost imperishable durability,—apt emblem of our own poor fragile frames, yet far-reaching thought and destiny.

I cannot survey these monuments of past man without the reflection presenting itself that we too may be moulding

a history of ourselves,—a portraiture to be disclosed we know not when or where, in some future as remote as that mysterious past whose evidences we have learnt to decipher and to trace home. May we not feel sure that nationally, perhaps individually, we too, in our turn, are acting history, making marks upon the sand, over which we lose all power with the very act of impress? The message goes forth without our special utterance, and the only function that rests with us to exercise is that which guides the foot before it falls. It is a solemn thought, and needs little force of application; for it appeals to the inner sense of responsibility, the birthright—in some sense the fate—of every reasoning being. As it has been said that there is no sound made on earth that is ever lost in the vibration of space, so may it be supposed that, as we have learned to distinguish the “Stone Age” and the “Bronze Age” and the “Iron Age” of those who have so long preceded us, we, too, shall be hereafter known by traces that we leave almost unconsciously to the eye and judgment of posterity. And when we look around at the distribution over the earth’s surface of that race whose elements we are able to review upon the small *tableau* of this island, even within the borders of this county; as we pass in review the Briton, the Roman, the Saxon, the Dane, the Norman, as they come in turn before the archaeologist in his exploration of this limited spot, and see them now fused and welded together, multiplying over the face of the earth, and subduing it; one people united by a common home, one language, and one faith,—the contemplation is one of extent and grandeur sufficient to justify all our care in the tracing of its small beginnings; to awake all our anxiety, that when we in turn come before the judgment of posterity, before the archaeologist of the future, the message we transmit may stand as a fair and worthy record upon the indelible annals of Time.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ., HON. TREASURER.

IN 1841 the alarming condition of the sole remaining tower of Hereford Cathedral led to a close examination of its state by the Rev. Robert Willis, M.A., F.R.S., who set forth the result of his examination in a Report published in 1842. Besides a minute study of all that could be seen of the varieties of construction, and of the marks of failure in the structure of the tower and its supports, he inquired what was historically known of it. He expressed his conclusion on this point: "It is much to be regretted that the period of the erection of no one part of this Cathedral has been recorded, with the exception of its first foundation."¹

The latest history and the most complete treatise on the architecture of the Cathedral then existing, was that of the well known and justly esteemed John Britton, published in 1831. The books which preceded, professing to deal with the same subject, were that of the Rev. J. Garbett, *On the Ancient and Present State of the Cathedral*, 1827; *Excursions in Hereford*, by J. P. Malcolm, 1814; *Collections for the History of Hereford*, by Rev. John Duncomb, 1804-12; *J. Price's History of Hereford*, 1796; *The Survey of Cathedrals*, by Browne Willis, 1742; *The Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Hereford*, anonymously published in 1717, but known to be by the learned Dr. R. Rawlinson; and the *Monasticon*.

Of all these productions, the one which possesses infinitely the most value in connexion with the architectural history of the Cathedral, is the little book by Dr. Rawlinson. It produces from original records, some of which are since lost, a great many facts of much value, of which no use has been made. At the time of their publication the science of English architecture was neither understood nor esteemed, and so they failed to be applied, and have scarcely been noticed since. Dr. Rawlinson's book gives the monumental

¹ Report of a Survey of the Dilapidated Portions of Hereford Cathedral in 1841, by Rev. R. Willis, Jacksonian Professor of Cambridge, p. 9.

inscriptions then found in the Cathedral, many of which are now known only by this account of them, and shews that no less than ninety of the ancient brass memorials were then gone. He examined the charters of Hereford in the Tower of London, and what he published from them is full of architectural history. His account of the bishops contributes some points on the same subject not to be found in the work, *De Præsulibus Angliæ*, by Godwin, Bishop of Hereford, who wrote more than a hundred years earlier. Dr. Rawlinson copied from a Hereford Missal which he believed to be of the time of Edward III, a kalendar of obits. It commemorates numerous early benefactors to the Cathedral, and is full of valuable particulars for our purpose. The original from which he copied I have wholly failed to trace. It is not mentioned by Maskell, who would fain have exhausted the subject of the missals. Its absence from his notice has attracted attention, and yet it has not turned up. Mr. Forshall¹ was mistaken in identifying it with an *anti-phonarium* still in Hereford Cathedral. Lastly, Dr. Rawlinson prints seventy-one charters of lands of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford, from Jones' MSS. in the Bodleian Library, the least productive part, for our purpose, of his book, but not wholly unfruitful.

The *Excursions* of J. P. Malcolm give some valuable particulars of the state of the Cathedral about A.D. 1635, taken from the Harleian MS. 4046, in the British Museum.

The other books give no architectural results from research amongst records. They chiefly express borrowed opinions. Two of them, however, by their illustrations, are of great value. Brown Willis' engravings are of good execution, and are made from what must have been admirable drawings, the production of the Rev. Walter Merrick, curate of Madeley, a name—since rendered famous amongst antiquaries by the late owner of Godrich Castle—which ought to be esteemed for the service done in recording the state of the Cathedral in the early part of last century. Besides the views which appear in Browne Willis, Mr. Merrick engraved others of equal merit. From what he did an accurate idea can be formed of the church whilst its western tower and central spire still stood, and before its ancient nave and clerestory had been destroyed. John Britton's survey of the

¹ Rev. F. T. Havergal, *Fæsti Herefordenses*, p. 153.



building could not fail to be valuable; and, even with some inaccuracies in one of his plates of the Lady Chapel and in one of the north transept, his sixteen illustrations are unrivalled. They present to us the Cathedral as it was about a hundred years after Mr. Merrick, and just before another extensive series of alterations and renovations was commenced.

Withal, however, the fact remained as stated by Professor Willis, that, except the record of its foundation, no other record had been applied to the history of the building down to 1841. At that very time Dean Merewether (himself an archæologist of note) had just published, and brought to the Professor's notice, an important document, and had completed some valuable examinations and revelations in the structure itself. In 1863 the Rev. W. Heather, D.D., placed on record some account of the restorations carried out under Dean Merewether and Dean Dawes. Lastly, in 1869, the Rev. F. T. Havergal appended to his *Fasti Herefordenses* a number of valuable notes and observations on the state of the monuments, brasses, and some architectural features, besides giving a key to a great number of sources of information.¹ Still the architectural history is left as Professor Willis found it, viz. the period of its erection unrecorded, except of its first foundation.

The Bishop of Hereford and the Dean and Chapter, on the occasion of our Congress last summer, opened their archives to the inspection of the British Archæological Association; and as far as opportunity has permitted, they have been examined by our palæographer, W. H. Black, Esq., F.S.A., by Thos. Wright, Esq., F.S.A., and by myself. I trust that Mr. Black's researches will be treated of much more fully than I shall have to notice them here; yet it is not to be supposed that on such an occasion a complete investigation could be attempted. Architecturally, the result has not been large, and it will be sufficient for me to speak of what Mr. Black produced on this subject from the archives of the Dean and Chapter when I arrive at those portions of the building to which it refers. The documents are in the keeping of the Chapter clerk, and are now preserved in the small

¹ Mr. Havergal's guide-book, published anonymously in the city, is itself a useful survey and record. It is greatly to be preferred to the other Cathedral guide-books.—*The Visitors' Hand-Guide to Hereford Cathedral*. Price, 6d.

tower in the eastern part of the cloister called the *LADY ARBOUR*, having been removed there in August last. My attention was particularly directed to the episcopal Registers. They are in the keeping of the Bishop's officers. They consist of a series of volumes recording the transactions of the bishops, commencing imperfectly in the year 1275 (about the commencement of Thomas de Cantilupe), and proceeding for a few years in some confusion; but containing afterwards, according to a statement prefixed to the index, a perfect episcopal record of the whole diocese of Hereford down to the present time, excepting the absence of two volumes of the time of Edward III, which are in the library at Longleat, Wilts. I have examined extracts from these two volumes in the British Museum;¹ and I have, I think, for architectural purposes in reference to the Cathedral, exhaustively examined the Hereford Registers down to the year 1415. I am disappointed not to have been able to carry the examination down to the Reformation. The result, again, is very small, though the volumes abound with evidences architecturally valuable in reference to the parish churches and monasteries of the diocese. The fact is that by far the greater portion of the Cathedral work, all except the towers, was completed before the earliest date found in these Registers, and hence the absence of record of consecrations and dedications which in respect to the later monasteries and the parish churches mark the era of many of their works.

We are, therefore, left chiefly to long known sources of information, and I will now proceed to arrange what is recorded, and then to describe the Cathedral; shewing, in doing so, that these sources are not so bare as has been supposed. One very notable item has been strangely overlooked; and it will be seen that under careful investigation both of records and of the structure, a very complete history of it can be framed. We must reject "the elegant Latinity" of Polydore Vergil and the glosses and additions of copyists which have continually swelled the simple facts of the oldest writers. We must take the words of contemporary writers and records, or where contemporaries fail, then resort to the oldest authority.

The earliest account extant of the foundation of Hereford

¹ Harl. MS. 6203.

is that of the discreet historian and learned monk, William of Malmesbury, given in his book, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*. This was written, as is stated at the end of his chapter on the Bishops of Hereford, whilst Robert de Bethune presided in the see, that is to say between the years 1131 and 1148. The particulars he furnishes are very simple and concise, but are without dates. Four bishops by name, Putta, Tirtel, Tortere, and Walstod, were followed by a fifth, Cuthbert, afterwards made Archbishop of Canterbury. Beyond their names, there is nothing said of the first four; but of Cuthbert we are told that he was of extraordinary diligence in ecclesiastical affairs, and that his regard for his predecessors was shewn in verses which William of Malmesbury himself had seen inscribed upon a cross of gold and silver begun by Bishop Walstod, and which Cuthbert completed, besides other verses which also he had seen on the tomb raised by Cuthbert to the memory of three of his predecessors.

It must not, however, be allowed that William of Malmesbury was strictly correct in attributing bishops to Hereford at this time. Their real position and their dates we gather from Bede. The Venerable Bede, when he laid down his pen in A.D. 731, names all the bishops then in England. Of Walstod, above named, he says that he was bishop "among those people who live beyond the river Severn, to the westward." All these bishops, and several after them, were in fact itinerant. Putta, the earliest, Bede tells us,¹ left his church at Rochester, in the kingdom of Kent, because that had been destroyed in a military foray, came amongst the Mercians in 676, and there ended his days. Cuthbert, the fifth Bishop, was elected Archbishop of Canterbury in succession to Archbishop Nothelm (the latest Archbishop named by Bede), and thus removed out of the district beyond the Severn, it is believed, in 736.

After Cuthbert, William of Malmesbury gives but a list of names,—Podda, Ecca, Cedda, Albert, Esne, Celmundus, Utel, and Wulfear,² who was Bishop in the time of King Offa, and about whose time must have occurred the event which subsequently gave ecclesiastical importance to Hereford, viz. the martyrdom of St. Ethelbert; but his name is

¹ Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, lib. iv, c. 12.

² *De Gestis Regum*, lib. i, c. iv.

not any where mentioned in connexion with it. William of Malmesbury speaks briefly of it in his book, *De Gestis Regum*,¹ relating that Offa, king of Mercia, within the walls of his palace atrociously murdered Ethelbert, the king of East Anglia, whose sanctity God signalled by evident tokens, in consequence of which the church of Hereford is consecrated to that saint. William of Malmesbury wrote from much fuller accounts which he had before him; and some such accounts, probably fifty or sixty years afterwards, were used by the compiler of another Chronicle, viz. the *Chronicle of Jervaux*,² the next author extant who alludes to these events. This author enters into much detail, showing that the murder occurred, by decapitation, at the residence of King Offa, called by the people there "Southtown" or "Sutton" (*Villa Australis*); that Ethelbert was first ignominiously interred somewhere on the banks of the Lug, but that afterwards a nobleman and faithful friend Brithfrid removed the body and reinterred it in the place called Fernleigh, but now, says the chronicler, called Hereford. In the story thus far no mention occurs of the existence of a church at Fernleigh. Offa repented of his crime, and largely endowed the church in his provinces, particularly in founding a monastery at St. Alban's, and, "as it is reported, in bestowing much of the lands of the church of Hereford, which at this day that church possesses." This report seems scarcely well-founded, and scarcely consistent with what follows. The death of St. Ethelbert occurred about 793. We have to go to a still later chronicler for this date.³

Returning to William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum*,⁴

¹ *De Gestis Regum*, lib. i, c. 4, and lib. ii, c. 13.

² Printed in Twysden's *Decem Scriptores* as *Chronicon Johannis Bromptoni*. One of this name was elected abbot of Jervaux, in Yorkshire, in 1436; but as Bishop Nicholson points out, Selden is of opinion that the Chronicle was written about a hundred years before that. The Bishop adds that probably the book was bought by Abbot Brompton, and presented to the monastery. It should not be overlooked, that much earlier, viz. from 1193 to 98, another *Johannes Brompton* was abbot of Jervaux. The last date is the period at which the Chronicle terminates, and it seems not unnatural to attribute its origin to him, allowing that it may have undergone some alteration by a later hand, which gives it the resemblance to the later *Chronicle of Roger Hoveden* in its latter part, upon which Selden's objection to this early antiquity is founded. Leland made extracts from a *Life of St. Ethelbert*, written by Osbert de Clare, a monk of Westminster, and a contemporary of William of Malmesbury; also from another life of the saint, written by Giraldus Cambrensis about the time of the first *Johannes Brompton*. The latter is still extant (MS. Cotton. E. vii) in the British Museum.

³ Matthew of Westminster.

⁴ *De Gestis Regum*, lib. i, c. 4.



and to the *Chronicle of Jervaux*, the successors of King Offa are rapidly passed over, Kenulf, who died in 819, Kenelm the martyr, Ceolwulf, Bernulf, and Ludecan. Here the two chronicles diverge—the first author gives no place in his history of Mercia to the next king, nor to the circumstances connected with him now to be related in the words of the second chronicle—Milfrid, king of Mercia, moved by the renown of miracles wrought by God for the sake of St. Ethelbert at Hereford, sent abundance of money there and began from the foundation and perfected a superior church built of stone,¹ and there the first of all the kings, appointing bishops, he raised the church to the cathedral dignity, which whilst he lived he continued to enrich and endow with royal munificence in lands and revenues, in silken vestments and admirable ornaments. In the face of this precise statement the chronicler has put, as I have noticed above, the endowments of Offa, as a matter merely of report, evidently without warranting the statement. Although William of Malmesbury omits the story of Milfrid, an incidental allusion of his supports it. He had himself seen (of course at Hereford) inscriptions which he gives at full length upon a cross of gold and silver, and a tomb, recording their completion by Cuthbert. According to the inscription on the tomb, it enclosed the remains of his three immediate predecessors, bishops of this part of Mercia, viz., Walstod, Tortere, and Tirtil; also of the Prince [or King] Milfrid and his wife Cuenburga, and of Oselm, the son of Offrith. The inscription at length I give hereafter. Obviously neither it nor the tomb could be wholly of the time of Cuthbert, but must have been altered about a hundred years later to be accommodated to the interment of Milfrid, the founder of the see; on the other hand, the existence of the tomb from the time of Cuthbert affords support to the belief in the previous existence of a humbler church which may have had endowments from Offa. It is also to be noted as helping to harmonise the two chronicles, that the *Jervaux Chronicle* relates that Milfrid at the very time he exercised his liberality was engaged in affairs in remote parts of his dominion, pos-

¹ "Transmissa ad locum eundem pecunia multa Ecclesiam egregiam lapidea structura ad laudem et honorem beati martiris a fundamentis incepit et pia devotione Domino auxiliante perfecit." *The Chronicle* twice uses these words with trifling variation, viz., in the history of Offa and the Mercians, and in the history of Ethelbert and the East Angles.

sibly, we may conjecture, kept at a distance by the power of Egbert, King of Wessex, who had overcome his two immediate predecessors, and slain the last. Thus Milfrid is not recognised by William of Malmesbury as a sovereign. Afterwards the two chronicles are in harmony again in the list of Mercian rulers. The dates given by Malmesbury in the reign of Egbert show that Milfrid's foundation of the church and see at Hereford must have been about A.D. 830.

A list of the subsequent bishops, Benna, Edulf, Cutulf, Mucel, Deorlaf, Cuemund, Edgar, Tidhelm, Walfelm, Alfrie, Athulf, brings us down to A.D. 1012, to the next step in the history of the building. For this incident we have to turn to another chronicler, Simeon of Durham. He wrote about the time of William of Malmesbury, but the early part of his book to which we now refer he copied from a chronicle compiled by Turgot, the second prior of Durham, about the year 1100. Turgot relates that Athelstan, who became bishop of Hereford in 1012, died the 4th of the ides of February (Feb. 10th) 1056, whose body being brought to Hereford was entombed in the church which he had constructed from the foundations.

To him Leofgar, chaplain to Duke Harold, succeeded, and was slain by Griffin, King of Wales, on the 16th of the kalends of July (16th June) in the same year. These events are enlarged upon in the *Saxon Chronicle*, which may be regarded almost as contemporary history. A combined force of Irish and Welsh attacked an English cavalry force before Hereford. The English fled in a panic, their enemies seized and burnt the town, "the great minster which Athelstan, the venerable bishop, caused to be built, they plundered of relics and vestments." . . . "Leofgar and his priests with him were slain." The *Chronicles of Jervaux* and of *Roger of Hoveden* both relate that the cathedral itself was burnt on this occasion, and the latter that seven canons who defended the doors of the church and monastery built by Athelstan were slain, and the reliques of St. Ethelbert, the king and martyr, and of other saints burnt with the cathedral.

It is not reported that Milfrid's church was removed to make way for Athelstan's, but it is probably the fact that it disappeared then as completely as that of Athelstan did when the present cathedral, the third cathedral of Hereford, took its place; no fragment of building can now be found

which can be shown or believed to have belonged to either of the first two cathedrals.

We are now arrived at the reign of the last of the Saxon kings, Edward the Confessor. Two bishops followed, Aldred and Walter, under whom the ruined church must have been patched up for a temporary purpose, for it was not till after then that the third cathedral was begun. The men of Hereford had other matters in their mind, to rebuild their dwellings and to encircle the town with a rampart, which was now done for the first time on record.¹ They also built a castle, which is first named in 1067. It was not till some years after Saxon rule had passed away, and when the first Norman bishop presided, that the rebuilding of the cathedral was set about.

Robert of Lorraine, the first bishop of Hereford appointed under Norman rule, came to the see in 1079. William of Malmsbury greatly commends his learning and scientific knowledge, and relates that he built the church of Hereford in a long round shape, having imitated the basilica of Aix la Chapelle for his own.² William of Malmsbury, Norman by his father, and English by his mother, was in all probability at this time in existence, and wrote what he learned when at a mature age he visited Hereford; it is likely that he conversed with those who had known personally all the circumstances of the origin of bishop Robert's design, and it is scarcely to be doubted that he has accurately stated them. An interesting question arises, therefore, what circumstances of resemblance are there between the "basilica" of Aix and the cathedral of Hereford? But this is an inquiry which at present I shall not pursue, not only because it would introduce too much matter here, but because I hesitate to speak of Aix, not having a personal acquaintance with it. Bishop Godwin, in his book *De Præsulibus Angliæ*, adds to the words of Malmsbury that the church at Aix which Bishop Robert copied or followed was the one erected by Charlemagne, but that one had already utterly disappeared. Bishop Godwin in this addition has leaped to a conclusion without knowing the history of the different churches of Aix la Chapelle; for those who would pursue the subject, I would refer to the

¹ See *Chronicle of Jervaux* and *Saxon Chronicle*. The Chronicles vary from one to two years in the dates they assign to some of the events from 1054.

² "Robertus Lotharingus qui ibi ecclesiam tereti ædificavit scemate, Aquensem basilicam pro modo imitatus suo."

article just printed *On the Tomb of Charlemagne* by Professor Donaldson, in the papers of the Institute of Architects, where a very complete key to a history and description of the chapel built by Charlemagne and its succeeding edifices is given.

A monument with an effigy ascribed to Bishop Robert Lozing (or de Lotharingia) is in Hereford Cathedral in the south aisle of the choir; it was not made till more than two hundred years after his death, when some Bishop or Dean with a reverend regard for the memory of the past bishops caused to be made tombs and effigies for the previous bishops, all which are in existence. Each monument of the series bears a great resemblance to the others, but in two instances a marked distinction is attempted, one of the effigies holds in the hand the model of a church, the other the figure of a square embattled building. The effigies have all been named by inscriptions of an uncertain age, but which were seen by Leland in the reign of Henry VIII.¹ Bishop Godwin, writing at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, suggests that the inscription had been wrongly put on Robert Lozing's tomb, as he conceives that the effigy bearing the model of the church was in all probability intended for that prelate, whereas the inscription attributes it to one of his successors, Reynelm. It must probably remain a matter of conjecture to whom the artist intended to attribute the respective effigies.

Bishop Robert of Lorraine, besides commencing to rebuild his own cathedral, was engaged on the great Abbey of Gloucester. On the 29th of June, 1089, he laid the foundation-stone of that abbey church. He was also a friend of Remigius, the rebuilder of Lincoln Cathedral, as William of Malmesbury shows. He died in 1095 as usually said, or in 1096 according to Simeon of Durham. Of his successor, Gerard, we have nothing to report concerning Hereford Cathedral, but he may well have been instigated to interest himself in the progress which must have continued all through his time by his presence at the dedication of the abbey church of Gloucester, at which event he assisted in 1100.² He was translated to York.

¹ Leland's *Itinerary*, Hearne, 2nd edition, vol. viii, f. 77b.

² See Florence of Worcester and the History and Cartulary of St. Peter of Gloucester, edit. Hart, vol. i, p. 12; vol. ii, p. 40.

Reynelm,¹ his successor, has in modern times had the credit of having built Hereford Cathedral; and recently it has been added that under him the Cathedral "was dedicated with great solemnity in 1110." The story of the construction of the Cathedral by him is founded on a mistake in an ancient kalendar of obits. The story of the dedication I have been unable to trace to any ancient authority, even with the aid of the author of the statement. Such a dedication is probable in itself. It would be quite in accordance with the usual progress of such buildings that as soon as the choir and eastern part of the church were advanced towards completion a dedication would take place,—this must have been the state of progress in the time of Bishop Reynelm. It has been claimed for him, with some authority, that he was the founder of the church or cathedral of St. Ethelbert at Hereford. In the obits given by Dr. Rawlinson from an ancient missal, his obit is thus noted "Obitus Renelmi Episcopi fundatoris *Ecclesie* Sancti Ethelberti;" but this the sole authority had in the original the word *hospitii* written in a later hand over the word *Ecclesie*, thereby indicating an ancient opinion that the origin of the hospital of St. Ethelbert, which still exists in Hereford, and not the founding of the church was to be attributed to him. At any rate, this doubtful record, no older Rawlinson thought than the time of Edward III, cannot overturn the testimony of William of Malmsbury, which we have seen makes Robert of Lorraine the founder of the church. It is probable that the first constitution of the chapter of the cathedral is to be attributed to Bishop Reynelm, as in his time the first dean of the Cathedral occurs.

The two next bishops, Geoffrey de Clive and Richard de Capella, we must pass over; although the Cathedral work must have been in progress, no mention of them in connection with its work occurs.

Robert de Beton or de Bethune, promoted from being Prior of Llanthony, succeeded, and he completed the Norman Cathedral. William of Malmesbury, his contemporary, commends him, and still more so his friend and successor, as Prior of Llanthony, William of Wycumbe, in his life of the bishop still

¹ Camden's account of Reynelm has been followed by Rawlinson, Burton, and others, but must not be adopted for the history of the building. They attributed the erection of the Cathedral to him.

extant. It is remarkable that the precise knowledge of the completion of the Norman Cathedral which this life gives us has never been noticed, although the biography has been in print in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* for one hundred and eighty years, and a translation of it was published in 1847 by Rev. G. Roberts in his account of *Llanthony Priory*. Dr. Rawlinson alone remarks, evidently from what he had read in this life, that Robert de Bethune "is said to have finished the church begun by his predecessors." The testimony of William de Wycumbe is, however, quite distinct and positive on this point. Robert de Bethune ruled from 1131 to 1148. Four years after he began, commenced the troublous reign of King Stephen, during some part of which the bishop, who adhered to Stephen's cause, was driven from Hereford, and his church suffered from violence and confusion. "But after a while," says his biographer, "the just Lord beheld the tears of his servant and heard his pious prayers; putting into the hearts of his persecutors compunction, so that they should desist from their oppression, should set free his church and make suitable satisfaction for all that they had taken away; the bishop then, with the return of peace, came back to his own; his church he reformed; the defences of the enemy raised before the gates he threw down and levelled; the uncleanness within he swept out; the scattered clergy he recalled; the divine service he renewed; other works of religion and piety he resumed; himself esteemed by all, he shone with glory and magnificence. There returned to his gate the poor in Christ; to his hospitality, the clergy; and to his counsel, those in need of advice; to his defence, the destitute." It must, therefore, have been in the latter part of his career, and probably after King Stephen, in 1142, was released from prison, and had himself besieged and taken Hereford that the restoration of the cathedral and consummation of its works took place. William of Wycumbe relates the death of the bishop, and then adds: "He was buried in his own mother church, which *he with great expense and solicitude completed*; he with all solemnity, after the example of Solomon, dedicated it, himself the seventh of the assembled bishops; and he adorned it both with reliques of the saints and with ornaments and precious vessels."¹ It was before the bishop's death that William of

¹ "Sepultus est in Ecclesiâ suâ matrice quam ipse multâ impensâ et sollici-

Malmsbury wrote of what he saw at Hereford, for he expressly says of this bishop "qui hodie superest." It is interesting to notice from the observations of this author the relics of the more ancient works which were still preserved to decorate the new Cathedral. It was now that the cross, the work of the gold and silversmith of the ancient Saxon bishops, Walstod and Cuthbert; and the tomb completed by Cuthbert, originated four hundred years before, were seen, and their inscriptions copied by William of Malmsbury.¹ Upon the cross he found these verses :—

Hæc veneranda crucis Christi veneranda sacratæ
 Cœperat antistes venerandus nomine Walstod
 Argenti atque auri fabricare monilibus amplis.
 Sed, quia cuncta cadunt mortalia tempore certo,
 Ipse opere in medio moriens, e carne recessit.
 Ast ego successor præfati præsulis, ipse
 Pontificis, tribuente Deo, qui munere fungor,
 Quique gero certum Cuthbert de luce vocamen,
 Omissum implevi, quod cœperat ordine pulchro.

Upon the tomb the following verses, revealing, however, as has been indicated before, that both the tomb and inscription must have been altered after Cuthbert's time to include Milfrid and his queen :—

Qui quondam extiterant famosi altique per orbem,
 Corpora sena tenet hominum, hic marmor obumbrans.
 Tumbaque mirifico præsens fabricata decore.
 Desuper ex alto cohibet eum culmine tecto.
 Hos ego Cuthbertus sacri successor honoris,
 Inclusi titulus, exornavique sepulchris :
 Pontifices ex his ternos sancta infula cinxit,
 Nomina sunt quorum Walstodus, Torhere, Tirhtil,
 Regulus est quartus Milfrith cum conjuge pulchra
 Cuenburga, exstitit e senis hæc ordine quinta.
 Sextus præterea est Oselmi filius Osfrith.

William of Malmsbury found amongst the ornaments of the cathedral relics of St. Ethelbert,² yet either their identity or their efficacy seems to have been doubted in his time, and he himself yielded but a cautious credence concerning them. Entering into a brief argument on the subject, he

tudine consummavit; ipse Solomonis exemplo solemnis dedicavit, adhibitorum secum septimus episcoporum; et tam reliquiis sanctorum quam ornamentis et vasis pretiosis adornavit." (*Vita Gulielmo de Wycumbe*, cap. xxx.) See, for previous extracts, cap. xxiii.

¹ See edition by N. E. S. Hamilton, 1870, p. 305, *Gul. Malms. De Pontificum Anglorum*.

² *De Pontificum Anglorum*, art. "De Roberto de Betone."

does not produce any living witness, nor cite any occurrences of his own knowledge to shew their virtue, but urges that credence ought to be given in their favour, since it had been authorised both by the absence of contradiction and the confirmation of approved and devout men, especially of the blessed Dunstan, then dead about one hundred and fifty years. The weakness of the evidence and arguments of the good monk of Malmsbury is not relieved by the next writer, the monk of Jervaux, who also has no recent evidence, but affirms that the miracles of St. Ethelbert are attested by Asser, the biographer of King Alfred. This would carry back the belief one hundred years before the death of Dunstan ; but neither in the life of Alfred nor in any extant writing of the good and learned Asser is there any allusion to the miracles of St. Ethelbert. The chronicle by Roger of Hoveden, written about A.D. 1200, is opposed to the belief of William of Malmsbury and the chronicler of Jervaux. It relates that at the destruction of the second cathedral, which occurred, as we have seen, in 1054, 1055, or 1056, the relics of St. Ethelbert and of other saints were burnt. The Saxon chronicle relates that the church was at this time "bereaved of all relics;" and, though no doubt their very ashes may have been collected and held sacred, yet Leland, visiting the cathedral in the reign of Henry VIII, says:¹—"Syns that the Walchmen destroyed the Towne in King Edward the Confessor's tyme his (Ethelbert's) reliques have not been sene ther." This was probably the truth, though not wholly admitted when the monk of Malmsbury visited the place three hundred years before Leland. In the dearth of relics Robert de Bethune wrote to the famous Abbot Suger, of Saint Denis, begging some relics of that saint for his cathedral.²

William of Malmsbury found the city of Hereford in a declining state between 1141 and 1148; its earlier importance shewn by the vacancy within its abandoned entrenchments, or walls as they are called in the *Domesday Survey*. The *Domesday Survey* shews that the bishops' possessions in the city diminished from ninety-eight houses in the time of Edward the Confessor, to sixty houses in the time of William

¹ Leland, *Itin.*, Hearne, 2nd ed., vol. v, f. 9.

² Addit. MS. 5827, Brit. Mus.; Willis ex Felibien, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de St. Denys*.

the Conqueror, with a great decrease in the value of the houses left. Robert de Bethune, being a supporter of King Stephen, was the object of attack by the adherents of the Empress Maude, who got possession of the city in 1138. This led to a siege by King Stephen in person, which, according to a contemporary writer, *Florence of Worcester*, began immediately after Ascension Day, and lasted four or five weeks in the summer of 1138. The King captured the city, and his enemies burned its suburb, beyond the river Wye, on the 15th of June. In the following year, in November, the partisans of the Empress again assaulted Hereford. "They forced an entrance into the monastery of St. Ethelbert, king and martyr, as if it had been a fortified castle."¹ The King advanced from Worcester early in December, but coming no nearer than Leominster, had to content himself with a show of submission from his opponents; and it was not till late in 1141 that the King again assaulted, and took the place. It was, doubtless, after these events, that William of Malmesbury viewed the broken walls and deserted state of the city; and it was during the subsequent peaceable rule of seven or eight years of Robert de Bethune that the completion of the Cathedral was effected. After so much tribulation this must have been an event of great importance in the eyes of the citizens. Nor was this the only church restoration which they owed to him. He constructed, says a charter of Gloucester,² "from the foundations the church of SS. Peter and Paul and St. Guthlac without the walls of Hereford"; that is to say, the Benedictine Priory of St. Guthlac, subject to the great Abbey of Gloucester, which Priory had then existed for a short time in the Market Place of Hereford.

The Norman Cathedral completed by Robert de Bethune has been little altered in extent down to the present time. It was enlarged within fifty years of his time, at the east end, and remained undiminished till the fall of the western tower occurred so lately as the 17th April, 1786. As he completed it, the church was cruciform; the eastern limb of the cross, three bays in length, had an aisle on each side; the aisles and the clerestory have been subsequently modified; the south transept, with the sacristy in the place of an

¹ *Florence of Worcester.*

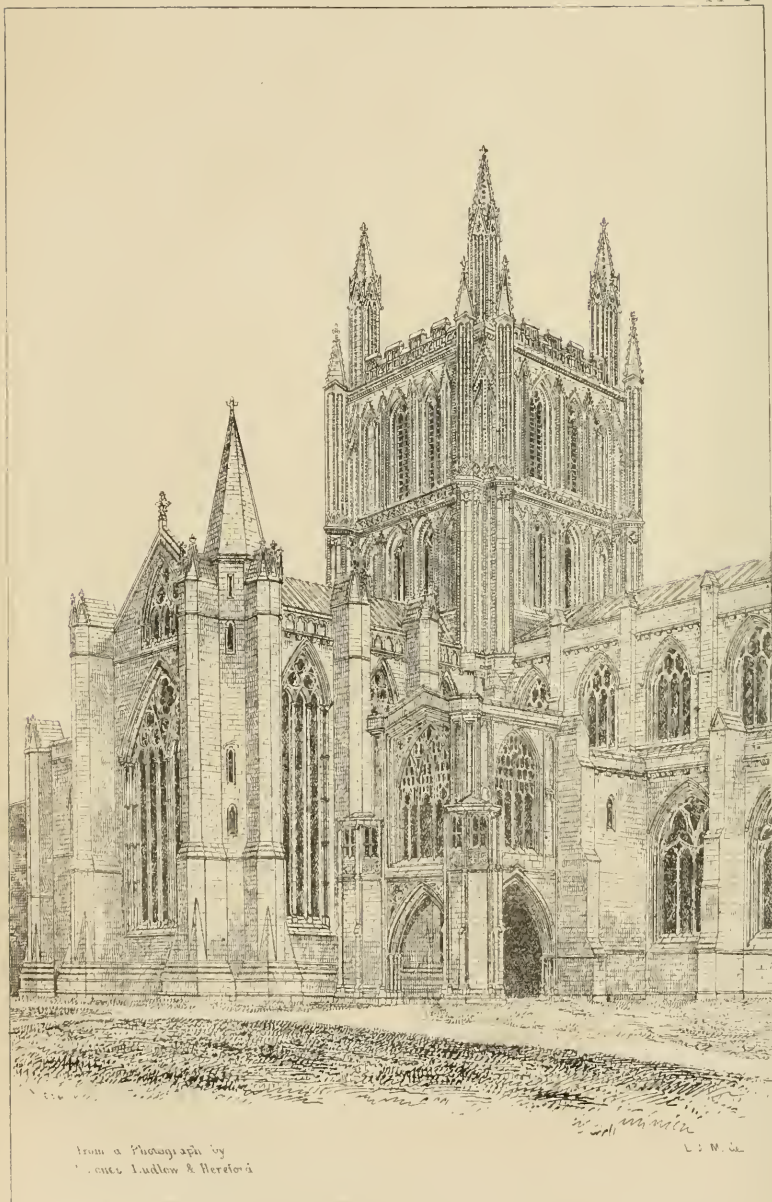
² *Hist. et Cartul. Monast. S. Pet. Gloucest.,* Hart. edit., vol. i, p. 85.



HEREFORD CATHEDRAL

1870

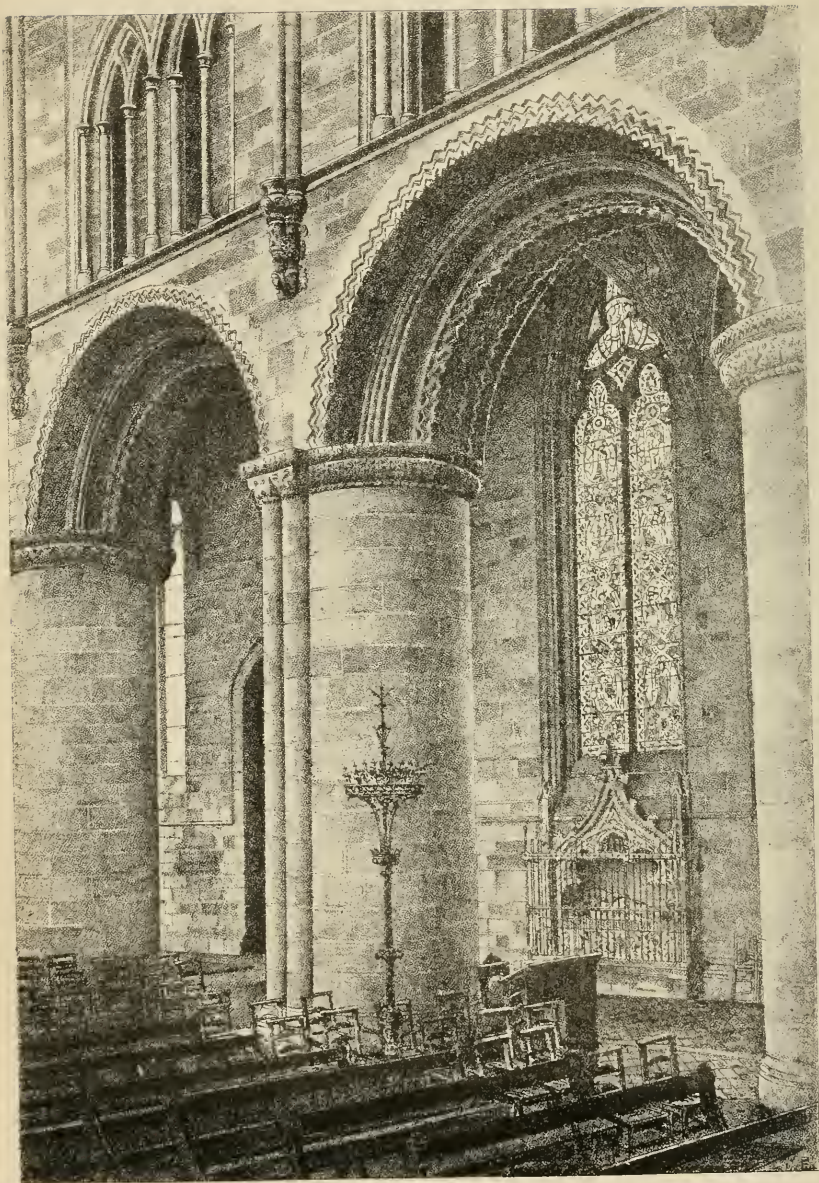
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J. Johnson del.

NORTH WEST VIEW

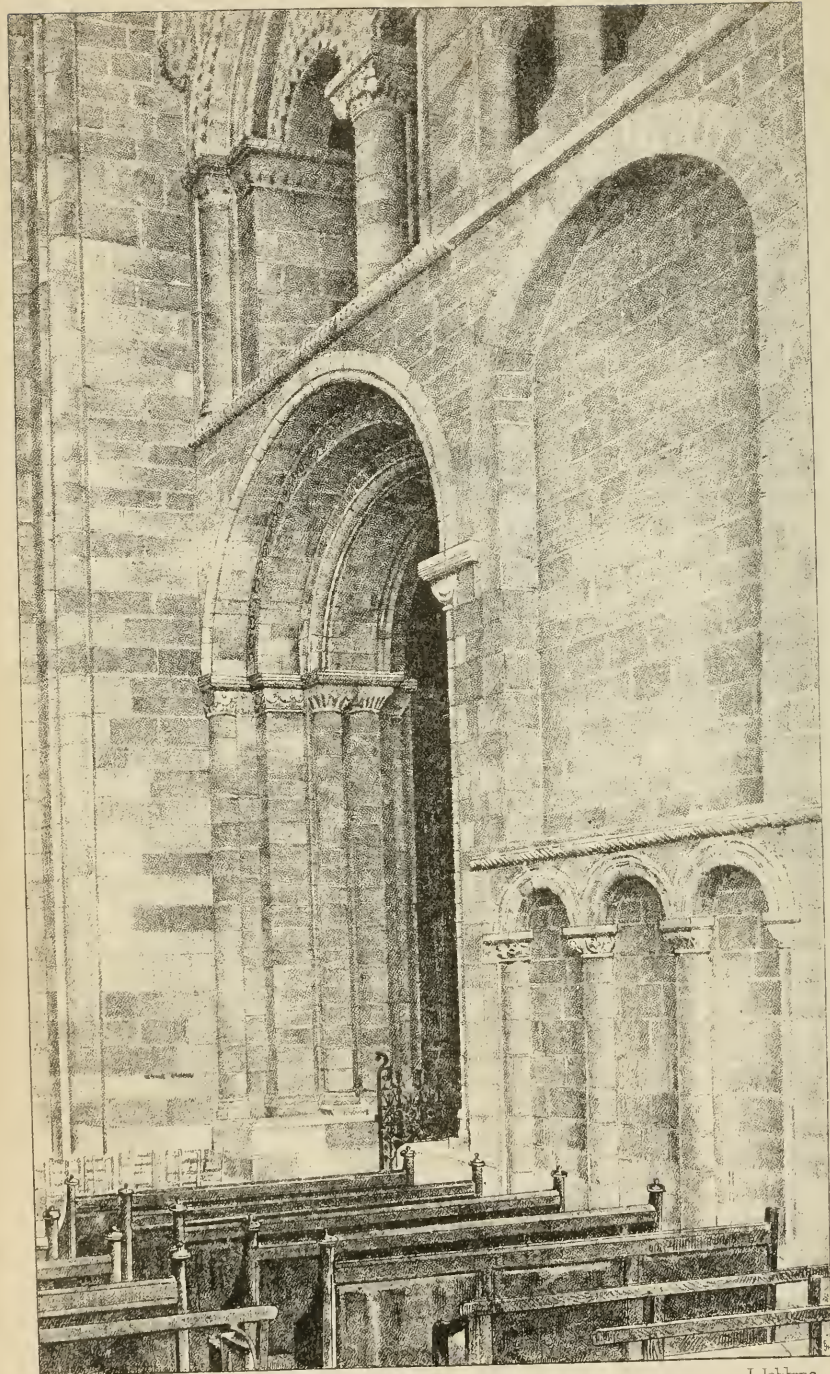




J. Johnson

PART OF NAVE & NORTH AISLE
(BISHOP BOOTH'S TOMB.)





J. Johns.

NORMAN WORK IN SOUTH TRANSEPT

aisle on its east side, has undergone less alteration than any other part; the north transept retains but little of the Norman work; the four great arches of the central tower are of the Norman period, but a later tower has taken the place of the Norman tower. The main arches of the nave are Norman; but in this part the greatest alteration has taken place, for, the nave, the triforium, and clerestory, are wholly modern, having been constructed soon after the fall of the western tower in 1786, in place of the Norman triforium and clerestory which existed in perfection down to that date. In the interior all the most important parts of the building are, therefore, Norman; and the Norman character of the cathedral completed by Robert Bethune is still the predominant idea of the cathedral everywhere. In the exterior the subsequent additions have so clothed his work that, except in the south transept, the Norman work is out of sight and unsuspected. Before the fall of the western tower and the alterations which followed upon it, the west end and the whole nave-clerestory prominently exhibited externally the character of the Norman cathedral.

Gilbert Foliot, who had been a Cluniac monk, and consecrated, in 1139, abbot of Gloucester by Robert de Bethune in the Cathedral of Worcester, was appointed to the see of Hereford on Robert's decease in 1148. To him succeeded Robert de Melun, about 1162, who ruled only five years. A vacancy of six years followed, owing to the opposition between King Henry II and Thomas à Becket. Robert Foliot was consecrated to the see in 1174, and died in 1186. Under these three prelates the Norman cathedral remained unaltered. The only indication I have discovered of any work contemplated in their time is the bequest¹ of thirty marks to the fabric of the church by Thomas Foliot, the treasurer, together with sundry ornaments. This led to the commemoration of his obit. He was treasurer in 1160.² It is probable that nothing more than ornamental accessories were then proposed.

To the next Bishop, William de Vere, we have to attribute the origin of the most important additions that have been made to the original extent of the church. He came to the see

¹ Rawlinson's *Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Hereford*, Kalendar of Obits, December.

² Le Neve's *Fasti*.

in 1186, and governed till his death in 1198. The sole record of his works which has reached us, are the words placed on his tomb. Leland¹ saw them in the reign of Henry VIII, and says, "as appears by his epitaph, he constructed many excellent buildings." The inscription is thus printed by Dean Merewether:² "*Hic requiescit venerabilis pater Gulielmus de Vere. Strenue rexit spatium xxx annis et multa edificia egregia per spatium construxit, et feliciter obiit iv kal. Januarii anno Domini millesimo centesimo nonagesimo octavo.*" I do not know whence the Dean obtained this.

The period at which this Bishop flourished was just when Norman architecture was in transition to the Pointed style. The Norman chevron and scalloped ornaments were still in use, but the mouldings to which they were applied were more refined; the flat, stiff, carved work of the Norman leafage had been abandoned for foliage gracefully formed and deeply cut; the pointed arch had almost superseded the round arch, and massive columns had given way to slender shafts or shafted groups. Hereafter we shall speak more in detail of the evidences which the structure itself affords of works of the time of William de Vere. Suffice it to say here that to him belongs the alteration of the east end of the Norman cathedral; the characteristics of the work shew that in his time was planned the whole extent of the eastern transepts and of the Lady Chapel, and that its antechapel is wholly of his period; there are evidences that he greatly advanced, if not wholly completed, the eastern transepts; but the Lady Chapel itself is in the greater part a work of the perfect pointed style, and must have been completed by one of De Vere's successors.

He was followed by Giles de Bruce, consecrated in 1200, who died in 1215. A monumental effigy is attributed to him, which bears in the hands the figure of a castellated tower. Bishop Godwin suggested that this might mark him as the builder of one of the Cathedral towers; and hence a host of writers have gone a step further, and asserted that he did build one of them. It is the fact, however, that neither of the towers has, or has had, architecture which

¹ Leland, *Itin.*, Hearne, 2nd edit., ff. 79A, 87A. "Plurima ædificia in episcopatu construxit.....et ut patet ex ejus epitaphus, multa egregia construxit ædificia."

² Dean Merewether's statement, p. 78.

could be attributed to his era. It is more likely that the tower in the hands of the effigy marks it as the monument of a bishop who was castellan or custos of one or more of the royal castles.

To him succeeded Hugh de Mapenor, who died in 1219, having governed less than three years. Hugh Foliot followed, and died in 1234. So scarce were the relics of the patron saint, that the gift of a tooth of St. Ethelbert by Philip de Fauconberg, archdeacon of Huntingdon between 1222 and 1227, led to his obit being gratefully celebrated in Hereford Cathedral.¹ Ralph de Maidstone next ruled for nearly five years, and then, in 1239, resigned, to take the life of a simple Franciscan friar.

The record of work in progress under these prelates is very slight. Simon, archdeacon of Salop in 1226, gave twenty marks to the fabric; and Alexander de Swerkfield, treasurer, of London, 1231-46, gave five marks "to the work of the church."² The work begun by William de Vere unquestionably proceeded with regularity. The Lady Chapel was completed. Other works were also undertaken. To this early portion of the pointed style belongs the clerestory of the choir; the original Norman clerestory having been taken down, and the existing work substituted at this time. From what follows there is reason, moreover, to believe that the reconstruction of the outside walls of the entire aisles, both to the nave and choir, was either contemplated or already begun, and that the Norman work of the north arm of the principal transept had become seriously decayed.

To the next Bishop, Peter de Aquablancia, can confidently be attributed the reconstruction of the north transept. He ruled from 1239 to 1268. It is singular that this work has never before been assigned to him; yet there are grounds which render this conclusion inevitable,—1st, a comparison of the work with other architecture of established date, such as the Nine Altars at Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire; a very fine pointed work completed by Abbot John of Kent, who died in 1247. It is earlier in character than the work in question at Hereford. 2. A comparison with the Nine Altars at Durham Cathedral, begun by Prior Melsonby in 1242. The character of the work is slightly later than that of Fountains, particularly in its north end, which was evidently

¹ See Rawlinson's *Kalendar of Obits.* and Le Neve's *Fasti.*

² *Ibid.*

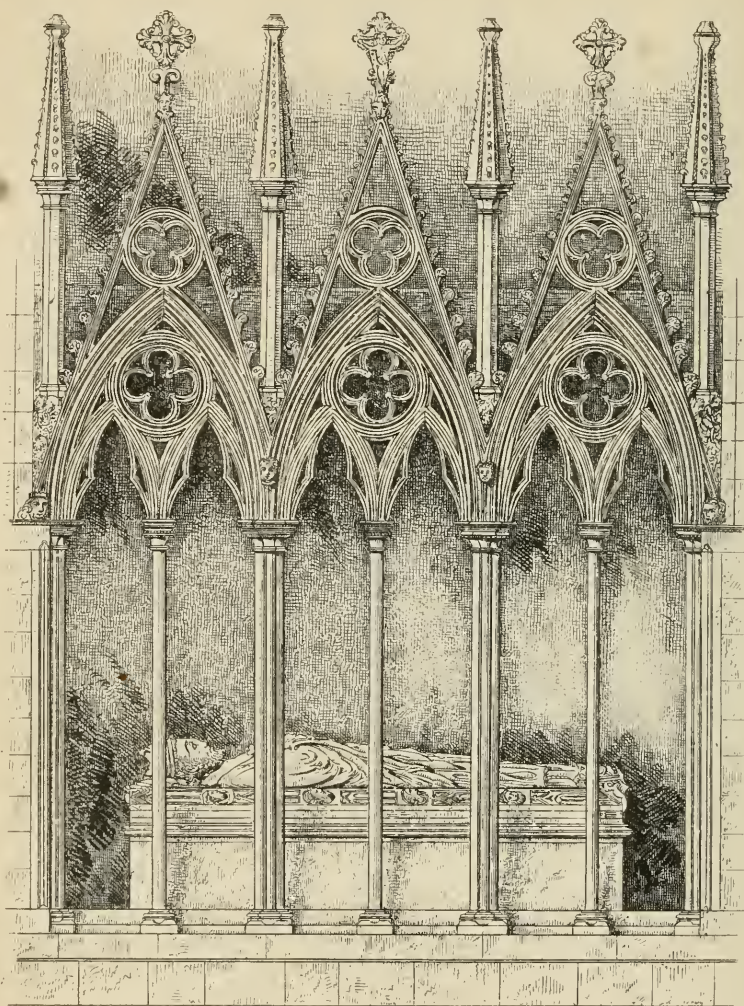
the latest executed part. This latest portion has a fine geometrical window as large and much finer than the great north window of the Hereford transept, and unquestionably of date almost identical with it. The date of the completion of the Durham work is not known, but probably twenty years should be allowed from its commencement in 1242. Or, again, take the well established course of progress of Salisbury Cathedral,—the foundation-stone laid in 1220, the choir consecrated in 1225, and the whole church finally dedicated in 1258. The latest work is a little earlier than that of Hereford, yet in the triforium of the nave at Salisbury it approaches the peculiarities of the angular arches of the Hereford work. Lastly, compare the work I attribute to Peter de Aquablanca at Hereford with that of his friend and master, Henry III, at Westminster Abbey, where the choir and transepts and part of the nave were built by that king between the years 1245 and 1269. A comparison with these several works affords a strong presumption that the Hereford transept is coeval with the later of them. But a very strong proof of the completion of the work before the death of Peter de Aquablanca is found in the position of his tomb. This elaborate and beautiful tomb not only agrees in style with the work of the north transept, but is so placed and fitted into the wall dividing its aisle from the choir-aisle, that it evidently was put there when the transept was constructed. The tomb has never undergone any change or modification since. But how is the tomb known to be that of Bishop Peter de Aquablanca? The oldest existing allusion to the tomb is that of Leland,¹ in the reign of Henry VIII, before any ancient dispositions of the Cathedral had been disturbed; he names it with the other monuments in the north aisle of the choir. Its position in the wall dividing the choir from the transept-aisle, and open to both alike, justifies his including it with the other monuments in the wall of the north aisle of the choir. In the reign of Charles I it was recognised as Aquablanca's tomb;² and again, Thomas Dingley,³ in his Survey, near the end of the seventeenth century, recognised it by the inscription on the wall, "*Dñs Petrus de Aquablanca Epus Heref*" *obit* A.D. 1268." So it is described a century later, in Gough's

¹ Leland, *Itin.*, f. 86b.

² Harl. MS. 4046, Brit. Mus.

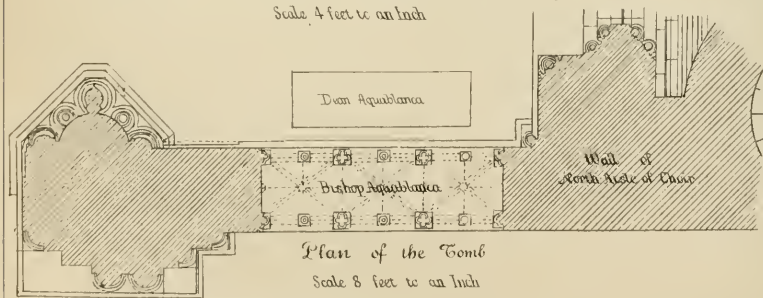
³ Camden Soc. Publications, *Thomas Dingley's History from Marble*.





Elevation of the Tomb of Bishop Peter de Aquablanca

Scale 4 feet to an Inch



Plan of the Tomb

Scale 8 feet to an Inch

Sepulchral Effigies, and so it remains at the present day. But the oldest and best evidence is, I fear, lost. John de Aquablanca, nephew of the Bishop, and somewhat later Dean of Hereford, directed by his will, in 1319, that he should be buried near his uncle.¹ Dean Merewether fears that this will is lost. This single item of its contents helps to identify the tombs of uncle and nephew, and accordingly there lie side by side the tombs of a dean and of the bishop believed to be Peter de Aquablanca. This tomb can hardly be more clearly identified. No expert will doubt that its architecture marks it for his date, and this point never has been questioned; but then, if its connexion with Bishop Aquablanca be established, the transept to which its structure belongs is at least as old as it, *i. e.*, before 1269. It has been necessary to dwell on the circumstances which support the claim of Bishop Aquablanca's period for the reconstruction of the north transept, because, without any show of reason, it has become the custom to attribute this work to a later time, after the death of two succeeding bishops. When we get to that time we shall be furnished with yet further arguments in favour of the opinion now advanced.

Of those who aided the cathedral works in the time of Bishop Aquablanca, the names of two only can be identified by their dates—Canon Philip de Hay, who died in 1254, gave to the cathedral, besides many other gifts, thirty marks to the fabric of the church; Peter de Radnor, the Pœnitentiarius and holder of the golden prebend in 1264, by his office confessor of the bishop, gave ten marks to the fabric of the church. In the book of obits² of the cathedral Bishop Peter de Aquablanca was celebrated for numerous gifts and for his great protection and enrichment of the see.

He was succeeded by John de Breton, very learned and famous in the law, and, according to Leland,³ *custos* of the manor of Abergavenny and of three royal castles—Leland is confirmed by documents in the episcopal archives, the registers of Bishop Cantilupe and Bishop Swinfield. John de Breton died in 1275. His appointments left him deeply in debt to the king. The registers of his two successors shew their care to guard against any evil consequences to themselves

¹ Dean Merewether's Statement, 1841. See a catalogue of documents relating to the fabric, in which this provision of John de Aquablanca's will is given.

² Rawlinson, *Kalendar of Obits*.

³ Leland, *Itin.*, f. 87b.

from this default. His death occurred just at the time in the early part of the reign of Edward I, when the King was setting in order the confusion of his predecessor, and closely inquiring after the produce of escheats, wardships, forfeitures, and neglected revenues. No tomb in the cathedral is with any certainty attributed to this bishop; but the inscribed memorial stone which covered his heart is still to be seen at Dore Abbey.

In the same year, 1275, he was succeeded by Thomas de Cantilupe, who ruled only seven years, and died journeying home from Rome in 1282. He was much beloved by those immediately about him; they reverently brought home his bones from Italy and interred them in Hereford Cathedral. Thus much of his entombment here is mentioned by the contemporary annals of Worcester¹ and of Rishanger of St. Alban's. Leland, writing long after, says that the burial-place was in the chapel of the Virgin Mary,² and this is repeated in the eulogistic life of him, written in 1674, known as *Acts and Gestes of St. Thomas of Cantilupe*. The precise determination of the positions his tomb has occupied is of much consequence to some points in our history.

In the time of both these bishops since Aquablanca, reinforcements were in progress, of which some little trace remains, the chief one being the beautiful porch on the north side of the nave, I mean the first bay of it which adjoins the aisle. It is a work of the first pointed or Early English style, yet merging into the second pointed or decorated style which pronounced itself at the beginning of the reign of Edward I. An observation of the walls of the aisle which it adjoins shews that, although the aisle is now a little later in its features, the porch is but a portion of the work of its time, and that aisles coeval with it once existed. We see, therefore, that the pointed work originated by William de Vere a century before in the eastern transepts and lady chapel had never ceased to be extended, first to the clere-story of the choir, then to the choir aisles, the north transept, and lastly to the nave aisles and porch.

The following are the few notices of aids to the later of these works to which I am able to assign dates. Nicholas, Canon and Pœnitentiarius, 1275, gave to the fabric of the

¹ *Annales de Wigornia*, edit. Luard, sub anno 1282.

² Leland, *Itin.*, f. 78A.

church ten pounds, and eight marks towards making a bell.¹ William de Hay, Canon, Prebendary of Pyon Parva, gave to the church annually ten marks and forty-one shillings, besides having constructed and furnished the altar of St. Francis, between 1271² and 1288. One gift of the first of these two benefactors rouses a suspicion that some improvements on one of the old Norman towers were included in the works, hence the contribution of a new bell or bells. That at the time of Cantilupe's death, or immediately after, great works were pressingly calling for expenditure is shewn by the issue in 1282, the year of Cantilupe's death, of an indulgence³ of seventy days, by John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, to any one giving forty days' work.

Richard Swinfield, chaplain and secretary to Cantilupe, was chosen his successor in the see of Hereford. In the year 1287, on the 5th of the kalends of April, according to the contemporary *Annals of Worcester*, the sanctity of Cantilupe was first shewn by the occurrence of miracles.⁴ It is to this period that has been attributed by all who have previously offered an opinion on the subject, the new work of the north transept, which I would fain give to the time of Aquablanca. The industrious John Britton,⁵ the learned and accurate Professor Willis,⁶ and recently the Rev. R. J. King, the experienced describer of the cathedrals of England,⁷ have all expressed the belief that its architecture proved this transept to have been reconstructed to receive the shrine of Thomas de Cantilupe on its first translation. If so, it would hardly have been in contemplation before March 1287, when first his miracles began; yet all was ready for the translation, which took place, it is said, in 1288. In the contemporary annals I do not find this translation

¹ Rawlinson, *Kalendar of Obits*.

² *Ibid.*, in eodem; also charter in Appendix, p. 31.

³ Merewether's Statement. This is one of the documents supposed to have been lost in 1652, not since seen.

⁴ Rishanger of St. Alban's, another contemporary, is less precise but quite as moderate. Subsequent writers use less sober expressions. Matthew Paris and others venture to number the miracles that followed, varying the number greatly in different accounts.

⁵ John Britton's *Hereford Cathedral*, 1831.

⁶ Willis' *Report on Hereford Cathedral*, 1841. Printed 1842. "The style of the north transept agrees with the supposition that it was erected for the reception of the shrine of Cantilupe between his death (1282) and the translation of his body" (1287).

⁷ Murray's *Handbooks of the Cathedrals, Hereford*, 1864.



alluded to. Fabyan's Chronicle, written in the reign of Henry VIII (two hundred and fifty years after the event), gives this date, and says that a translation then occurred. Leland collected on the spot, at about the time of Fabyan's writing, that Bishop Richard Swinfield caused the bones of Cantilupe to be removed from the Chapel of the Blessed Mary in Hereford Cathedral to the Chapel of St. John the Baptist in that church.¹

It will be observed that there is no mention here of the north transept, though an inquiry which I propose to offer hereafter, as to the location of the chapels, will probably shew that this one of St. John was in the north transept then. Its locality has been several times changed. The first mention of the transept in connexion with Cantilupe is made by Bishop Godwin,² himself Bishop of Hereford, but writing about fifteen years before he came to the see. Speaking of this translation, he says, "the tomb was then removed to the east wall of the north cross-aisle, where yet it is to be seen." The tomb which he supposed to be Cantilupe's is still where Bishop Godwin saw it; only that about four years ago it was moved three feet westward, to clear it from the east wall of the transept. But, in fact, the position in which Bishop Godwin saw it is quite apart from any question concerning the translation of 1288. The relics of Cantilupe remained but a few years in the position then given to them, and were soon again removed, as will be shewn below. Bishop Godwin's omission to notice the subsequent removal has had much to do with setting up a false connexion between the history of the Cantilupe shrine and of the north transept. There is absolutely no proof that the tomb which he attributed to Cantilupe belongs to him, and there are several circumstances which make it now difficult to maintain this belief.

Returning, however, to the year 1288 and the time of Bishop Swinfield. On August 25th in that year the Bishop caused to be first celebrated the obit of his friend, and in the next year oblations at the tomb of Cantilupe were flowing in, respecting which and their continued reception regulations³ were made in 1289, 1293, 1295. In April

¹ Leland, *Itin.*, Hearne, 2nd edit., f. 78A.

² Godwin *De Presulibus Angliæ*, 1601.

³ Episcopal Archives, Register, Swinfield, 1289, 1293-95; Harl. MS. 6203, 1293, p. 14.

1290¹ Bishop Swinfield wrote a letter to Pope Nicholas IV, soliciting the canonisation of Cantilupe, testifying to his religious life during a familiarity of eighteen years with him, and asserting the renown of his miracles since his death. In 1306, according to the trustworthy contemporary *Annals of Worcester*, Ralph de Baldac, Bishop of London, and a foreign bishop executed a commission of inquiry from the Pope, directed to ascertain the truth of reported miracles at the shrine. The two bishops spent six months at Hereford on this inquiry. In the archives of the Dean and Chapter Mr. Black found at least two accounts of expenses incurred in procuring the canonisation of Cantilupe, dated in 1295² and in 1309. In 1316 Bishop Swinfield died.

Adam de Orleton was consecrated to the see in September of the same year. Three years afterwards, viz. in 1319, the Dean and Chapter were seeking aid on account of the ruinous state of their church.³ In March of the next year Pope John XXII issued a bull⁴ granting the churches of Shinfield and Swallowfield for the use of the fabric, so long as the restoration of it should be in progress; afterwards the proceeds were appointed to other purposes. The bull recites the causes which have led to its issue. Addressed to the Dean and Chapter it says, "You, in time past, wishing to improve the fabric of the church of Hereford, have caused to be raised a superstructure in sumptuous workmanship, very much to the adornment of the house of God; the new building having been constructed on the ancient foundation; which foundation, in the judgment of masons and architects of reputed skill in their art, was deemed firm and solid; and in the construction of the superstructure you have expended twenty thousand marks sterling, and more. But the said foundation has proved so weak and deficient, that now the superstructure threatens such ruin as, according to similar judgment, cannot be averted unless the fabric of the said

¹ Camden Soc., *Swinfield's Roll of Expenses*, i, p. 236.

² D. and C. Archives, A.D. 1295, indexed as No. 216; A.D. 1309, indexed as No. 171.

³ Dean Merewether's Statement; Catalogue of lost Documents, 1319; Petition of D. and C. for Shinfield and Swallowfield in Berkshire.

⁴ Roger de Mortival, Bishop of Salisbury, in whose diocese the two churches named are situated, and Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, joined in giving effect to the papal grant. Their deed recites the bull at length, and is dated 3rd nones of November, 1320. The original is in the archives of the Dean and Chapter. It is printed in Dean Merewether's Statement, 1841, p. 71. I have not seen the original.

church be entirely renewed from the foundations. On account whereof, and of the expenses you have incurred in the canonisation of Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe of happy memory, you are oppressed with divers burdens of debt, etc.”

The question, then, is what portions of the church had been erected, within a moderate period before 1320, at an enormous outlay? The sum named shews that the work must have spread over some time, and have been very considerable. Masons' wages were then about 22*d.* a week; inferior workmen earned about 9*d.* a week, at which rate 20,000 marks must be multiplied by 15 to convert it into modern value. Can it be shewn now that any work of a period preceding this has been removed? Or does any work of the next period exhibit connexion with ruinous work that has been removed?

The north transept must have been amongst the works included in the outlay of twenty thousand marks.¹ Its columns on the east side and the triforium have been pushed over to the north, as Professor Willis has remarked, evidently soon after their construction. Their failure is so great that it must still attract the attention of the most casual observer; yet the failure must have been infinitely more serious elsewhere. It was not deemed necessary to take down the transept, as its continued existence shews; but the whole of the adjoining aisle-walls, then only recently erected, were removed; and the eastern transepts, the work of William de Vere, were also taken down. Traces of the work of his time remain in most parts of these outside walls, in their lower portions; but the windows, and all from their sills upwards, are of later work. The central columns of these transepts were wholly rebuilt. The large, spreading plinths of William de Vere's clustered columns remain, on which are set the existing superstructure, the small octagon bases of the plain later octagon shafts. The ruin of the Early English work of the aisles must have destroyed the monuments of the prelates of that era and of the Norman period; and that is why we now have a series of monuments

¹ I might have particularised, p. 64, the Chapter House at Westminster amongst the works in progress in Bishop Aquablanca's time,—a work clearly coeval with the north transept at Hereford. The rate of wages above given is from the fabric-roll of 1253, of Westminster Abbey, in which it is mentioned that wages were paid for work on the Chapter House, amongst the works then in progress. See *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, pp. 233, 245, 252.

of those bishops, all executed at one time, and that time plainly marked by their fashion as the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

These memorials deserve some special consideration here. When the original memorials were removed, the designer of the renovations begun about the close of Bishop Swinfield's time, made the renewal of them a substantial part of his design. Low-arched recesses were formed in the inside of the aisle-walls, both north and south of the choir; and in each recess was placed the new-made effigy of a bishop, five effigies in each aisle. I have already said that it is now impossible to say definitely to whom the artist intended to assign each; but this we do know, that the oldest episcopal monument in existence, which was made precisely on the death of the prelate, and left undisturbed by the ruin, is that of Peter de Aquablanca; that from the time of Henry VIII, as represented by Leland's descriptions (and, doubtless, long before), the series of monuments made soon after A.D. 1300 was held to be commemorative of certain of his predecessors, viz., Hugh de Mapenore, Giles de Bruce, Richard de Capella, Geoffrey de Clive, and Reynelm, on the north side; and William de Vere, Robert Foliot, Robert de Melun, Robert de Bethune, and Robert Lozing, on the south side. The completeness of the commemorative design is shewn if we consider the four bishops not included in it, yet who flourished between Robert Lozing and Peter de Aquablanca.—1st. Gerard, the successor of Lozing: his memorial was, doubtless, not found at Hereford, because he had been translated to, and finished his career at, York. 2nd. Gilbert Foliot: he had been translated to London. These two belong to the Norman period. 3rd. Hugh Foliot, whose omission is not yet accounted for. 4th. Ralph de Maidstone, who resigned his office, and died a simple friar, away from Hereford. These two were the immediate predecessors of Aquablanca.

The transept erected in Aquablanca's time and his monument escaped total ruin, and were preserved. But to complete the monumental record of the bishops down to the time of Bishop Swinfield we must inquire for one more tomb, viz. that of the successor of Aquablanca, John de Breton, a prelate of great eminence. The monument placed over his heart at Abbey Dore, in the church where his father, Sir John de Breton,¹ had been laid, still remains. Can the

¹ Leland, and Matt. Gibson's *Dorset Abbey*, p. 22.

monument which his own cathedral must have held, or a commemoration of it, be found? There is yet another arched recess which must have contained an effigy probably either of this bishop or of the only other one not accounted for, Hugh Foliot. It is one of the two tombs next to be noticed.

In the north-east transept are two tombs of the same date as the series constructed in the aisle-walls for the early bishops, and similarly formed in arched recesses, completing all that occur of this era. One of them on the north side of the transept, near its north-west angle, is of a richer character than any of the others. The other, on the south side, near to the south-east angle, closely resembles the series in the aisles. The latter contains now a lay effigy lately placed there, it having been accidentally found on opening the ground in the cloister square. This arched recess, I conceive, should contain the lost effigy of Hugh Foliot or John de Breton. The other tomb, of superior enrichment, is of Bishop Richard Swinfield. It is inscribed to him, and is without an effigy, but there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the ascription. Thus then, admitting that a monument was made by Bishop Swinfield to his friend and predecessor Thomas de Cantilupe, excepting the monument of one bishop, we have memorials of all the bishops who died in the pastoral charge of the diocese, from the first Norman bishop down to Swinfield, A.D. 1316. The ball-flower ornament which decorates the arch of Swinfield's tomb and the arches of all the others, shews that to the period about, or soon after his death, the whole of the twelve tombs belong.

The history of this remarkable series of tombs bears strongly on the question of the age of the walls in which the tombs are set. It is not improbable that Bishop Swinfield may have himself begun the renovation of the work of the first Pointed period, even before the appeal was made to the Pope which produced the bull of A.D. 1320; but there can be no doubt that forthwith, under Bishop Adam de Orleton, it proceeded vigorously.

All the choir aisle-walls, and windows above the series of tombs are of the middle Pointed or Decorated style which prevailed when Adam de Orleton began in 1316. The work extending over and beyond his term of eleven years, included the reconstruction of the nave-aisles, and of the

exterior walls of the eastern transepts. The south-eastern transept was probably not completed for some time afterwards, and its vaulting not till the next century, as its character indicates. A clear proof of the introduction of the ball-flower ornament in Bishop Orleton's time, in the architectural work of this neighbourhood, such as it is on Swinfield's and the other eleven coeval tombs, can be deduced from the construction of the church of Weobley, about seven miles distant. On the 14th of April, 1325,¹ Bishop Adam de Orleton consecrated, in the church of Weobley, three altars. The Congress visited that church, and it will be in the recollection of all then present that the nave and aisles had every appearance of having been rebuilt at this period, which doubtless occasioned the consecration of the altars; and that the nave-arcade is decorated with ball-flowers placed in a hollow moulding on the arch, precisely as in the tombs at the base of the work of Orleton's time in the Cathedral. In 1327 Adam de Orleton was translated to Worcester.

In 1327 Thomas Charlton became Bishop of Hereford, and ruled till 1343. A fine effigy, under a canopy, was placed to his memory in the north transept,—a work which would hardly have been executed then if any disturbance of the fabric were in progress in the neighbourhood,—from which circumstance I argue that the reconstruction of the great central tower had not yet begun.

John Trilleck immediately succeeded to the see. Shortly after, the Cathedral benefited (1345) by a bequest² to the fabric from Bishop Orleton, who died Bishop of Winchester in that year. In 1346 an indulgence³ granted by the Bishop alludes to the shrine of St. Thomas then interfering with the fabric of the church. Arrangements for the removal of the shrine were soon after in progress. In 1349 the Bishop issued two mandates⁴ regulating the removal of the shrine, and prescribing the form of service for the occasion. In the

¹ Episcopal Archives, Register, Orleton, f. 94. No doubt the three altars consecrated at Weobley were the high altar and an altar in each aisle. In the same month the Bishop consecrated three altars in the church of St. Martin at Hereford (now destroyed); five altars in All Saints', Hereford; two altars in the church of Pyon Regis; the altar of Our Lady in the Priory of Wormesley; and the church of Kington, and two altars in it.

² Rawlinson, *Antiquities of the Church of Hereford*, Bishops.

³ Episcopal Archives, Register Trilleck, f. 71; an indulgence for contributions to the Hospital of St. Oswald at Worcester.

⁴ Ibid., f. 93.



first it is expressed that the relics of the saint were unworthily kept. In 1350, according to Thomas of Walsingham, monk of St. Alban's, who was living at the time, "the translation of St. Thomas of Hereford was accomplished with great reverence, in the presence of the King himself (Edward III), the Bishop of Hereford, and other prelates of the English Church, of nobles, and of the common people in great multitude." Neither this account nor the mandates for the solemnity give any clue to the position from which the shrine was removed, so that we have only Leland's authority,¹ one hundred and ninety years later, that it was from the Chapel of St. John the Baptist. His further statement that it was *now* translated by Bishop Trilleck, with a great outlay, back to the Chapel of our Lady, where he found it, is, however, well confirmed, and it is shewn that it had continued there. We find that in 1382² the Chapel of St. Anne, in the crypt beneath the Lady Chapel, had come to be described as "the Chappel of St. Anne, beneath the shrine of St. Thomas"; and again, the Chapel of Bishop Audeley, which Leland found lately erected (c. A.D. 1500) by that prelate against the south side of the Lady Chapel, is described in the Kalendar of Obits³ as "hard by the shrine of St. Thomas the Confessor."

If the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, from which in 1350 the shrine was removed, was one of the chapels in the north transept, the statement of 1346, that it then interfered with the fabric of the church, would harmonise with the progress of the Cathedral works; for the reconstruction of the great central tower had then probably begun, perhaps started by the bequest of Bishop Orleton. A fact noticed by Thomas Dingley about 1680⁴ points out this transept as the probable position before the translation. On either side of the east window of one of the two chapels of the transept there then existed the painting of an episcopal figure. One figure, holding an episcopal crook, had the pontifical robes embroidered with leopards' heads reversed, swallowing fleurs-de-lis. Dingley judges this to represent St. Thomas de Canti-

¹ Leland, *Itin.*, Hearne, 2nd edit., vol. viii, f. 78A, 79A, 84, 86B.

² Harl. MS. 6726, f. 168B; Collections respecting the Foundations of Chantries in Hereford Cathedral, *ex Lib. Vetust. MS. penes Gul. Mayland.*

³ Rawlinson, *Antiquities of Hereford*, "juxta feretrum Sancti Thome Confessoris."

⁴ Camden Soc., *Dingley's History in Marble.*

lupe. The other figure, holding an archiepiscopal crozier, and having his robes embroidered with the letter \mathfrak{T} , Dingley judges, no doubt rightly, to represent St. Thomas of Canterbury. If the figures were connected with the position of the shrine, the painting had survived the separation nearly four hundred years, and there is nothing improbable in this.

Whatever led to the removal of the shrine, it is certain, from the architectural aspect of the work, that upon the old Norman arches the great central tower was now raised, and a similar improvement on the western tower was in progress. The existing central tower is profusely studded on the outside with the ball-flower ornament in every moulding. Prints of the lost western tower shew it to have been similarly treated. These works continued in progress until the time of the next bishop.

Lewis Charlton came to the see in 1362. Mr. Black produced to the Congress, from the archives of the Dean and Chapter, an instrument dated the last day of September, 1366, which acknowledges the receipt of £11:8:1 by Thomas Cambridge, mason, from the Dean and Chapter, in part payment of five hundred marks, in which they are bound to him for the performance of certain works at the Cathedral, the present payment being for the fourth quarter of the third year of the said work "by me begun." It can scarcely be doubted that this work, begun in 1363, was some part of the construction of the two towers. This bishop died in 1369, and bequeathed £40¹ to the fabric,—a large sum, and, when measured with his other building bequests, marking the superior importance and interest to him of this one. To the fabric of the belfry of the church of St. Mary at Oxford he left forty shillings, which he had promised; and to the fabric of the abbey church of Strata Marcella, twenty marks. He bequeathed sundry rings to the shrine of St. Thomas de Cantilupe. He directed his body to be buried in the Cathedral, the expenses of his funeral to be moderate. The altar-tomb placed in the south-east transept to his memory, was, therefore, the work of his executors. It shews a decided approach to the next great change in the style of architecture, so that I conceive the building of the towers which have no sign of that change did not extend beyond his time, and the Cath-

¹ See his will in the library at Lambeth Palace; Regist. Whittlesey, f. 102.

dral was now complete in all its main features. Whether the erection of the timber spire covered with lead, which was placed upon the central tower, followed shortly or not, we have no means of knowing, but the sequence is highly probable. It is also probable that to this time, when the closing in of the roofs, after the completion of the towers, could be effectually accomplished, belongs the benefaction of Hugo, the priest of St. Martin's church in this city, who was celebrated in the Kalendar of Obits of the Cathedral for having covered the entire roof of the church with lead.¹ The obit gives no clue to the date of the gift.

Two bishops followed, each in succession being preferred to another see,—William Courtney, 1369-75; and John Gilbert, 1375-89.

John Trevenant was Bishop of Hereford from 1389 to 1404; and at his death was entombed, according to the instructions of his will,² in the Chapel of St. Anne in the south part of the Cathedral. His tomb, placed in the centre of the south wall of the south transept, is a very fine specimen of the architecture of the beginning of the Perpendicular period, the last stage of English mediæval work. It is the earliest instance of the appearance of the Perpendicular style in the Cathedral. With the erection of the tomb appears to have been combined the reconstruction of the entire end-wall of the transept. The wall was taken down to the plinth, within a few inches of the ground, below which traces of Norman work may still be seen; and then building up, in the lower part, the wall and Bishop Trevenant's tomb together, above the tomb was inserted an immense window of seven lights, the head filled with a perfect type of Perpendicular tracery. On the inside, beneath the window, the wall is panelled out with a repetition, in blank, of the lights of the window, down to the floor. The whole wall, therefore, forms one design, with which the tomb is incorporated, though it is much the finest part of the work.

The example set here was soon followed at the west end

¹ Rawlinson's *Antiquities of the Church of Hereford*. "Cooperuit totam Ecclesiam plumbo sumptibus suis."

² The will of Bishop Trevenant is in *Regist. Arundel.*, at Lambeth Palace, f. 207. "Corpus meum sepeliendum in capella australi que dicitur Sancte Anne." The will was made at the Manor House of Prestbury, 1st March, 1403, where the Bishop lay in extreme sickness, in imminent danger of death. The only provisions it contains are as to the place of his burial, and a direction that the expenses of his funeral should be at the discretion of his executors.

of the church. William Lochard, precentor and canon residentiary of the Cathedral, at his own sole expense inserted over the west door of the nave a window of six lights. Although the window perished with the fall of the west tower, a perfect knowledge of its form has been preserved to us by the drawings of Walter Merrick, made about seventy years before its destruction. William Lochard died in 1438, and his brass on the floor of the Cathedral recorded this benefaction. How patiently a work was pursued to its completion in those days, is shewn by the fact that this window was not filled with stained glass till the time of Dean Chandeier, 1481-90, which fact was recorded by an inscription in the glass itself. For our knowledge of these circumstances we are indebted to an old perambulation of the Cathedral, the notes of which are in the British Museum.¹ In these notes a very complete account of the subjects of the stained glass is given.

These Perpendicular works have carried us forward nearly a hundred years, through the periods of eight bishops, Robert Mascall, Edmund Lacy, Thomas Polton, Thomas Spofford, Richard Beauchamp, Reginald Bolers, John Stanbury (who presided much longer than any of the others), and Thomas Milling; to none of whom, except to John Stanbury, have we to attribute any work; and he alone, of all of them, was buried in the Cathedral. The first and last were buried in London, in churches where their affection was planted before they came to Hereford. The others are none of them commemorated by monuments here, and none of them died in charge of this See.

John Stanbury's work, 1453-74, was the tiny chapel built for the celebration of his own obit, on the north side of the north aisle of the choir. Just opposite to it, in the aisle, are placed his altar-tomb and effigy,—a delicate and fine work

¹ Harl. MS. 4046, f. "Hic jacet D'n's Will'm's Lochard quondam hujus Ecel'ie Canonicus ac Residentiarius et Precentor ejusdem Ecel'ie, insuper Decanus S. Beriane lib. Capelle Reg. in Cornub., qui inter alia bona quæ huic contulit Ecel'ie, magnam fenestram in occidentali parte ejusdem Ecel'ie cum total. apparat. suis propriis costagiis fieri fecit et expens., obiitque xxiiii die Septembr. anno D'ni mcccxxxviii." The brass lay under one of the arches of the nave, near the west end of the church, and was copied some time after 1635, as other contents of the memoranda testify. The inscription was again copied for Dr. Rawlinson by Walter Merrick, and published in 1717. It had probably become obscure, for he misread it in some parts, the date was wanting, and the brass effigy was "stolen." The canopy of brass remained. The inscription was round the verge of the stone.

in alabaster, with a brass plate affixed bearing some verses. He had been Provost of Eton, the confessor and a faithful adherent of Henry VI. His little chapel here bears so strong a resemblance to pieces of design at the great foundations of that king at Eton and Cambridge, that we can hardly doubt that the bishop used the services of some architect connected with those works.

The succession of the next four bishops, covering the time from 1492 to 1535, concludes the history of the architectural progress of the Cathedral. Edmund Audeley (1492 to 1502), according to the *Kalendar of Obits*,¹ "built a new chapel from the foundations hard by the shrine of St. Thomas the Confessor, and in the same he founded a perpetual chantry." This is the chapel, as we have had occasion to point out, which Leland, about forty years later, when he saw it, tells us was on the south side of the Chapel of the Virgin Mary, hard by the shrine of St. Thomas. Bishop Audeley's Chapel, a small polygonal building, in the position indicated by Leland, remains to this day in almost perfect condition. It occupies just one bay of the Lady Chapel. The whole wall of this one bay, on the south side, was taken out, and a stone screen erected in its place, only partially filling its height. Audeley's Chapel is in two vaulted stories, the lower one entirely shut off from the Lady Chapel by the screen; but as the screen rises only as a parapet above the floor of the upper croft of Audeley's work, that croft is open to the Lady Chapel, forming a gallery, or, as such a place was anciently called, an oriel, to the Lady Chapel. The undercroft, no doubt, was intended for the altar where the chaplain should, after the bishop's death, celebrate masses for the deceased; and the oriel was designed for the use of the bishop in his lifetime, to offer his devotions at the altar of the Virgin and the shrine of St. Thomas. To the words already quoted from the *Kalendar of Obits*, the notice of Audeley adds these: "He set up also a shrine of silver fabricated in the manner of a church, and very many benefits besides he bestowed on this sacred temple." What a satisfaction would a word or two more of record have given to

¹ Rawlinson's *Antiquities of the Church of Hereford*. "Quique capellam novam juxta Feretrum Sancti Thome Confessoris e fundo construxit et in eadem cantariam perpetuam amortizavit.....Constituit necnon Feretrum argenteum in modum Eccl'ie fabricatum, atque alia quam plurima huic sacri Edi contulit beneficia."

us! Was this the construction of a new shrine to the honour of St. Thomas? We must devote some further consideration to this subject in future pages, and now pursue what remains of the chain of our main history.

Adrian de Castello next held the see for a few months, and was then translated to the see of Bath and Wells.

Richard Mayew succeeded in 1504, and presided till his death in 1516. I find in Mr. Havergal's account of him, that by his will he desired his body to be buried at the foot of the effigy of St. Ethelbert the martyr. His fine altar-tomb, bearing his effigy under an elaborate stone canopy, is in the easternmost arch of the south side of the choir. Upon the western pillar of this arch, close to the head of the bishop's effigy, is a stone corbel made for the reception of a statuette. In the year 1700 a figure of a king, supposed to be St. Ethelbert, was dug up in the centre space of the eastern transepts, before the entrance to the Lady Chapel. Bishop Mayew's allusion to the effigy of St. Ethelbert has led to this figure being placed quite recently on the corbel at the head of his tomb. The allusion in Bishop Mayew's will makes it certain that at this part of the church St. Ethelbert was still celebrated. It would fully agree with the custom in other churches if this bay of the choir were wholly devoted to him. The high altar was placed in advance from the east end, as it still is at Westminster Abbey and at St. Alban's Abbey, leaving a space behind it devoted to the shrine of St. Edward in the first case, and St. Alban in the second; and in this space, fully occupying the eastern bay of the choir, and overlooked by a figure of the saint, would be an altar and reliquary. As to the nature of these equipments I shall have to offer a suggestion presently.

Charles Booth, consecrated in 1516, was the last bishop who lived in auspicious times for the improvement of the Cathedral. He died in 1535, and, following the direction of his will, was interred in a tomb which he himself erected just within the north door of the nave.¹ The tomb still remains in perfection. In his time was completed a fine and singular addition to the north entrance of the church. In front of the beautiful north porch with parvise over of about two hundred years

¹ Rawlinson's *Antiquities of the Church of Hereford*, p. 27. Bishop Booth, by his last will, proved May 8, 1535, desired to be buried "juxta hostium ex parte Boreali ubi construxi sepulchrum meum."

before, was now built an outer porch of one bay, well exhibited in the very front of our exterior view of the Cathedral. It opens externally by an archway east and west as well as to the north. Its south-eastern buttress is curiously perforated by a small doorway just above the plinth of the building. In a cavetto on the label-moulding of the north face of this door are two shields, one bearing the arms of Bishop Mayo, the other of Bishop Booth. Between the shields is the inscription, in relief, ANNO DOMINI 1519; thus satisfactorily giving a date to this fine piece of work, and indicating that two bishops were concerned in it. The upper story of this porch is lighted by three very elaborate windows, specimens of the excellence which the style preserved even when at the point of dying out. The upper chamber, or parvise, is connected with the older parvise, though their floors are not on the same level, by breaking out the greater part of the end wall of the old room. The purpose of the little door through the south-east buttress has long been a question for solution. A step towards the solution can now be made.

Dr. Rawlinson found amongst the Hereford charters in the Tower of London¹ two grants of the year 1367. One assigns a tenement in Cornewarne Magna "to the chantry in the chapel without the north door of the Cathedral." The other assigns tenements in Weston-under-Penyard for the chantry "apud northdore" in the Cathedral. The compiler of the notes in MS. Harl. 6726 (f. 168B) tells us that there was a chantry *over* the north door, founded by Philip Delamere and Adam Esgar. He got his information from a roll in the archives of the Dean and Chapter, whose words he quotes, and they are identical with those of Rawlinson. He should have said *without*, and not *over*. This writer adds that Philip Delamere and Adam Esgar built the outer porch. The notices prove that from the time of Edward III there existed a chapel without the north door. It must have been situated in the nook formed by the projection of the porch and the transept. For access to it the doorway was left in the buttress built in 1519. The chapel utterly perished long ago. No other trace of it than this door into its little enclosure has ever been noticed.

¹ Want of time has prevented my attempting to consult the originals where they are probably now to be found, viz. at the Record Office in Fetter-lane. See Rawlinson's *Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Hereford*. "In capella extra ostium boreale Eccl. Cath. ibidem."

The next bishop, Edward Fox, obtained a just renown as one of the ablest and most disinterested of the early promoters of the Reformation. He died before the excesses inseparable from its progress had broken out; but his short rule of three years saw the spirit of the cathedral builders quenched, and their work becoming the object of suspicion and aversion.

In the spoliation which followed, Hereford Cathedral suffered less than the monastic cathedrals. The blow was struck at the monastic clergy, and hence the secular canons of Hereford and of the six¹ other English cathedrals similarly constituted, not only passed easily through the storm, but their capitular constitution was the model on which the other cathedral bodies were refounded.

The fact that Hereford Cathedral never belonged to a monastery is distinctly declared by its external adjuncts, the cloister and chapter house. There is no mark about them of the important buildings which, in their neighbourhood, would have formed the dwelling of a monastic establishment; yet in ancient times, by a sort of courtesy, and to convey a high impression of sanctity, the word *monasterium* was occasionally applied to the cathedral precinct. Florence of Worcester uses it in describing the violation of the place in 1139. In a charter of Edward the Confessor it is called "Sancti Ethelberti Monasterium," and other occasions of its use could be adduced. An early notice of its actual tenants, the canons, has been quoted in relating the death of seven of them at the hands of the Welsh in 1056; and the occurrence of the first mention of a dean under Bishop Reynelm, after which that dignitary continued regularly. In the MSS. at Lambeth Palace² it is suggested that the Chapters were finally regularly constituted and defined under Pope Gregory IX (1227-41), in the time of Hugh Foliot, bishop of Hereford. A reference to the Decretals³ of this pope shews that a series of judgments or decisions on questions affecting capitular bodies was then arranged. Ten judgments define the power of the bishop

¹ London, York, Hereford, Chichester, Lichfield, Lincoln, and Salisbury. The four Welsh cathedrals were all of secular canons.

² Lambeth MS. 585, f. 729.

³ *Gregorius IX., Decretales*, fol., Paris, 1585. P. 1091, Titulus x: "De his quæ fiunt a prelatiis sine consensu capituli." P. 1099, Titulus xi: "De his quæ fiunt a maiori parte capituli."



without the consent of the Chapter, and four judgments shew the power of the Chapter when it is allowed to act on the vote of a majority of its body, the bishop himself concurring with the majority. The last judgment given is the only one which relates to the fabric. A question had arisen amongst the canons at Rouen as to the steps to be taken to restore the fabric of their cathedral. The decision is that, notwithstanding the dissent of a minority, the prelate and the majority of the canons can compel every canon to contribute "*ad necessariam reparationem fabricæ.*" At Hereford this principle was very soon after enforced. Mr. Black produced to us, from the archives of the Dean and Chapter, the original bull of Innocent IV (1243-54) authorising compulsory contributions under these circumstances. It has been convenient in this attempt at an historical account of the Cathedral to connect its progress with the names of the bishops; but the part which the Chapter was authorised to take, the compulsion put upon its members, together with the words of the bull of John XXII (given at p. 69), sufficiently declare that the humbler dignitaries had a very important share in the progress of the fabric.

What was the condition of the cloisters and chapter house in the period before A.D. 1400 is quite unknown. The entire absence of a monastery rendered a cloister superfluous. York and Lichfield Cathedrals have never possessed a cloister; and where it has been added to the cathedrals or collegiate churches of secular canons, it has usually been done at a late era. This was the case at Hereford. But we have to deal with the history of this cloister entirely from its architectural aspect: no written record concerning its construction has been found.

The cloister was built at Hereford to connect the Cathedral with the chapter house and the bishop's palace, both of which are on the south side.

The chapter house stands due south from the principal south transept of the Cathedral. It is now in almost total ruin, but its remains mark it as a fine specimen of the earliest period of perpendicular work. It was finished before 1415, for in that year, on the 10th of March, died Canon John Prat, whose brass memorial inscription is still preserved in the south-east transept of the Cathedral; and this John Prat seems to have aided the work of the chapter

house. He was one amongst a series of "religious" depicted on its wall, with his name, **D'n's Johannes Prat**, inscribed beside him. This was seen in the reign¹ of Charles I, the chapter house being then perfect. Possibly the chapter house was originally connected with the Cathedral by a covered walk which terminated at the chapter house, as is the case at York.

Further to the south had long existed a building which for the archæologist has peculiar interest, although very little of it now remains. The building in question is opposite the nave of the Cathedral, is in the precinct which has always belonged to the bishop, and unquestionably formed a part of the Norman work of the bishop's palace. Except its north wall, this building was lamentably destroyed by Bishop Egerton in 1737. It is fortunate that several perfect drawings of it were previously made, especially a set for the *Vetusta Monumenta* of the Society of Antiquaries, and also a description by Dr. Stukeley, given in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*. This building was of two stories, each vaulted throughout, forming two chapels, with nave and aisles, and a little chancel to each, and was wholly of Norman architecture. Bishop Hugh Foliot endowed² two chantries in it (1219-34), which continued to the Reformation. The upper chapel was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, the under chapel to St. Katharine. Can it be that the memorial of this bishop was placed in one of these chapels? And may we thus account for the absence from the Cathedral of the only tomb wanting to complete the series of episcopal monuments?

The chapels I have said are within the precincts of the palace. It is well-known that extensive Norman work still exists in the palace,³ though completely concealed from ordinary view by the modern reconstruction of the building, and this Norman work is in the immediate vicinity of the Norman chapels. They stood at the north end of the vast Norman hall of the palace.

In the fifteenth century, or even it may be early in the sixteenth century (as nearly as can be determined by the architecture), it was designed to connect these chapels with the chapter-house and cathedral by a cloister or covered

¹ Harl. MS. 4046.

² Harl. MS. 6726 f. 168b.

³ See complete illustrations of it in the papers of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

walk. The cloister was made, not with four walks forming a complete quadrangle as a monastery would have had it, but with three walks, just as it is at the cathedral of secular canons at Chichester. Its eastern walk passing along the west side of the south transept continues past the entry of the chapter-house till it arrives as far south as the chapels of SS. Mary Magdalene and Katherine; the walk thus leading from the chapels of St. Mary and St. Anne, which were in the south transept, to the chapels of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Catherine obtained in ancient times, and still retains, the name of "The Lady Arbour." The south walk passes along the north side of the Norman chapels, whose ancient wall forms in the central part of the south cloister walk the south wall of that cloister. The original Norman windows of the under chapel looking into the cloister are walled up, so is a door of late architecture which was made in the chapel wall when the cloister was built. The west walk of the cloister is now wholly destroyed. It had been incorporated into the cathedral school built just outside of the cloister in that part in the time of Edward VI. This cloister walk was measured and planned by Walter Merrick, and is drawn in his plan in Brown Willis's work. In 1760 the school was reconstructed, and this part of the cloister then disappeared. The school was removed in 1836 to the eastern precincts of the cathedral, and the older school building was then wholly removed, leaving one side of the cloister deficient, the quadrangle broken and forlorn in aspect. Let us hope that the patriotism of the people will yet be roused to a spirit equal to the restoration of the fallen west front of the cathedral and the completion of the broken cloister: they have with due consideration and in just sequence begun and done works of restoration in the last thirty years greater in their expenditure, their greatness shewing the feasibility of this undertaking; but nothing that has been accomplished would tell with so noble an effect as this completion of the ancient form and extent of the Cathedral.

(To be continued.)

THE
MONUMENTAL BRASSES OF THE CATHEDRAL
AND COUNTY OF HEREFORD.

BY THE REV. HERBERT HAINES, M.A.

ABOUNDING, as Hereford Cathedral does, in fine canopied tombs and sculptured effigies, there are other minsters in our country that will bear comparison with it in this respect. It is not so, however, with its monumental brasses, which, sadly treated as they have been, have yet better escaped the ravages of time and the hand of the spoiler than similar monuments in other cathedrals. And to many of these churches Hereford Cathedral presents another remarkable contrast, for while several of them, as Canterbury and Norwich, are stripped of their metal tombs, the surrounding country churches, as affording less attraction to the plunderer, abound in monumental brasses. Hereford Cathedral, on the contrary, still remains as in former times, comparatively rich in these memorials, and yet the whole county around contains hardly half as many specimens as may be seen within its walls. The scarcity of brasses in Herefordshire and its neighbourhood may be attributed to the distance from London and other places in the east of England, where the engravers of these metal plates no doubt resided; the expense and difficulty of carriage probably forming a drawback to the adoption of such monuments in the midland counties of the west of England. But why should the principal church of the diocese alone be enriched with these monuments? One reason may, perhaps, be the erection of the beautiful shrine to Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe at the close of the thirteenth century. A brass figure of the canonised saint occupied the usual place of the sculptured stone effigy, and may have led the way to the frequent introduction of similar monuments beneath the same roof. But it is more likely that, owing to the number of canons formerly connected with and buried in the Cathedral, the use of monumental brasses at Hereford became general. For by far the greater number of the brass effigies which remain here are in memory of these dignitaries.

Their distinguishing dress, at least that which appears on their monuments, consisted of the surplice, almuce, and cope. The last of these vestments, which was worn like a cloak over the others, would seem to have been regarded by mediæval artists as ill-suited for representation on sculptured effigies, and very few instances exist of its being so portrayed. But monumental brasses were well adapted for displaying this costume on a flat surface, and accordingly numerous examples of it on these particular memorials are to be met with. It is evident from the brasses at New College, Oxford, at Winchester College, and other collegiate establishments, that brasses were formerly a very favourite style of monument among the members of such institutions. And as many of the Deans and Canons of Hereford held preferments in localities where brasses were in common use, no doubt several of them naturally adopted a class of monument with which they were familiar, and which, from its convenience, durability, and moderate cost, had much to recommend its use.

It may be worthy of remark that except at some of our college chapels, Hereford and Exeter Cathedrals, and a few of the ancient minor collegiate churches, hardly a single brass of a canon has escaped destruction in the church to which his stall was attached. It is in the country churches of which the canons were the incumbents, and in which they were buried, that we must seek for their memorial brasses. Thus, had all the brasses at Hereford been destroyed, we should still find brasses of its deans and prebendaries in several of our parish churches as well as in our college chapels.¹

But, while we speak of the comparatively large number of monumental brasses left in Hereford Cathedral, it must be remembered that they are not a tenth part of those that formerly existed, and that very few of them are in anything like a perfect condition. The causes of this may be briefly stated. Rawlinson, in his *History and Antiquities of the City and Cathedral Church of Hereford*, published anony-

¹ The following instances may be mentioned,—Ashbury, Berks, Thomas de Busshbury, canon, 1409; Ringwood, Hants, John Prophete, dean, 1416; New College, Oxford, John Desford, canon, 1419; and Walter Hyll, canon, 1494; Broadwater, Sussex, John Mapilton, canon, 1432; Cheshunt, Herts, Nicholas Dixon, canon 1448; Balsham, Cambridgeshire, John Blodwell, canon, 1462; Magdalen College, Oxford, William Goberd, archdeacon of Salop, 1515.

mously in 1717, tells us that in 1645 it was profaned by the Scottish army, "and near a hundred *grave-stones* deprived of their *brasses* by the sacrilegious hands of those rebels."¹ Evident traces of this wholesale destruction remained in the above-named author's time, as he counted no less than one hundred and sixty-six slabs from which the plates had been torn.² Another and a more useful authority on the brasses of Hereford Cathedral has lately been made accessible to the student by the Camden Society. I allude to the volume of manuscript church notes compiled by Thomas Dingley, entitled *History from Marble*, in the possession of Sir Thomas Winnington, Bart., and published in photographic facsimile under the editorship of John Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A. In this volume many brasses, several of which are now lost, are sketched; and, although the drawings are generally far from being faithful, yet much information may be gathered from the work, by which the inaccuracies and deficiencies of Rawlinson's history may be corrected. The sketches were taken about the year 1684, and among them is to be seen one of the large canopied brass of Canon Brumfelde, 1518,³ the fate of which well illustrates the utter disregard of ancient monuments, and especially brasses, displayed in the last two centuries. To make room for a paltry modern inscription, the brasses were taken out and the gravestone turned over.

The falling of the west tower of the Cathedral in 1786, and the placing the repair of the fabric in the hands of Mr. Wyatt was the occasion of a removal of several brasses from the Cathedral, especially from the nave. Portions of these passed into the hands of the late J. B. Nichols, Esq., and are carefully preserved in London at the office of his son, J. G. Nichols, Esq., who has kindly promised to restore them to their original position. It is much to be regretted that in the subsequent restoration of the Cathedral, under the late Mr. Cottingham, greater care was not taken of the monumental brasses. The plan, even now too commonly pursued in the repairs of a church, of allowing the builder to remove the gravestones from their places without marking the spots they originally occupied, and to tear away the brasses from their slabs and expose them to injury and spoliation, was fully acted upon at Hereford with the sanction of the late

¹ P. vii.² *Ibid.*, pp. 137, 138.³ Dingley, p. clxxv.

architect. And if such was the case there, it is no wonder that the interesting brass at the neighbouring church of Clehonger was similarly treated.

It is, therefore, without surprise that we learn that a brass of the fourteenth century in the Cathedral was discovered by the Rev. F. T. Havergal undergoing the process of being converted into a mason's square by one of the workmen. The figure had been cut through, but further mischief was timely averted. The "*disjecta membra*" of the loose brasses have recently been carefully collected by Mr. Havergal and Mr. Chick (formerly clerk of the works under George Gilbert Scott, Esq., R.A.), and fixed under the superintendence of the first-named gentleman against the walls of the south-eastern transept and retro-choir.

It remains for me to describe as briefly as I can in regular order the chief brasses of the Cathedral and county of Hereford. As it may seem that too minute details have occasionally been entered into, it may be pleaded in excuse that this has been done only with a view to identify a few brasses in cases where it is uncertain whom they commemorate. And it seems desirable to ascertain this, as it is to be hoped that the brasses may at some future time be arranged in a more connected manner than they are at present.

THE BRASSES OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

1. The earliest of these memorials is a fragment of the brass of Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe, who died in 1282, but his monument is probably five years later. The slab of the brass still remains under the stone canopy, and from the indents it would at first sight appear that the design consisted of a bust of the bishop under a small brass canopy, and below it three transverse strips of brass bearing inscriptions; but it is more probable that the figure was at full length, and the inscription placed on a narrow border-fillet of brass. On the right side of the head was a figure of St. Ethelbert, four inches in height, which alone has been preserved. St. Ethelbert is represented in a manner which Mr. Havergal, in his *Fasti Herefordenses*, states to be unique. The figure is decapitated, attired in a flowing robe and mantle; seated, and supporting his crowned head in front of him by his right hand. An impression from the original





EARLY BRASS MEMORIAL OF BISHOP TRILLECK.

plate forms one of the illustrations in the handsome volume just referred to.¹ This brass may be regarded as the second earliest example of known date in existence, that at Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey (1277), being earlier. It is certainly the earliest figure of a saint remaining on a brass, the figures at Higham Ferrers being fifty years later. The fragment is carefully preserved in a glass case in the Canons' Vestry. It had been abstracted from its slab, in 1819, by a chorister, who restored it after it had been in his possession six and forty years. In the spandrils of the canopy were two brass fleurs-de-lis, one of which was remaining five-and-twenty years ago.

2. The next earliest brass is the well known memorial of John Trilleck, bishop, 1360 (see Pl. 5). It lies on the north side of the choir, in its original position. The figure, five feet in height, is remarkably boldly and effectively drawn. The vestments are those proper to the episcopal office, but the tunic is wanting. The ornaments of the amice, etc., are large flowers in circular or square compartments. The pastoral staff terminates in an elegant foliated scroll of similar character to a wooden staff discovered in 1813, in the stone coffin of the deceased. A leaden bulla of Pope Clemens VI, and a gold ring set with an amethyst, were also found among the remains.² The brass effigy is beneath an elegant canopy now much mutilated. Between the pediment and the embattled super-canopy were two shields; one has long ago been removed; but the dexter shield, bearing the arms of Cantilupe or of the see (*gu.* three leopards' heads reversed, jessant de lys, *or*), has only lately disappeared. A marginal inscription surrounded the whole, of which Dingley's sketch preserves the words

....."gratus prudens pius Andree festo preventus Morte recessit prop'e³ favens."

The monument has been engraved in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments* and Haines' *Manual of Monumental Brasses*.

3. The brass of Richard de la Barr (1386) formerly lay in the centre of the choir, west of the steps to the high altar;

¹ Plate xxi, p. 179.

² These, with the exception of the amethyst, are exhibited in a glass case in the Vestry. An account of the discovery, with engravings, was published by Canon Russell in 1830.

³ Instead of "*prop'e*", Rawlinson, Gough, and Willis, give "*Christe*."

but has been placed in the Lady Chapel, near the tomb of Dean Borue, under the impression that it commemorated Dean Harold, who was there interred. It consists of a small figure in a canon's dress, the cope ornamented with an orphrey of fleurs-de-lys in lozenges, probably with reference to the arms of Cantilupe. The effigy is placed inside the head of a cross, of which one of the principal and three of the smaller finials were until recently remaining. In the engraving in the Rev. C. Boutell's *Monumental Brasses of England*, the finials are *all* represented, and the plate shews a portion of the stem of the cross with foliage springing from its sides. The lower part of the slab has been taken away, but nearly three feet of the shaft are preserved, together with the four steps of the base, which are inscribed

"mat' dei
misereri mei."

The marginal inscription is gone; but from a comparison of the transcripts of Dingley (p. cxxiv) and Rawlinson (p. 99) it probably ran thus:

"Hic jacet Magister Ricardus Delabarre quondam Canonicus hujus Ecclesie qui obiit xvi die Mensis Octob' Anno Dñi Mill. ccc lxxxvj eu' aīe ppicietur Deus. AMEN."

Rawlinson erroneously gives the date 1308 instead of 1386, and then inserts the words "etatis sue xlv"; but the practice of mentioning the age on epitaphs did not come into use until two or three centuries later.

4. The earliest instance of the brass of a civilian at Hereford is affixed to the wall of the south-eastern transept. It is of the date 1394, and consists of a small figure in a hood and long gown buttoned up in front, with loose sleeves; in style resembling the effigy of John Corp (1391) at Stoke Fleming, Devonshire. A dog, now mutilated, is at the feet; and the figure has been wilfully cut in two by a workman, as before mentioned. It was originally in the head a cross, and had an inscription in French around it, partly remaining when Dingley sketched it;¹ but now all gone, except a portion of the date:

...[Dieu de salme eit merci Qe mu]... ...[M ccc lx]xxxiiij...

An engraving of the brass in a more perfect state is given

¹ Dingley, p. clxv.

in Haines' *Manual of Monumental Brasses*, and is reproduced on this page. In Dingley's time it was less injured, and lay then in the position now occupied by the memorial of Richard de la Barr.



5. Affixed to the south wall of the south-eastern transept is an effigy of a priest in a cope, twenty inches and a half long, with the head lost. This probably commemorates Edmund Ryall, canon, 1428, whose inscription is now on the wall behind the reredos :

"Hic iacet Magist' Edmūdus Ryall—
quondam Canon' hui' Eccle. qui obiit
vij^o die Ap'lis anno dñi M^oCCCC^oxxviii^o.
Cui' aīe ppiciet' deus Amē."

Ryall's brass formerly had a triple canopy, and lay south-east of the Cantilupe shrine. It has been conjectured that this was the figure of Precentor Downe, whom Rawlinson described as dying in 1429 ; but Dingley gives the correct date, 1489, and his sketch shews that the effigy was lost in his time. See No. 10.

6. On the wall at the south-west angle of the eastern transept is a much worn effigy of an ecclesiastic in canonical attire, with an inscription in three lines, beginning apparently, "*Vertitur in cineres humatur.*" Most of the words are illegible, but the date may be recognised as "*Christi milleno C quater ter x quoque quarto,*" i. e. 1434. By referring to the list of dignitaries of Hereford Cathedral, who died or resigned in that year, the following names may be met with,—Dean Stanwey and Canons Ashby and Baysham, to any of whom the brass may be assigned. As it was engraved at a time when the workmanship was of a delicate character, and was evidently placed in a part of the floor subjected to much traffic, the plates have been, no doubt, defaced at an early period, as the inscription is unnoticed by Dingley and Rawlinson, who have left to future antiquaries the task of deciphering it.

7. The fine brass of Richard Delamare, Esq., 1435 and his wife Isabella, 1421 (Pl. 6), has been replaced in its original position at the entrance to the lady chapel. It forms one of the best specimens of a military brass remaining, the figures measuring five feet and a-half in height, and the entire composition nine feet seven inches. Although of delicate workmanship and in an exposed position, it is but little worn, and has only lost small portions of the canopy. The male effigy is in complete armour similar to that represented on the brass of Richard Dixon, Esquire, 1438, at Cirencester, well-known from the beautiful engraving in Messrs. Waller's *Series of Monumental Brasses*. Beside the finials of the canopy were four shields—first, with the arms *or*, three bars *dancettée gu.*, a crescent for difference, Delamare; second, Delamare impaling a fess within a bordure engrailed; third, lost; fourth, Delamare quartering the second coat. The lady has an unusually high-horned head-dress for a brass, and is attired in a tight-fitting kirtle, sideless over-dress, and mantle; she alone wears a collar of SS. The inscription at the feet is as follows:—

“Hic iacent Ricūs Delamare Armiger qui obiit primo die Mensis februarij. Anno domini Millñio cccc°xxxv° Et Isabella nuper vxor Ricardi Delamare que obiit xiiij° die Mensis februarij Anno domini Millesimo cccc°xxj°. Quorum animabus propicietur deus. AMEN.”

8. The remains of the brass of Richard Rudhale, 1476, are next in order for description. One side of the border inscription, in large raised letters, is at Hereford, and shews the original brass to have been about eight feet long.

[“Hic iacet venerabilis vir magist’] Ricardus Rudhale Decretor’ doctor quōdā Sanctissimi Domini nři pape Subcollec[tor] ac Archidiaconis (*sic*) Herefordensis necnon [canonicus residentiar] hujus ecclesie Cathedralis qui obiit xvj° dielxxvj cui’ aīe ppiciet’ Deu’ amen.”]

Some Latin lines formerly beneath the feet are thus preserved by Willis :¹—

“Mors mundo prima nunc Rudhall Ricardi
Corpus & ossa tulit hac fossa condita tristi,
Quam vitaret nequi nullus qui vi cepit
Sed quia signatur fidei clipei cruce captus
Virginis O nate non ultima
Pascio sancta tui sit medicina sui.”

¹ *Survey of Cathedrals*, p. 550; see also Dingley, p. cxxxviii; and Rawlinson, p. 134. The last makes the third line to begin “Quam vitare vellet.”



BRASS OF RICHARD DELAMARE & LADY

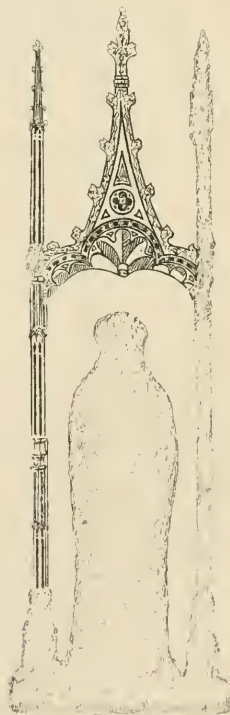




3 Part of the brass of W^m Porter
1524.



1 Effigy in brass of Canon
Richard Rudhale 1476.



2 Remains of the brass
probably of Canon Downie



An effigy in the possession of Mr. Nichols, measuring four feet two inches, is probably intended for Richard Rudhale. It represents him in a skull-cap as Doctor of Decrees, and wearing a cope richly embroidered throughout. Of the triple canopy Mr. Nichols has apparently two broken pediments and two figures (those of Saints David and Anne from the dexter side) out of eight figures under rich niches that formed the side shafts of the canopy. Five other figures remain at Hereford—namely, St. Katherine and a Bishop (mutilated, perhaps St. Thomas of Hereford) completing the dexter side, and St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Ethelbert holding a sceptre and a church, St. John the Evangelist, mutilated—all these had their names subscribed. The missing figure was probably that of St. George, St. Michael, or St. John the Baptist. An embattled entablature, also at Hereford, may, perhaps, have surmounted the canopy. The brass lay originally in the centre of choir just north of that of Richard de la Barr.

9. A worn figure of a civilian in a long gown, with a hood or cap thrown over his right shoulder, wearing a rosary and standing on a *ton* or cask, now in the keeping of Mr. Nichols, is unmistakeably the memorial of John Stockton, formerly Mayor of Hereford, who died 1480. From Dingley's sketch¹ it appears that there was a single canopy, with a shield bearing a merchant's mark in the centre of the pediment, and an inscription at the foot.

"Hic iacet Johēs Stockton quōdā maior isti' civitatis qui obiit .xxv^o die Ap'li Anno Dñi MCCCCLxxx cui' aīe ppicietur Deus. Amen."

The slab was formerly in the middle of the nave.

10. A slab containing the pediment and part of one shaft of a single canopy with the sacred monogram in its centre, is now lying on the floor of the south-eastern transept. Below was the effigy of an ecclesiastic apparently not habited in a cope. This memorial may be assigned to Thomas Downe, who died in 1489, and was interred on the south side of the nave near the first and second columns. The slab of Downe's brass was sketched by Dingley when the effigy only had disappeared. The inscription was as follows :—

"Hic iacet venerabilis vir dñs Thomas Downe quondam prece-

¹ P. clxxxiii.

tor et canonicus residentarius hui' ecclie cathed. Hereford qui obiit xxvi die mensis Marcij Anno Dñi MCCCclxxxix ejus aie ppicietur Deus Amen."¹

11. Against the west wall of the south-eastern transept is a much mutilated figure in the attire of a canon, with the orphrey of the cope ornamented with pomegranates, the head and lower part broken off. The date of the brass is of the latter part of the fifteenth century, and it probably commemorates Dean Chawndeler, 1490, as it corresponds to the description given by Duncumb² of his effigy which lay on the floor of the transept by the door opening into the vicar's cloister. The inscription to the Dean still remains.

"Orate pro aia p'nobilis viri Magistri Thome Chawndeler sacre Theologie p'fes[soris nuper Cancellarij] Vniu'sitatis Oxon' ac huius ecclie Decani qui obiit in crastino omi scōr' Circit' [horā quartā] versus Mane Anno Domini Millio cccc°lxxx° Cuius Anime ppicietur [De' fiat fiat]."

12. A small figure in the ordinary furred gown of a civilian of the time may safely be ascribed to Mr. Richard Burghehyll, 1492. This, as well as the following inscription, are in Mr. Nichols's possession, and formerly lay in the nave near the third pillar on the north side.

"Hic iacet M^r Ricard' Burghehyll—quōd^m instructor gramatice istius Ciuitat' qui obiit Octauo die Mensis Nouembris A° dñi Millio cccc° Nonagesio ij° Cuius Anime ppiciet' de' Amen."

13. Occupying the same position as formerly on the floor of the south-eastern transept is the nearly perfect brass of Sir Richard Delabere, Knight, 1514, and his two wives, the first with five children, and the second with sixteen. The figures, which are small, are in the usual attire of the beginning of the sixteenth century: the knight has a lance-rest on his right breast, and his head reclines on a helmet with a large plume of feathers and a demi-hound collared and couped as a crest. There is a small slip of brass below the groups of children, but it contained the names of five or six only out of the one and twenty "Th[omas.....] george Anne and sibill." Three shields remain with the arms of Delabere,—*az.*, a bend *ar.* cotised *or.*, between six martlets

¹ Dingley, p. cxi, who gives a sketch of a boss in the cloisters, on which was painted the name of T. Downe. Mr. Havergal has suggested that this is the memorial of Archdeacon Martyn, 1523; but the style is certainly earlier.

² History of Herefordshire, i, p. 559.

of the last, and other quarterings. A marginal inscription runs round the whole.

"Off your charitie pray for the soull' of sir Rychard De[labere knyght late of y^e] Countie of Herford Anne dought' of the lord Awdeley And Elizabeth dought' of Will^m Mores late s'geant of the hall to King Henry the vij wives of the said Sir Richard whiche decessid the xx day of July An^o dñi Millmo ccccc^o xiiij on whois soules ihū haue M'ei Amen."

14. Of the curious brass of William Porter, canon residentiary, 1524, formerly lying between the second and third pillars on the north side of the nave, portions of the canopy only remain, all of which are in the possession of Mr. Nichols. Dingley has given a sketch of the brass,¹ but it is evidently very inaccurate, as the deceased is represented as wearing a chasuble under his cope; he holds a chalice with a wafer inscribed IHS, a very unusual arrangement with effigies in canonical vestments, but of which an instance may be seen at Buckland, Hertfordshire. The centre of the canopy is all in one plate, and consists of three small pediments drawn in perspective, as if the centre one projected forwards; above, under a similar canopy with groining, is a large representation of the Annunciation; the angel Gabriel holds a sceptre, and a pot of lilies is between him and the Virgin. From the figures issue two twisted scrolls inscribed respectively "AVE. GRACI[A]. PLENA. DÑS. TECVM" and "ECCE. ANCILA. DÑI. FIAT. MICI. SCDM. VERBŪ. TWM." The letters are early specimens of Roman capitals, and the background represents masonry. The centre and highest finial of the canopy is formed of three faces, and apparently served as a bracket to a representation of the martyrdom of some saint (perhaps St. John the Baptist) as two angels of similar style to the figure of Gabriel remain; they hold in one hand small dishes, in the other the ends of a chain. Both angels are loose, and the lower part of one is broken off; they may have been placed on brackets supported by the two side pediments of the canopy. The supporting shafts of the canopy were composed of eight or ten saints in niches, with their names subscribed, seven are left,—on the dexter side St. Thomas as a bishop, St. George slaying the dragon, St. Richard (as a bishop in dalmatic and cope), St. Katherine (apparently placed on one side of the base),—on the sinister

¹ P. cxliii.

side St. John the Baptist being martyred, St. Michael, and St. Leonard. The figures of Saints Ethelbert (whose name remains), Edward, and Mary Magdalene probably completed the series. Two shields with the arms of Porter quartered, and small fragments of the canopy are left. The surrounding inscription is preserved by Rawlinson and Dingley, it seems to be partly imitated from that of Dean Chawndeler (No. 11), as it minutely states the time of decease in a very unusual manner.

"Hic jacet venerabilis vir Magister Willm̃us Porter sacre Theologie baccalari' quondam collegii beate Marie virginis Wintoñ in Oxon guardian' et hui' ecclie Cath. Precentor meritissim' et in eadem canonic' Residentiari' qui quinto die mensis Novembris inter horas t'cian & quartam versus mane obiit Anno Dñi M.CCCCC.XXIV cui' aīe ppietetur Deus Amen."

The brass is interesting as being the only remaining instance of a canopy with the Annunciation depicted in a style similar to those formerly in old St. Paul's Cathedral on the brasses of Dean Eyre, 1400, and John Newcourt, 1485, engraved by Dugdale,¹ after which patterns it may have been directed to be made.

15. The brass of Edmund Frowsetoure, dean, who died in 1529, is still in the south aisle of the choir. It measures eight and a-half feet by four feet four inches, and is very much worn in places. The deceased is portrayed in cap, surplice, almuce, and rich cope ornamented with pomegranates connected by wavy bands; the orphrey is adorned with jewels. At the foot are twelve laudatory Latin verses.

"Hūc quē facta satis quem fama remissit ad astra
Mirum erit indigno me celebrare metro
Sed licet ille sua toto sit notus in orbe
Virtute & sūmo notus sit ille polo
Mox tamen ingratas capiet obliuio mentes
Que quod non Videāt nec meminisse solent
Sed quos sancta iuuat pietas quos optima virtus
ffunde puella puer femina vir q3 preces
Nam iacet hic pietatis honor rigidus q3 satelles
Virtutis, pulchri consilij q3 pater
Nomen in orbe volat celebre, hec sed corpore tellus
Gaudet et etherea spiritus ille domo."

The canopy is supported by niches containing saints with their names beneath—the two upper ones appear to be

¹ *History of St. Paul's*, pp. 45, 54, edition 1818.

both representations of the Holy Trinity, that on the dexter side being the unusual one of three persons, the other is in the usual style. Beneath these are St. Ethelbert, holding a church, St. John the Evangelist, St. Katherine,—St. Thomas (? a bishop), St. Peter, and St. Mary (?). Above is a large plate engraved with a triple canopy, having in the centre pediment the sacred monogram *IHC*, and on either side a monogram of Froucester; between the finials are the arms of the deanery, the former and the present arms of the see, and the arms of Froucester, the last apparently *argent* on a fess (?) between three columbines *sable*, a lily (?). Above is an embattled entablature with a cresting at the top which is partly supported by detached narrow bands covered with interlaced work, and running up from the base—a design which is probably unique. The canopy is in a debased style, the bases being rounded and bulging. The whole composition is surrounded by an inscription in raised letters like that the foot, and with Evangelistic symbols at the corners.

“Orate pro aīa ven’abilis viri Mag’ri Edmūdi ffrowsetoure in sacra theologia p’fessoris ac nuper decani ecclīe cath’ Herfordeñ ac p’bendarij de bartoncollwalle in eadē ecclīa cathī qui quidem Edmūdus via vniū’sē carnis est Ingressus xvj [die mensis Maij?] Anno domini Millesimo Quingentesimo vicesimo nono et Anno regni regis Henrici Octauī vicesimo primo Cuius Anime et Animabus omniū cristi fidelium propicietur Misericors deus AMEN.”

This is the last brass belonging to the Cathedral, and not consisting simply of an inscription, which is deserving of notice here. Of the more ancient inscriptions the following may be described.

16. John Prat, canon, 1415, now mural in retro-choir, and filled in with colour.

“Hic iacet Dñs Johēs Prat qu’dañ Canonicus Hui’ Ecclīe qui Obijt .x°. Die Mens’ Marcij Anno Dñi Millmō cccc° xv° Cui’ Aīe ppicietur De’ Amen.”

The figure of John Prat was formerly painted on the wall of the chapter-house.

17. William Hotale, Esq., 1432; formerly at the east end of the nave, now in the possession of Mr. Nichols.

“Hic iacet Willm’s Hotale Armig’ qui obijt xxv° die Mensis Januarij Anno dñi Millmō cccc° xxx° Sēdo. Cuius anime ppicietur deus amen.”



18. Robert Jordan, canon, 1465, formerly in south transept, with figure and single canopy, which were sketched by Dingley, page cxliii. It is now on the west wall of the retro-choir.

"Hic iacet venerabilis Vir Magister Rob'tus Jordan quōdam Canonic' hui' ecclīe qui obiit ij° die fēbruarij Anno dñi Millmō cccc° lxx° Cui' Anime ppicietur deu' Amē."

19. John Stanbury, bishop, 1474. Twelve Latin verses in raised letters, now fixed, as formerly, against the wall near his tomb the north aisle of the choir.

"Marmoris hac flossa . tetra . petra contegit ossa
Stanbury pontificis . carmelite q; Johīs
Doctoralis erat . sibi regnans fama p' orbem
Criminis o xpe petimus quo tergere sordem
Qui bangorensem . Lusto . rexit bene sedem
X bino post J. simul hanc decoravit et edem
Hūc cōmisso grege lupū sibi quādo fugavit
Mors cū dente cruento trux tūc bellua strauit
Anno Milleno . C quater . L . x quoq; bino
Quatuor hīs iūctis . in templi tempor' festo
Qui legis hec ora . pro presule mēte beñigna
Vt sint absq; mora . celi sibi gaudia digna."

20. William Webb, Archdeacon of Hereford, 1522. Fragments now on the south-eastern transept wall consisting of the end of a border inscription and some portions of the side shafts of a single canopy, the pediment of which may be in the possession of Mr. Nichols, and ornamented with a large rose.

["Hic iacet venerabilis vir Willm's Webb quondam Archid. Hereford. qui obiit A.D. 1522 secundum Computationem Ecclesie Anglicane] cccc°xxij° Cuius Anime Propicietur Altissimus AMEN."¹

The effigy, which was in a canon's dress with a cap on his head, was lost in Dingley's time; a sketch of the slab is given at page cxxix of his work. It lay originally at the east end of the south aisle of the choir.

21. A small portion of a marginal inscription belonging to a canopied brass of a dean, and formerly lying near the memorial of William Webb. Other fragments, including parts of the canopy, were to be seen when the writer visited the Cathedral in 1847.

¹ Willis, *Survey*, p. 551. The expression, "secundum computationem Ecclesie Anglicanæ," is extremely uncommon; it appeared also on the brass of Archdeacon Martyn, 1523, now lost.

...["Quondam decanus hujus Ecclesie qui obiit] nonodec[imo die Mensis]"...

Rawlinson (p. 136) has assigned this to Dean Harvey, 1500, which is clearly too late. There can be little doubt that it commemorated John Harold, dean, who died October 19th, 1393.

22. Richard Philipps and wife, *circa* 1532, now on the wall of the south aisle of the nave towards the east end.

"Good Cristeyn people of yowre Charitie
That here abide in this Transitorye lyfe
ffor the Soules of Richard Philipps pray ye
And also of Anne his dere beloved wyfe
whiche here togeder Contynned wythout stryfe
In this worshipfull Citie Called Hereford by name
He being seven tymes Mayer & Ruler of the same
ffurther to declare of his port And fame
his pitie and compassion on them that were in woe
To doe work' of charite his hand' were nothing lame
Throughe hym all people here May frelye come and goe
Wythoute payeng of Custome toll or other moe
The whiche thing' to Redeme he lefte both house & land
for that intent p'petuallie to Remayne and Stand
Anne also that godlye woman hathe put to her hand
Approvyng her Husband' acte and enlargyng the same
whiche benefite considered all thys contrey is band
Intierlye to pray for them . orellis it were to blame
Now cristie that suffred for vs all passion payne and shame
graunt them their Reward in hevyn among that gloriouse company
there to Reigne in Joye and blysse with them Eternally. Amen."

Besides others that have been mentioned, sketches of the following brasses, now lost from the Cathedral, were taken by Dingley: John Fuyster, five times mayor, 1455, and wife Katharine, each under a triple canopy (p. cxlii).—John Homme, canon, 1473, under a single canopy (p. clxviii).—Rich. Brumfelde, canon, 1518, under a triple canopy (p. clxxv).—John Bynnur or Byndden, with a fish and weaver's shuttle beneath. Also a mutilated figure of a priest with a scroll; both under single canopies (p. clxxxii).—William Lochard, canon, 1438; effigy lost under a single canopy (p. clxxxiv).

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON NEW THEORIES RESPECTING THE FAIRFORD WINDOWS AND EARLY WOOD ENGRAVING.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P.

It frequently happens that a violent controversy upon one subject accidentally throws considerable light upon another, and I think the vexed question respecting the origin of the Fairford windows is likely to add an important instance to the many which might be enumerated. The opinion so confidently and eloquently expressed by Mr. Holt, that those magnificent works of art were at least designed, if not actually painted, by Albert Durer,—in accordance, be it observed, with the oldest tradition concerning them,—has been as confidently, at any rate, declared erroneous by several antiquaries, architects, and artists, of considerable learning and ability; and in supporting his own views on that particular subject, Mr. Holt has incidentally broached an entirely new theory concerning the invention of printing which has startled the literary world in general, and “frightened” some few disputants “from their propriety.”

Up to the present moment it has been a war of opinion only on the part of the opposition. No incontrovertible fact, as far as I am aware, has been produced in reply to Mr. Holt’s arguments and assertions, which would invalidate the evidence he adduces in support of them; and I confess myself, for one, anxious that questions which have assumed such large proportions—questions which affect the whole history of art—should receive more ample and dispassionate investigation than has been hitherto accorded them.

“*Ne sutor ultra crepidam*” is an old saying which I greatly respect, and therefore, in requesting your attention to the observations I am about to make, I beg you will understand that I do not pretend to be a connoisseur in matters of art, that I am not even an amateur architect, that the difference between the Flemish and German schools of design is unknown to me, and that the only archæological features in the case, on which I should feel myself justified in offering

an humble opinion, are those associated with heraldry and costume.

I have so often had occasion to point out to you the exceeding value of the evidence afforded to us by these unerring guides, that you will not be surprised at my attempting to test the truth of some of the assertions hazarded in the above controversy by an appeal to their authority. To begin with the Fairford windows. I presume that no one will dispute that whoever may have been the designer, the costume, civil and military, is of the time of Albert Durer; or that there is any peculiar character in it, whatever there may be in the architecture, which would authorise its appropriation strictly to the Low Countries. No inference can, I take it, be drawn from that feature which would militate against the original tradition and Mr. Holt's theory, as far as regards the designer; while heraldry supplies us with more positive evidence in favour of Mr. Holt at the same time that it contradicts that portion of the tradition which is most open to suspicion, namely that the windows were executed for a church in Italy, and that the vessel on board which they had been shipped was taken as a prize at sea in 1492, just in the nick of time to adorn the edifice erecting at Fairford. Mr. Holt's antagonists have endeavoured to reconcile tradition with fact, by suggesting that the glass having been taken, it occurred to John Tame to build a church to put it in. But the appearance, in some portions of it, of the well known device of the Prince of Wales, the ostrich feathers, with the motto, "Ich dien," conclusively demonstrates one of two things,—either it was part of the original design, and consequently the windows must have been executed by order for an English church, which disposes altogether of the story of the capture of a ship bound with them for Rome; or they must have been additions made in England, after the glass had come into the possession of John Tame by purchase or otherwise. I believe that it is now generally admitted by architects that the peculiar form of the windows alone refutes the account of their being intended for any church in Italy; and as Mr. Holt has shewn that the royal manor of Fairford was not purchased by Tame until 1498, the date of 1492 cannot be quoted as a point in the argument of his opponents.

The windows are presumed to have been fixed *circa* 1500;

but I have not seen any positive authority for that date. Now Arthur, Prince of Wales, the eldest son of Henry VII, died 2nd of April, 1502. At any time, therefore, between October 1st, 1489, the date of his creation, and that of his death aforesaid, the device of the feathers and the motto must have reference to him, and him alone. His brother Henry (afterwards King Henry VIII) was created Prince of Wales, 18th of February, 150 $\frac{2}{3}$, full ten months after the decease of Arthur; and consequently, if additions subsequent to the latter date, the device and motto would appertain to Prince Henry. That such was not the case I am inclined to believe upon this ground, viz., that under such circumstances they would most probably have been accompanied by the letters H. P., for the sake of distinction; and for the same reason, had they been placed in the windows as a memorial of Prince Arthur, after his death, they would have been similarly identified. The appearance of this remarkable feature in the Fairford windows was, of course, not overlooked by Mr. Holt, who adduced it as collateral evidence in support of a portion of his theory in his first paper on the subject, read at Cirencester; but I venture to suggest that, taking into consideration the exact dates I have given above, the fact may be found of more importance as regards the question of time and place of the execution of the glass, than it has hitherto been held by either of the contending parties.¹

That which has induced me, however, more particularly to inflict this paper upon you is the unexpected and extraordinary dispute which has cropped up out of the Fairford controversy respecting the priority of the inventions of wood engraving and printing with moveable type. My attention to the subject never having been called in the

¹ In one of the windows David is represented condemning the Amalekite who professed he had slain Saul. On the sword of the executioner is a capital A, such as, with a smaller sized D between the limbs, formed the usual monogram of Albert Durer. Mr. Niblet, at the Cirencester Congress, stated that he had been informed such a letter was commonly engraved on the blade of a beheading sword. I have seen several both in England and abroad. There are two now in the Meyrick Collection at South Kensington; but I never noticed such a mark, nor can I perceive its signification. Mr. J. Green Waller has suggested that it is the final letter of the word "*ira*" or "*luxuria*" ("*justitia*" would be more appropriate), the preceding letters having been effaced by time or accident. Mr. Holt might, I think, jump at this suggestion, and suppose with much more probability that time or accident had effaced the diminutive D which would have settled the question in his favour. Once indulge conjecture, and there is no saying whither we may wander.

pursuit of my favourite archæological studies, I had, in common with the world in general, accepted as proven the statement of the learned who had written on the subject, and never questioned the extremely probable assertion, founded apparently on indisputable dates, that the engraving on wood of playing cards had suggested the block-books of the fifteenth century, and thereby led to the invention of printing. Mr. Holt's bold and uncompromising reversal of the order of these events, followed up by his thorough demolition of the authority which had been principally relied upon by their historians, viz., the celebrated St. Christopher in Earl Spencer's library at Althorp, dated, as was supposed, 1423, excited my curiosity, and I began to tax my memory as to whether I had ever, in the course of some thirty years' rummaging amongst old printed books and engravings, met with any costume which could be identified as earlier than the reign of Edward IV, 1461—1483. Reference to my rather large collection of authorities confirmed my impression to the contrary, and further research directed to this particular inquiry has failed to produce anything to alter my conviction.

As it is asserted that the engraving on wood of playing cards originated the engraving of portraits of saints with accompanying legends or descriptions, the earliest block-books and the art of wood-cutting in general, it occurred to me to examine all the representations of the earliest specimens of playing cards I could meet with in order to discover, if possible, indications of costume or heraldic decoration which would point to an earlier date than 1450, just preceding that at which the first book printed with moveable type made its mysterious appearance. Here also I have been unsuccessful ; but I have been greatly amused in perusing for the first time the elaborate essays of the Hon. Daines Barrington, Mr. John Gough, and other eminent antiquaries of the past century, on the origin and antiquity of playing cards, by observing how very few "grains of wheat" are contained in "the bushels of chaff;" and that, like Gratiano's reasons, "you may search all day ere you find them, and when you have them they are not worth the seeking."

Do not let me be misunderstood ; I am far from denying for a moment the learning, general information, and patient

research of our predecessors in archæology ; but it is the remarkable characteristic of nearly all writers on such subjects during what has been called "the Georgian Era," that they have wasted an enormous amount of time, erudition, and labour in the collection of unsifted material, the greater mass of which is blown to the winds by the first breath of critical inquiry, leaving a few facts behind which are valuable in as far as that they generally contradict the most positive assertions they are called to support, though they rarely tend to settle the point in dispute. For instance, amongst the official documents cited in proof of the antiquity of playing cards in Spain, a foreign antiquary confidently names the statutes of the Order of the Band instituted by Alphonso XI, about the year of our Lord 1332. Mr. Gough, while wandering through a wilderness of speculations, quietly disposes of that particular assertion by informing us that cards are not included in the list of prohibited games in the original statutes, nor are they mentioned in any copies of them, written or printed, previous to the edition of Dr. Guttery's translation, published in 1558, at which time we all know cards were common throughout Europe.

I will not detain you by even the most brief *resumé* of the host of inconclusive arguments on one side or the other respecting the origin of a game which may or may not have resembled that of cards as now understood. In so doing I should commit the same error I have been complaining of in others. It is only with the date of their being first printed from wooden blocks that we are interested at the present moment. Sir Walter Scott has related an anecdote of Dr. Gregory, who, being examined respecting the sanity of a person whom it was argued must have been of sound mind, as it had been proved he was capable of playing at whist, shrewdly replied that he was no player himself, but had always understood that cards had been invented for the amusement of a mad king. We are all familiar with the story to which the Doctor so happily alluded, and which is founded upon an item in a book of accounts of the reign of Charles VI of France, whereby we learn that Jacques Gringonneur, painter, was paid fifty-six sols of Paris for three *jeux de cartes*, gilt and diversely coloured, to deliver to the lord the king for his amusement. *Jeu de cartes* is

the expression at present in use in France for a pack of cards, and our English authors generally so translate it in their notices of the above entry. It is unnecessary here to do more than observe that it is by no means certain that such is the right interpretation, and that more critical writers have inquired whether these three *jeux de cartes* were not sets of gilt and coloured pictures merely meant to please the eye. *Jeux* only in the sense of games, as we still call many pictorial playthings for children, Charles VI being not insane as commonly described, but labouring under a deep melancholy, a sort of hypochondriasis, which might be alleviated by the sight of gay and brilliant pictures. M. Leber styles them *cartes de fantaisie*, and the Rev. Edward Taylor describes them as "essentially Tarot cards," a name given to certain emblematical picture cards, supposed to have been introduced by those mysterious people, the gipseys, into Europe in the fourteenth century, and which have nothing in common with the playing cards that succeeded them as will be admitted by everyone when they are told that one of the subjects is "The Day of Judgment." This point, however, cannot be settled without an inspection of the cards themselves, and I cannot for a moment admit that the seventeen which are preserved in the Bibliothèque at Paris, and of which specimens have been engraved by Messrs. Chatto, Taylor, and Lacroix, have any pretension to the work of Gringonneur or any card-painter of the fourteenth century. Mr. Chatto dates them about 1440, and M. Lacroix, the latest writer on the subject, considers them of the time of Charles VII, who died in 1460, and I certainly think not earlier.

Be this, however, as it may, it is admitted on all hands that the cards in the Bibliothèque, ascribed to Gringonneur, have been drawn by hand, painted and gilt by hand like the miniatures in the MSS. of the period, and, therefore, do not affect the question of engraving or printing. The same objection applies to all asserted mention of cards previous to the latter half of the fifteenth century, even presuming that such documents will bear the test of examination. There is but one cited by M. Lacroix that requires notice. It is a prohibitory order said to have been obtained by the Master Card-makers of Venice, in 1441, to prevent the importations of the large quantities of painted and *printed*

cards, which were introduced into the city to the great detriment of their art—they meant, of course, their profit. Now, supposing the date 1441 to be correct, which I will admit for the sake of argument, as I am not in a position to verify it, the whole question turns upon the word which has been translated *printed*, and which in the original is “*stampide*,” “*carte a figure depinte e stampide*.” According to Florio (*World of Wordes*, 1559), *stampere* signifies “to print, to presse, to stampe, to forme, to figure,” and “*stampe*” in like manner, besides a print or impression, is said to be “a marke, a shape, a figure.” The word, therefore, existed before printing was invented, and the natural application of it some ten or fourteen years afterwards to the new art does not forbid us to translate “*stampide*” in 1441, formed, figured, or shaped by means of the stencil, a practice admitted to have been common at that period. The *karten-macher* and *kartern-mahler* of Germany in those days made and painted his cards, but did he print them? Where do we find unquestionable evidence that the *form-schneiders* of Germany engraved playing-cards on wood before they cut other designs or letters? Certainly not in such examples of playing-cards as have been handed down to us.

The learned and ingenious writers I have alluded to in their works on this subject have not only carefully gone over and commented upon the innumerable assertions, suppositions, and contradictions of their predecessors, foreign as well as English; but have illustrated their observations by many well-executed engravings of cards of various periods and nations.

Is there any one of these cards, either drawn, stencilled, or printed, presenting a figure, the costume of which can unhesitatingly be ascribed to an earlier period than the second half of the fifteenth century?

Mr. Chatto (page 214) observes that “conclusions drawn from the costume displayed on cards are not of much weight in the determination of a date, seeing that persons supposed to be well-acquainted with the subject of costume have not been able to determine from that alone the date of any old drawing even within fifty years,” and Mr. Taylor (p. 115) agrees with him, that speculations as regards dates founded on costume are very often fallacious, as any type once become conventional might continue in circulation for a con-

siderable period, and this, too, in different countries. To these remarks I answer—first, that any person who could not determine the date within fifty years, would never be supposed by me to be well-acquainted with the subject ; and secondly, that while quite agreeing with Mr. Taylor as to the perpetuation of ancient types, I am surprised that he does not appear to see how that fact assists the new theory. As supposing a printed card could be found displaying a figure in the dress or armour of the thirteenth or fourteenth century it might be fairly contended on that ground that it was only a conventional representation of an old type, as our present court-cards still continue to represent king, queen, and knave in the costume of the reign (in England) of Henry VII. As a remarkable illustration of this argument there is actually a printed card called “the knight,” an engraving of which is one of the specimens given us by Mr. Lacroix, presenting us with the figure of a man in a dress with its edges or borders cut into the shape of leaves, a fashion peculiar to the latter portion of the fourteenth century, and prohibited to persons under certain degrees by the sumptuary laws of that period, and yet it is acknowledged to have been engraved by an artist who is only known as “the Master of 1466,” and the autotype of another work by the same hand in Mr. George Duplessis’ *Merveilles de la Gravure*, entitled “Sampson,” displays a man and woman in the costume of his own time, *circa* 1460. At the same time it is obvious that, though I might, if the former card had not been engraved and printed, have referred it to the period when such a fashion of dress prevailed, I should never have suggested that it belonged to a time when that fashion was not invented. It, therefore, follows that if the costume on a card is that of the reign of Edward IV in England, although it might have been executed much later, it could not by any possibility have been made earlier.

Our old friend and valued associate, Mr. Thomas Wright, has given amongst the illustrations of his amusing and instructive *History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England*, two woodcuts of persons playing at cards, the second being of the time of Edward IV, and, as far as I know, the earliest representation of a card party. The other however, is from a MS. in the British Museum, written about the middle of the fourteenth century, and referred to

apparently without suspicion, not only by Mr. Wright, but by Mr. Shaw, who has engraved in his second volume of *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages* two other subjects from the same MS., *Le Roman du Roi Meliadus de Lyonois par Helie de Barron* (add. MSS. No. 12,228). Some thirty years ago, when I was collecting materials for my *History of British Costume*, I inspected this MS., and, even inexperienced as I was at that period, I was so struck by the anomalies presented in the illuminations that I abstained from copying any of them. The present controversy induced me to re-examine the MS., and my original doubts were fully confirmed, not only by my own more mature judgment, but by the following account of the MS. in the official description of it published by the authorities of the museum :—"Written for Louis II, titular King of Naples (whose portrait is often introduced in the volume), between the years 1352—1362, and illustrated by upwards of three hundred and fifty miniatures, the greater portion of which are by a contemporary hand, *but others have been added at a later period by inferior artists.*" Surely this description, of which I was myself ignorant till the other day, must have been overlooked by Mr. Wright and Mr. Shaw, or they would have avoided, as I had done from simply my own suspicions, selecting their subjects from it. The additions alluded to are evidently by various hands of more or less ability at various dates down to the latter half of the fifteenth century ; and, notwithstanding that an attempt has been made by some of the latest illuminators to imitate the costume of the contemporary miniatures, there are unmistakeable features in them, either of dress, armour, or ornament, which betray them and enable one to name pretty accurately the dates of their execution. The best drawn of them, many being unfinished, only in outline, or but partly coloured, are of the first half of the fifteenth century, from about 1420 to 1450 ; and of this period is the woodcut in the first volume of Mr. Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*, copied from this MS., and representing "a group of warriors carrying off the body of their king." The peculiar form of the bascinets and weapons, the complete armour of plate, and other characteristics point with certainty to the close of the reign of Henry V or commencement of that of his son, and I am surprised that Mr. Shaw should have for a moment mistaken it for a miniature of the reign

of Edward III. His other illustration from the same MS. of "Head-dresses" has not even the merit of careful drawing. It is a coarse and clumsy imitation of the earlier miniatures, a ridiculous jumble of costume of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and its introduction is really to be lamented as a blot on Mr. Shaw's beautiful and valuable publication. In his letter-press to these two subjects he mentions amongst others in the MS., "a curious groupe of card-players, which is of importance as being the earliest known drawing representing people playing at cards." This is the drawing which Mr. Wright has had copied for his work before-mentioned. It had been previously engraved for the late Mr. Singer, who, in his *Researches into the History of Playing-cards*, published in 1816, makes the astounding remark that the embellishments, being "posterior to the writing of the MS., cannot fairly be urged as an argument, in any degree, which would affect the date of this curious limning"!

This "curious limning" is not completely coloured, and the adjoining compartment is still a blank. Although the imitation of the earlier costume is better managed, the ornament of the frame which encloses the miniature indicates a very late period of the fifteenth century; and the appearance of the cards themselves, which are not Tarot cards, as they must have been in 1360, but display regular pips (a five and a three of some suit), deprive it of all claim to be cited as an authority for any date earlier than that at which we know playing cards were in existence all over Europe. Observe also that there is no mention of cards throughout the MS.; and the miniature has no connexion in any way with the romance, of which it appears to have been only a fanciful embellishment.

I am not going to enter upon the wide question of the origin and antiquity of cards as a game, to deny that some such amusement was known to the Chinese or other oriental nations ages ago, or that what are called "Tarot cards" may have been introduced by the Moors or the gipsies to Spain or Italy. The only point at issue in this controversy is the date of the earliest cards *printed from wooden blocks*, and whether any positive evidence exists of such having been known anterior to 1450; which must have been the case if there be any foundation for the old theory, the truth of which Mr. Holt has so boldly and vigorously disputed.



THE TAMES OF FAIRFORD.

BY HENRY F. HOLT, ESQ.

IF the question were asked, which among the smallest, quietest, and most unobtrusive towns in England could lay claim to possessing the largest amount of interest in an archæological, historical, and artistic sense combined, it would occur to very few to reply that "Saxon Fairford, in Gloucestershire," fulfilled all those requisitions; still less that it did so to a far greater degree than any other town of thrice its size in the kingdom; and yet the answer would be strictly correct. Its contributions to archæology might be evidenced by its Teutonic sepulchral remains, so well described by Mr. Wylie in his *Fairford Graves*; by its quota of Roman urns and coins, recorded by Dr. Parsons; as well as by its curious *situla*, found in 1855, and illustrated in the twenty-fifth volume of the *Proceedings* of the Royal Archæological Institute, p. 137.

The part Fairford unwittingly played in one of the saddest and most romantic phases of English history, must to the end of time secure it a foremost page in the records of "life's eventful dream"; whilst its glorious painted glass windows can never fail to render its church, wherein they are preserved, a shrine which will always merit a pilgrimage from every true lover of art. I do not, however, purpose on this occasion to consider Fairford either from an archæological or artistic point of view; but to lay before you an outline of one of the most interesting portions of the history of its manor, as well as the condition of the town when John Tame, so intimately associated with its original prosperity, first arrived in it; and endeavour to ascertain the true nature and extent of the benefits he and his family conferred upon it, until the extinction of the name they bore, and the alienation of the manor to strangers.

As my qualification for attempting this task, I may mention that, in the course of my inquiries in connexion with the painted glass and its artist, it has been my good fortune to have had the opportunity of consulting several original records directly emanating from, or otherwise immediately

connected with, the Tame family; and which, although of the utmost value in enabling us to arrive at the best possible knowledge of them, and that they have always been accessible to any one who desired to consult them, have nevertheless, to my great surprise, been hitherto altogether overlooked and utterly neglected by every authority who has hitherto made John Tame and the Fairford windows the theme of his observations.

It may here be convenient I should state as the result of my researches, that I have satisfied myself,—1st, that John Tame did *not* acquire the glass in 1492, or at any other time, by conquest or piracy; 2, that he did *not* found Fairford Church, or dedicate it to the Virgin Mary; 3, that he did *not rebuild* the church; 4, that he had nothing whatever to do with the painted glass, and never contemplated either its purchase or its erection; 5, that the painted glass windows were expressly *made for* the church, and not the church built for the windows; 6, that John Tame *never was* lord of the manor of Fairford; and lastly I will submit to you, in the course of my remarks, what I believe to be the true state of circumstances under which the windows were *first* acquired, by whom they were given, and when, as well as the motives which induced the donation.

With this declaration of my belief and expectation you will be the better enabled to appreciate my facts as well as my reasoning upon them, and thereby satisfy your minds how far they recommend themselves to your intelligence as being reliable and therefore useful.

The Gloucestershire historian, Ralph Bigland, has introduced the name of John Tame to us as being a “member of a family of that name settled in London, where several of them are said to have served the office of sheriff,” quoting as his authority old Stow (p. 554); the only Tame who ever filled that office in London being a James Tame, in 1361. That being so, and as no attempt whatever has been made to prove the slightest family link between James of London and John of Fairford, I am unable to attach any weight to Bigland’s relation; and avoiding all speculation as to John Tame’s ancestry, I prefer to accept the earliest known statement connected with him and his family: I mean that of John Leland, “the first and last Antiquarian Royal in England” (*Itin.*, vol. i, p. 18), that the “Tames of Fairford came

Notwithstanding the secondary claim of Richard upon our attention, when we come to John it is to be regretted we are without any positive indication of the date of his birth. On the assumption, however, that he had, at the period of his decease, in 1500, attained the limit declared by the Psalmist, of three score years and ten, we shall not be far wrong in fixing 1430 as (*circa*) the commencement of his existence, and on that basis I propose to proceed.

From the circumstance that in every record I have met with connected with the Tame family, the article of wool forms the most prominent feature, I feel myself justified in concluding both Richard and John to have been introduced by their father at an early age into the business of cloth manufacturers and exporters of, as well as dealers in, wool, and that the place in which the main portion of their business was successfully carried on was Cirencester. Several details remain, which clearly prove the strong personal interest which both John Tame and his son Edmund continued to take in Cirencester; which ancient town had been (as is well-known) one of the chief emporiums of the cloth and wool trade from the early part of the preceding century, and its importance frequently recognised in the parliamentary history of the period, as well as protected by several special enactments.

As an illustration of the claims which Cirencester seems to have had on the mind of John Tame, I may mention that he left a legacy toward the "marriage of xxx poor maydenes within four myle of Fairford, or else in the town of Cicetter;" whilst his son, Sir Edmund, left his "great silver pottes" to "My Lorde Abbot¹ of Cicetter;" "Ten Pound towards mending the waies between Cicetter and Faringdon;" and £6 to the "poor men of Cicetter." As a further proof of the connexion of the Tame family with Cirencester, in a Register of Presentations, etc., from the Abbey A.D. 1421-1538, among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library, at fol. 93, is an undated appointment by Abbot John (Hakeborn) of William Compton and Edmund Tame to the capital office of Seneschalle, with a yearly payment of 10 marcs.

Their shields, carved in stone, face each other on the north and south sides of the nave, the Tame shield bearing the

¹ John Blake, the last abbot, who in 1534 subscribed to the king's supremacy in consideration of a pension of £250.

crescent for difference. Sir William Compton was steward of the abbey, and Edmund Tame the elder was also bailiff of the seven hundreds; for at fol. 125 is an appointment, A.D. 1532, of Edmund, son of Edmund Tame, who held the office before, to hold View of Frankpledge, Cur Haly-mot, etc.

My belief is, that Richard and John, after their father's decease, conducted their business together at Cirencester, as well as established extensive and important branches of their trade in France and the Pays Bas, with both of which countries an almost incredible amount of trade was then carried on in English cloths and wool, and that, as the result of such trading, they each realised a very considerable fortune.

Amongst other properties possessed by Richard in 1465, was an estate at Notgrove, and from the fact that in 1469 (9 Edward IV), Richard and Margaret, his wife, levied a fine of their lands there to John Tame, and that neither Richard nor Margaret again appear on the scene, or indeed their son Richard, until the year 1496, I am disposed to conclude that Richard and Margaret went to the Netherlands, and that Richard either there managed the foreign agency of the Cirencester house, or commenced an independent business on his own account. As, whatever the facts may have been, they are altogether secondary to the main points we have to consider, this passing allusion to them will render it unnecessary to mention their names again.

John Tame married (*circa*) 1461. His bride was Alice Twynhoe, a native of Gloucestershire, of most respectable family, between whom and the Tames an enduring friendship existed (as will be seen) for several generations.

From the accounts which have hitherto reached us, it would appear that their marriage was blest with only one child, named Edmund, known more familiarly to us as "Sir Edmund," whereas Alice brought her liege lord a family of at least four: three sons, William, Edmund, and Thomas, and a daughter named Elynore, all of whom survived him.

On the assumption that John Tame married in his thirty-first year; that his eldest son was born within twelve months afterwards, and each of his other children at an interval of two years, it would give us the following dates: Tame

married, 1461 ; William born 1462 ; Edmund, 1464 ; Thomas, 1466 ; and Elynore, 1468.

John Tame lived with his family at or near his place of business in Cirencester, at which town his wife died in 1471, and was buried there. Thus left with four children, the eldest but nine, and the youngest three, it may be well imagined that Tame desired to avail himself of the aid of his eldest son at as early an age as practicable. There are, however, no grounds for believing his expectations were realised, or that William had at any time aught to do with the cloth and wool business ; and from the circumstances which will hereafter be mentioned, the probability is very great that father and son disagreed and separated—once and for all. This assumed reason for John's so thoroughly casting off his first-born will account for the extraordinary fondness he conceived for his second son Edmund, and for his lavishing on him his property and his love. Tame's youngest son, Thomas, like his elder brother William, had had evidently no disposition for trade, or, his father's devotion to Edmund indisposed him to encourage commercial aspirations in Thomas, inasmuch as at an early age he was sent to a monastery for his education, with a view to his entering the church. Eleanor seems to have married, and in 1496 to have been a widow, without family, although the name of her husband remains unknown. With John Tame's marked partiality for Edmund, there is no reason to doubt that at as early an age as possible, he was transferred from such schooling as was then to be had at Cirencester, to the counting-house, nor that in a comparatively short period he realised in every respect his father's fondest expectations.

Such was John Tame's position when he first turned his attention to Fairford, in 1480, he being then in his fifty-first, and Edmund in his seventeenth year.

Few titles to landed property in this country are invested with a greater degree of romance than that of the manor of Fairford.

Very shortly before John Tame married, the manor belonged to the Lady Anne Beauchamp, daughter of Richard, fifth Earl of Warwick, and heiress of the Beauchamps. Her ladyship in 1448 became the wife of the celebrated king-maker, Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, and when at Fairford the noble pair inhabited a spacious mansion there.



known as Beauchamp and Warwick Court. The issue of this marriage were two daughters, the Lady Isabel, born at Warwick Castle, in 1451, who, as she attained womanhood, was described as being "very handsome"; and the Lady Anne, born at the same place in 1454, and afterwards (when mentioned in comparison with her sister) declared to be "the better woman of the two". On Tuesday, 11th July, 1469, Isabel, by special dispensation from the Pope, Paul the Third, married George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, brother of King Edward IV, the ceremony being performed by Nevill, Archbishop of York, in the church of "Notre Dame," at Calais, in the presence of her illustrious parents and sister, and a host of celebrities. Almost immediately after the wedding the newly-married couple returned to England with the Earl and Countess of Warwick and the Lady Anne. Their stay, however, was but short, as Warwick's efforts against Edward IV having utterly failed, he and his family were compelled to embark at Dartmouth for Calais, escorted by several vessels. On the passage a multitude of misfortunes overtook them. They were attacked by the Yorkist fleet, under the command of the young Earl of Rivers, who succeeded in capturing all the ships accompanying Warwick, except the vessel in which he and his family were. By a piece of good fortune they escaped, but only to encounter the force of a terrible tempest which suddenly arose, and by which they were exposed to the greatest danger; and, to add to their troubles, the Lady Isabel was taken in labour with her first child. The climax of their vexations was, however, reached when, on arriving at Calais, the Governor, Vaulere, Warwick's Lieutenant there, refused to permit them to land, alleging as his excuse that the townspeople would not allow it. All the Earl could obtain from Vaulere was permission for the newborn infant of the Duchess of Clarence to enter the town to be baptised, and to allow two bottles of wine to be taken to the Duchess, who was altogether without. That being done, Warwick was fain to make the best of his way to Dieppe, where he arrived in the beginning of May, and shortly afterwards, on the invitation of Louis XI, proceeded with his wife and family on a visit to that monarch at Amboise. During their stay there a match was made up between Warwick's youngest daughter, the Lady Anne, then in her

seventeenth year, and Edward, the gallant heir of Lancaster, only son of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, Anne's senior by two years. The young couple were married at Angers in Anjou, 1470, and spent the few following months together in the enjoyment of the only happiness it was ever permitted them to know. In the spring of the following year, Warwick and Prince Edward returned to England. The battle of Tewkesbury, so fatal to the Lancastrian cause, was fought on the 4th of May, 1471, and ten days later the hapless prince was basely murdered in the presence of Edward IV, and afterwards buried at Tewkesbury Abbey. In addition to the loss of her young and handsome bridegroom, the widow had to mourn the death of her father—killed on the Easter-day previous (14th April, 1471), at the battle of Barnet, his titles being immediately after forfeited, and his estates estreated. Her mother, the unfortunate Countess of Warwick, in the greatest distress, was obliged to take Sanctuary at the Abbey of Beaulieu, in Hampshire, whilst Anne herself was compelled to adopt all kinds of disguises to escape the persecutions of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who desired to make her his wife for the sake of her large fortune.

According to the writer of the *Continuation of the Croyland Chronicle*, p. 557, Richard wished to discover Anne, and ultimately succeeded in finding her disguised as a cook-maid, in London, whereupon he immediately transferred her to the Sanctuary of St. Martin le Grand.

The year 1473 was a most eventful one to the persecuted Countess and her daughters. The Countess was persuaded by Edward to leave her Sanctuary, and to permit Sir James Tyrrell (the person charged with having afterwards murdered the young princes in the Tower) to convey her northwards to a place of safety appointed by the king. The Lady Anne in like manner was induced to leave her place of refuge and compelled to marry the hated Richard, Duke of Gloucester, at Westminster. No sooner, however, was the marriage solemnised than a violent dispute arose between Richard and the Duke of Clarence, as to the division and appropriation of the vast landed estates of the Countess of Warwick, and so high did the quarrel become that Paston, in his letter dated 2nd April, 1473, thus wrote—
“The world seemeth queasy, for all the persons about the

king have sent for their armour, on account of the quarrel regarding the inheritance of Anne."

The dispute was, however, afterwards referred to the king in council, and ultimately Edward made an award, whereby certain of the Countess's lands, including the lordship of the manor of Fairford, were awarded to Isabel, wife of the Duke of Clarence, and the rest to Anne, Duchess of Gloucester, and their respective issue.

This award was in the same year approved by parliament, the Act declaring "that the Countess of Warwick was no more to be considered in the matter than if she were dead."

In 1474 Anne gave birth at Middleham Castle, in Yorkshire, to her only child, Edward Plantagenet. Two years afterwards (12th December, 1476), her sister, the Duchess of Clarence, died without issue, whereby her husband became the absolute possessor of all her estates. That fact alone rendered him obnoxious to Richard, who, "having much, longed for more." Whether his desire to possess himself of the property left by the childless Isabel at all contributed to Clarence's subsequent attainder and condemnation, certain it is, that in less than two years after his wife's decease Clarence departed this life, 17th February, 1477—'tis said in a butt of Malmsey—whereby Richard in right of Anne, his Duchess, became entitled to the whole of the Warwick estates, and was thus constituted "Lord of the Manor of Fairford."

So matters stood when John Tame first arrived in that town (*circa* 1480, 20 Edward IV). Neglected by the manorial authority, to which Fairford was wholly subjected; without trade to attract and encourage its scanty population, and agriculture, their sole resource, fast fading away, consequent upon the lands being converted to pasturage, Fairford assuredly possessed but few attractions to the stranger, and in that very circumstance John Tame found his advantage. He was then not only extensively engaged in trade as a manufacturer of cloth, at Cirencester, but largely interested in the breed of sheep, for the sake of their wool, and to him, therefore, Fairford presented the attraction of becoming the head-quarters of his operations. He was enabled to rent large tracts of land in the neighbourhood at a very moderate sum, to cover them with vast flocks of sheep, and to collect their wool at Fairford, thereby

imparting new life to its monotony, and affording employment to its labouring population.

Thus we know, from the authority of Leland, that "Fairford never flourished afore the cumming of the Tames into it." Whilst, however, John Tame organised and superintended this growing and important branch of his trade, he made no attempt to reside at Fairford, but still retained at Cirencester his family mansion, situate at the west end of the church there, and which was continued to be used, or occasionally occupied by his son Edmund, up to at least the year 1521, as shewn by the existence of the armorial bearings granted to him upon every window therein, and seen by Anthony à Wood about 1678, who described it as "an olde house built with a great deale of timber, knowne nowe by the name of the 'Swan.'" All traces of it, however, have long since disappeared.

As to the Swan Inn and its remains, it often happens at Cirencester and elsewhere that a modern front hides old interiors; though these, too, are much altered. Such is the case with the houses now occupied by Messrs. Knowlson and Bond, which once formed part of the Swan Inn. The old fronts of those houses were only taken down about fifteen years ago; the hip-knobs of their two gables were carved into rampant animals, and were remarkable as being the only instances of that kind in the town.

Three years after John Tame first became connected with Fairford events occurred of such momentous importance, and with such rapidity, as to change the ownership of the manor three times within a very short period. The Princess Anne, then become queen, arrived in London from Middleham with her son, who on the 4th of July, 1483, was created by his father (Richard III) Prince of Wales. On the following day Richard and Anne were crowned king and queen of England at Westminster; which ceremony was repeated at York early in the September following, after the murder of the princes in the Tower. Anne's cup of misery had not, however, yet been filled: a last drop remained, and that crushed her,—viz. the death of her only son, the Prince of Wales, at Middleham, on the 31st March, 1484, during her absence. Broken-hearted, and with nothing left to live for, the unfortunate queen lingered on until the 16th March following, when, at the early age of thirty-one, she closed an

existence which for continuous misery and distress can hardly be surpassed by any instance of suffering humanity. On the 22nd August in the same year Richard lost his life on Bosworth Field, and Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, ascended the throne as Henry VII.

With that fact a new era commenced for the manor of Fairford, as, consequent upon the decease of both Isabel Duchess of Clarence, and Anne, the queen of Richard, without issue, the enormous estates of the Countess of Warwick remained without an owner, and became an attractive prize to the avaricious Henry, not to be lost sight of. To have confiscated them to his own use would have been an act of open and direct spoliation most desirable to be avoided at the commencement of his reign. What, therefore, violence dared not effect, stratagem, cunning, and menace combined were enabled to accomplish. Thus in 1487 overtures were made on the King's behalf to the neglected and oppressed Countess of Warwick, whereby it was proposed she should be formally reinstated in all her landed estates, and be publicly acknowledged as the rightful owner thereof, with full and unrestricted power to deal with, or alienate them, or any part of them, as and to whom she pleased; but to this concession was attached the absolute condition, that within a few months after such restoration the Countess should exercise her power of alienation by putting Henry in quiet possession of the whole property. As may well be imagined, the widowed, childless, aged, and oppressed lady had no alternative than to accept the terms offered her. Accordingly the Act of Parliament already mentioned was repealed by a new one (Act. Parl. 3 Henry VII) which with well feigned hypocrisy denounced the former as "being against all reason, conscience, and course of nature, and contrary to the laws of God and man"; and proceeded to declare that, in consideration of the true and faithful service by her house to King Henry VI, as also that she never gave cause to such "disherison," restored unto her the possession of the premises, with power to alien the same and every part thereof. Parliament thus deceived as to the intentions of the King, and the oppressed Countess unable to resist them, she in the same year, by a special feoffment bearing date 13th December, and a fine thereupon, conveyed the estate wholly to the King, entailing it upon the issue male of his

body, with remainder upon herself and heirs. The property so conveyed consisted of one hundred and fourteen manors, fifteen of them being in the county of Gloucester, and that of Fairford amongst them. By such means the Countess became a mere dependent upon the royal bounty, and the King became in his own right lord of the manor of Fairford, and appointed Sir Roger Torott as his steward thereof.

From the date of the alienation of her property but little is known of the Countess. It however appears, she was still living in 1523 (15 Henry VII), as in that year the King made an assignation of the "mannour of Sutton," in Warwickshire, for her maintenance; and thenceforth all trace of her is lost, neither the date of her decease nor the place of her sepulture being known.

The manor thus vested in the new monarch, and administered by his energetic steward, Fairford doubtless very soon experienced an improvement in its condition, and afforded an encouragement to the tenants, of which John Tame was not slow to avail himself. Some years at least prior to this period Edmund (then in his twenty-seventh year) must have taken an active part in his father's business, and exhibited such aptitude as to justify John Tame in leaving to his care the superintendence and management of the manufactory at Cirencester, whilst he retired to Fairford as a permanent residence, where, relieved from the fatigues of active business, he could, in the autumn of his existence, enjoy to a certain extent that *otium cum dignitate* so thoroughly identified with an Englishman's sense of happiness, and lay the foundation of those pretensions to rank among the gentry of the county to which he so earnestly aspired. By this time Tame's wealth had become considerable, and his importance in Gloucestershire proportionately increased. The manufactory at Cirencester must have prospered amazingly, and his profits on the wool-trade at Fairford have realised his most sanguine expectations, as thereby he had become the owner, by purchase, of several extensive landed estates in Gloucestershire, Kent, Oxfordshire, and Wiltshire. The old manor house, Beauchamp and Warwick Court, being untenanted, afforded him a residence well suited to his requirements and his growing importance; and an arrangement having been made with Sir Roger for its occupation, John Tame from that time became the acknowledged head



of the village (for such it then was), its 'squire, patron, and it may have been, as justice of the peace, the terror of all evil doers within its precincts.

And here it may be convenient I should give you some idea of John Tame's person and character. Moderate in height, spare in body, long face, high forehead, aquiline nose, and beardless, he wore his hair long; parting it in the middle, and permitting it to hang down in lank locks to his shoulders. Thus is he represented upon his tomb, where we may be sure he was set off to the best advantage. In disposition, the few authentic materials left us justify me, as I believe, in declaring that avarice was the predominant characteristic of his nature, and money making the joy of his existence. A tyrant to his children, he neglected all, Edmund excepted, upon whom he seems to have centred his earthly affections, as being in all probability the prototype of himself. Industrious, persevering, thrifty, ostentatious in his charity, but extremely parsimonious in its indulgence, John Tame strove hard, by the sheer force of wealth and intelligence, to take his place among, and be recognised as one of, the gentry of his native county,—a position from which his father was excluded in 1433, as appears by the absence of his name from the list of the gentry of Gloucestershire, returned by the royal commissioners in the twelfth year of Henry VI, at which time John Tame was about four years old. The distinguishing feature, however, of his mind seems to have been an utter dependence upon the saving powers of forgiveness with which the priesthood of the Romish Church were then imagined to be so liberally endowed. To that influence John Tame was a slave, and the fear of death by which he was oppressed brought out in strong relief the all absorbing selfishness of his disposition. Impressed, however, as he was by such fears, they failed to extinguish his shrewdness, as, notwithstanding his intense anxiety for the repose of his soul, he had no disposition whatever to exceed the most modest expenditure to secure the coveted immunity. The price of rebuilding a church assuredly never presented itself to his imagination as a necessity imposed upon him. He knew perfectly well he could obtain all his spiritual necessities demanded at a far less price, and, as will presently be seen, he was right.

In 1491 John Tame must have had the Manor-house of

Fairford to himself—that is, if he made it his residence at this period, which is exceedingly doubtful. Thus, his eldest son, William, had married and left him; Edmund was at Cirencester; Thomas in holy orders at Castleaton; and Elynor with her husband. Henry VII was preparing for war against France, and the wool staple of England was kept at Calais, where Tame's business must have been considerable. Add to these circumstances, that he was one of the principal army clothiers of his day; and we have good and sufficient reasons for concluding that he would about that period be abroad and busily engaged in increasing his already great fortune. How long he may have prolonged his stay must remain in doubt, but certain it is that in 1495 he was once more at Fairford, in the old Manor-house of the Beauchamps and Warwicks, where I will leave him for a time, whilst I invite your attention to Fairford Church, with which John Tame's memory has been, and still is, so intimately associated.

In confirmation of the old adage, which declares “a story never loses by telling,” so there are many misapprehensions connected with John Tame and Fairford Church, it is most desirable should be extinguished, and henceforth discarded. Foremost among them is the tradition that John Tame “founded” the present church at Fairford, and that he dedicated it to the Virgin Mary in 1493. Whence this tradition arose, I have been unable to satisfy myself, beyond the statement in Hearne's version of Leland (vol. ii, p. 22), that “John Tame began the faire new church of Faireford, and that Edmund Tame finished it.”

Without attempting, or even desiring, to call in question the correctness of this much respected authority, I nevertheless firmly believe that Hearne (whose first edition of Leland's *Itinerary* was not published until July, 1710), must have altogether misunderstood him, and, that alluding to the part taken by John and Edmund Tame, in reference to the church, Leland (who, it must be remembered, did not visit Fairford until 1543) merely intended to express that (the church at Fairford having been built) “John Tame began the embellishment of the faire new church, and that Edmund Tame finished it,” as any other interpretation of Leland's statement would be altogether contrary to the fact. This proposition I venture to submit may be adopted as per-

fectly consistent in every respect with the declaration of Leland, and yet not involve the necessity of obliging us to conclude, either that John Tame founded, or even rebuilt, the church, still less that it was dedicated to the Virgin Mary in 1493, that date having evidently been arbitrarily adopted at a long subsequent period, in order to fit in with the fable detailed by Sir Robert Atkyns in his well-known work on *The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire*, London, 1712, viz., "that John Tame, in 1492, took as a prize, a ship bound for Rome, in which was certain painted glass. That he brought both the glass and workmen into England, and founded Fairford Church, for the sake of the glass, and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary in 1493."

As the possibility to say nothing of the probability of this tale being true, in the sense recorded by Atkyns will presently be considered, it will suffice to here mention that, if true, it must involve one of two considerations, either that there was no church at Fairford in 1493, or that John Tame founded a second, and that all trace of the first has become utterly lost. Fortunately no question can possibly be raised in contradiction to the fact that a church existed at Fairford, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, for centuries before John Tame was born, the advowson of Fairford Church having been granted to Matthew de Winterborn (18 John) 1218.

From the earliest period of which we have any record, down to 1541, the church of Fairford was subservient to the mother church of Worcester, in which diocese the whole of Gloucestershire was, as is well-known, included prior to the Reformation. With the authority of the mother church, a peculiar right was conferred upon the Abbots of Tewkesbury, as visitors of Fairford Church, and as such, entitled to a fee of four marks, which right is shown by the register at Worcester to have been exercised in 1497, by Abbot Richard de Cheltenham (1481-1509).

In these facts alone, we find the clearest proof of the most conclusive description, that a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary existed at Fairford long before John Tame's period, and in the absence of all mention of a second church it becomes an impossibility either that John Tame could have founded a church at Fairford, or that it could have been dedicated to the Virgin Mary in 1493, and with the extinc-

tion of that idea, all possible dependence upon 1492 as the date when the glass found its way to Fairford, and a church expressly built for its reception, must be utterly abandoned, and with it the oft-told tale of the piracy so unfairly attributed to John Tame, and his subsequent dedication of the stolen goods to the honour of the Virgin. Again, what can be more significant upon this point than the silence of Leland in 1543, and of Anthony à Wood in 1678. Had there been even a scintilla of truth in this "story," surely one or both of these trustworthy antiquairans would have mentioned, or at least have alluded to it. Not a word, however, can be traced to the tradition until 1712 (two years after the publication of Leland's *Itinerary* by Hearne), when Atkyns, acting upon most imperfect information, gleaned by him in some unaccountable manner, first invented the tale, which thenceforth, until 1868, has been unhesitatingly received as true. Such being the case, I will now proceed to consider *when* the present church at Fairford was erected, and *by whom*.

The unsettled state of the manor for several years prior to its acquisition by Henry VII in 1489, altogether forbade the possibility of these repairs and additions being made to the church which its sadly dilapidated condition and insufficient accommodation then demanded, added to which (as I will presently conclusively show), the new church was fully completed in every respect in 1495, thereby fixing the period of its erection between that date and 1490, which fact I believe to be in perfect accordance with the opinions expressed by several of our most distinguished associates at the Cirencester Congress of 1868. The date of its re-erection and enlargement being thus arrived at, the sole question connected with the church which remains for our consideration is—did John Tame rebuild it at his own expense? and to that inquiry I give an unqualified negative. In the first place there was neither reason nor necessity for his doing so, the manor being then absolutely vested in the crown, and the church itself under the immediate spiritual authority of two of the most wealthy ecclesiastical communities of the period, viz., "the Cathedral Church of Worcester," and the "Abbey of Tewkesbury," whose bounden duty it was to undertake the rebuilding of the church, as well as defray the cost of so doing.

Another and not unimportant reason existed in 1490, why John Tame should *not* rebuild the church, and why the mother church of Worcester *should*. At that time Robert Morton, Archdeacon of York, Gloucester, and Winchester, nephew to John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, was Bishop of Worcester, to which office he had been presented by the Pope in 1486. Very soon after Henry's accession to the throne, it became a matter of great importance to the bishop, not only that he should be confirmed in his see, but obtain a formal pardon for all sorts of imaginary offences he might be supposed to have theretofore harboured or committed against Henry or his cause. In 1489 Henry had, by the means already shewn, become the Lord of the Manor of Fairford, and the bishop was still without his pardon, the want of which exposed him to all sorts of risks and dangers. What more likely to secure it than by rebuilding the church on the royal manor on an enlarged and beautiful scale. Whether that really *was* the bishop's notion for rebuilding it, I do not pretend to insist, beyond the circumstance that it was a far greater probability than that John Tame should have taken upon himself the needless cost attendant upon the rebuilding, added to which improbability, we have the singular coincidence, that the church being completed in December, 1495, Bishop Morton in 1496 obtained the king's pardon, under the great seal, for "all treasons, misprisions, etc., and offences that he might be possibly taxed with;" and thereby secured the protection and immunity so long and so anxiously desired by him. As an additional reason against the probability of Tame's rebuilding the church, the state of the clergy generally in England in 1490 was not by any means so satisfactory as to induce any layman to voluntarily undertake such a task as rebuilding at his own expense on a large scale such a church as that of Fairford. In March of that year Pope Innocent VIII wrote to Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, wherein he acquainted him "that he had heard with great grief, from persons worthy of credit, that the monks of all the different orders in England had grievously degenerated, and that, giving themselves up to a reprobate course, they had led lewd and dissolute lives, by which they brought ruin upon their own souls, set an ill example to others, and gave great offence and scandal to many."

Again, the avarice of Henry VII was soon discovered, and

becoming universally known, the clergy secured his favour by granting him money from time to time, and by propitiating him by other means. What more likely, therefore, that, animated by such feelings, and with the direct object of self-preservation, the authorities of Worcester Cathedral and of Tewkesbury Abbey decided on rebuilding the church on the royal manor of Fairford? For which, through Sir Richard Torott, they would be sure to obtain due credit from the King. The idea is the more feasible from the fact that both the Convocations of Canterbury and York met in 1491, and each granted the King a tenth of their livings for one year.

The grasping, acquisitive nature and peculiar disposition of John Tame rendered him about the most unlikely person who can well be imagined as disposed to voluntarily incur such a needless expense, especially as he must thereby have deprived his son and intended heir, Edmund, of a very considerable amount of money, and have *pro tanto* not only reduced Edmund's worldly importance, but such an act would have been in direct opposition to his own policy, to insure which he made everything else a secondary object. Again, what possible reason was there for such a man as John Tame undertaking such a heavy outlay? He had come to Fairford for his *own* purpose, and to make money. No other tie existed at that time between Fairford and himself. He had not, at the period when the church was built, a single foot of property in it, or an acre in its neighbourhood. His sole connexion with the village consisted in the circumstance that he rented there the old manor house and certain storehouses for his wool, the produce of his extensive flocks in the vicinity. Why then should such a man, so situate, have decided to rebuild a church in a village wherein he was a mere sojourner, and on a manor in which he had neither interest, voice, nor power? If these reasons stood alone I should be content to rely on them as satisfactorily shewing that John Tame did *not* rebuild the church, as has been so long imagined, especially as the fable of its having been expressly erected for the reception of the imaginary stolen glass can no longer be relied on. I do not, however, stop here, but shall presently lay before you a fact which I shall submit to you as conclusively proving that John Tame had nothing whatever to do with rebuilding the church, nor

with the painted glass windows; that in 1495 the Church of our Lady at Fairford was furnished with a peal of three bells, and its religious services provided for, under the care and supervision of the then vicar of Fairford, Sir William Skynner.

Having attempted an analysis of John Tame's character, it may be reasonably expected I should adduce the reasons which have guided me in the conclusions I have arrived at. I have styled him a tyrant to his children, and declared he neglected all, Edmund excepted. I found my justification for that statement on the circumstance that John Tame wholly disinherited his eldest son William, his wife and child; that he limited the interest of his youngest son, Thomas, in his property to a bare £20, and gave a like sum to his only daughter "Eleynor"; the whole of his vast landed estates, as well as the residue of his very large personal property, being bequeathed by him to his second son, Edmund.

I have declared him to have been ostentatious in his charity, but extremely parsimonious in its indulgence; and I evidence it by the fact that his charitable bequests were limited to giving thirty poor maidens of Fairford or Cirencester £1:6:8 each on their marriage, and in contributing £3:6:8 towards the expenses of mending the road from Fairford to Wayting Hill; that his bequests to twenty-nine legatees amounted to but £45:6:8, his legacies to his fourteen household and agricultural servants to merely £16:6:8 amongst them, his bequests to his relations but £13:6:8; and that which is most extraordinary of all, considering his spiritual dependence on the intercession of the priesthood, he only left £6 among three churches in his neighbourhood, and £3 among three other churches; and to the cathedral of Worcester, or, as he styled it, "the moder church of Fairford", the liberal sum of 6s. 8d.; his legacies to his intimate friends among the clergy being limited to £5 in one instance; to two priests of other parishes, 20s. each; and to the vicar of Fairford, £3:6:8. The only exception to this parsimony is evidenced by a spice of that worldly wisdom which may well be accorded to John Tame: thus, to his confidential clerk, Robert Brown, upon the continuance of whose attention to business so much depended, he left £40; and a similar bequest to Robert Hicheman of Lechlade, one of his executors; closing the list with a legacy of £20 to his

spiritual adviser, Robert Issche, the priest of Hampton Maysey : the total sum required to satisfy *all* his bequests and gifts, of every description, being £281, and no more.

These circumstances seem to altogether forbid the probability of a man with a mind so constituted, incurring the enormous and needless outlay which the re-erection of Fairford Church must have necessarily involved, especially as the motive for so doing being exclusively based upon the acquisition of the glass, which he never saw, makes it abundantly clear that in hitherto awarding the honour of such liberality to John Tame, posterity has done him the injustice of placing him in the position of the jackdaw in peacock's feathers. "All honour to him to whom honour is due"; but henceforth, whatever John Tame's merits may be, that of having rebuilt Fairford Church must now be deducted from them, and discarded as untrue, as well as the additional tale so gravely told by Mr. Wylie, that "John Tame left an ample fund to maintain his noble church, and that the hoarded accumulation of this in zealous hands, would go far to restore the building to its pristine splendour" (p. 10).

Whilst, however, I deny John Tame the credit of having either *founded* the church at Fairford, *dedicated* it to the Virgin Mary, or even *rebuilt* it, still less that he had any *personal knowledge* whatever of its *painted glass windows*, I am not only perfectly ready to admit, but desirous to acknowledge, that he was the *founder* of an important addition to *Fairford Church*, and that his work therein was intimately associated with the name of the *Virgin Mary*. As I have already mentioned, John Tame's anxiety for the safety of his soul was intense; only equalled, indeed, by the feeling of acquiring the satisfaction he desired at the lowest possible price; and like a prudent man he proceeded in the most economical manner to effect his object, and arrived at the conclusion that by *founding a chantry* in the north chapel of the church, known as the Chapel of the *Virgin Mary*, and fitting it up with every needful requisite, as well as providing the means for a certain number of masses being said for the repose of his soul, he would fairly satisfy every duty he owed either to the church or his own conscience, and at the same time would effectually procure all those religious attentions he set so much store by, as well as secure him the very spot he coveted as his last resting-place.

As you are doubtless already aware, it was an ordinary practice in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for a testator, anxious for his early release from the pains of Purgatory, to found or endow a chantry with the object of ensuring either the erection of a chapel near or over the spot where he desired to be buried, or to remunerate the priests for saying masses in it for the benefit of his soul. There yet remain in England many such chantry chapels. They were, however, more common in abbeys or religious establishments, in which it was deemed a privilege to be buried, and where some such offering to the priesthood was in a measure the price of sepulture. These chapels, which have generally the tomb of the founder in the middle of them, are separated from the aisles or nave of the church by open screen-work, a circumstance which has sometimes led to their being called chancels. That custom was adopted by John Tame as one thoroughly in accordance with his economical notions. A chantry with the tomb of the founder, separated from the nave of the church by open screen-work, was the very thing he evidently desired; and having made known his wishes and intentions to the vicar of Fairford, and obtained his approval, he at once set about giving effect to it. At this time, however, as already stated, he had nothing whatever to do with Fairford, except as tenant of a portion of the royal manor. Certain it is that he had no property whatever there on the 28th January, 1496. I select that day for the reason that I can appeal to the highest and best authority on the subject, viz. to *John Tame himself*, who then, after declaring himself to be of "hoole mynde, thanked be Almighty God," made his "testament and last will in maner and forme ensuyng"; and after having bequeathed his "soule to Almighty God and to our blesed Lady, and to all the blessed Saints in Heaven", he therein made the following bequests: "*Item* for a fundacion for a Chauntry within the said Church of Fayreford, cexxxxli." (£240, a sum in those days amply sufficient for the purpose). Having thus provided for the foundation of the chantry, Tame's next care was to furnish the Chapel of our Lady with every requisite for the performance of Mass there, and with such object he bequeathed as follows: "*Item*, I bequeathe to the Church of Faireford a sute of fyne vestments of lxxxli. (£80). *Item*, a sute of blake vestments, with the appareilling of the Altar,

li. (£50.) *Item*, ij censuers of silver, with a ship of Frank and sense, for xiiii*li.* vis. viiid. (£14: 6: 8.) *Item*, a gret iiijth belle for xxxvi*li.* *Item*, a pax of silver for vi*li.* xiiis. viiid. *Item*, a Cross of silver for xli*li.* *Item*, to the vii. lights of the said Church, viii*li.* *Item*, ij. candlesticks of silver with cruetts (Buretts for wine and for water) for xli*li.* *Item*, a masse book for viii*li.* *Item* viii. grete torches for the said Church for iiiii*li.* *Item*, for other ornaments about the Church to the value of xli*li.*"

Having, as already explained, assured himself that founding the chantry and furnishing the altar in the Lady Chapel would include the privilege of sepulture, John Tame then, in his will, directed "his body to be buried in the North Chapel of the Church of our Lady in Fairford," and afterwards proceeded to make provision for the expenses connected with his burial and monument, on a scale of grandeur commensurate with his earthly importance. For these purposes he made the following bequests: "*Item*, for all maner of charges about my burying, cxxxx*li.*" (£140); a sum most ample to provide for the erection of the handsome table-tomb and effigies of himself and wife which still constitute one of the numerous attractions of Fairford Church: "*Item*, xii large gownes with hodes for them that shall hold the torches, for iiij*li.*" These arrangements for his interment and monument being complete, Tame wound up his provisions for the care of his soul with the following bequest: "*Item*, for 20 score priests masses, xxd*li.* for either of them."

From this extract of his will a tolerably accurate notion may be formed of John Tame in January 1496; and had he died in that year his name would assuredly never have been connected with the *manor* of Fairford.

That the real state of the case relating to Tame's having founded a chantry was at one time commonly known in Fairford is shewn by the incorrect reference made to it by Anthony à Wood in 1678, who wrote,—“Some think that the George Inn, in Fairford, was a chantrie house for priests to celebrate masses for the souls of the Tames in the parish church.”

I have already mentioned the extremely limited extent to which John Tame provided for his children in a pecuniary sense; but it is nevertheless worthy of remark that, in addi-

tion to the £20 he left his daughter Elynor, he bequeathed her "a pece, a goblet, and maser, with a kever to either of them"; and as he styled her "Dame", without mentioning her name, it would seem to indicate she must at that date have been a widow; and it is to be hoped in easy circumstances, or her father's legacy would have gone but a trifling way towards supplying her necessities. Neither William, his eldest son, his wife or child, are so much as even named in his will.

For some reason which cannot now be ascertained, it seems that Tame's son Thomas could not have been a favourite with his father, whose only bequest to him in 1496 was in these words: "*Item*, to my sonne Thomas Tame, parson of Castleton, xlii." Even this sum, however, moderate as it was, appears to have been considered by the testator as *too much*, as upon the occasion of his affirming his will four years afterwards, and only *five days before his death*, he revoked in part the before-mentioned legacy in these words: "Except the bequest unto his sonne, *Sir* Thomas Tame, the which, for certain considerations him moving, was revoked to xxi." This apparent neglect of Thomas and Elynor is in marked contrast to the love and affection evinced by Tame for his son Edmund, as well by the extent of the property bequeathed him, as in the language employed in conferring the gift. Thus, at the conclusion of a multitude of small bequests, John Tame proceeded in these words:—"Furthermore, as to my landes and tenements, I wol that my sonne Edmund Tame shall have all my landes, ten'ts, rents, and secces [securities], of the which I, or else any other man to my use and behoof, nowe vesteth and is seased, lying in the counties of Kent, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, with also such landes and tenements as I late bought of John Walssh, and of Estfeld, lying within the sayed counte of Gloucester, to have, holde, and parte all the foresaid landes, tenements, rents, and services to him and to his heeres for ever. Also I will furthermore that this my will and testament hooly performed, and all the debts that I owe nowe, or also hereafter shall owe, fully content and paid, that the residue and remen't of all my goods, catoull, and debts, the which I shall have at the time of my deptyng oute of this world, shall hooly and only remayne unto my said sonne Edmund Tame, he them to have, occupie, and

injoy for ever to his own p'pre use and profet, and Goddes dere blessing and myne with alle."

Such was the worldly position and desire of John Tame in January, 1496. Wealthy, but still a nobody ; the chief personage in Fairford, and yet not the owner of a foot of land in it. Whilst matters thus stood, John Tame doubtless conceived the possibility of his taking a firm root in Fairford, and, following out that idea with his usual tact and perseverance, he met with his accustomed success ; and, for a consideration, obtained from Henry in 1498 a cession of a *portion only* of the manor, by lease or otherwise. Whatever the arrangement was, certain it is that John Tame did *not* acquire the lordship of the manor.

Almost the first act of Tame, after his acquisition, was to pull down the old Beauchamp and Warwick Court, and to erect on its site a mansion better suited to the importance be then assumed. This house (which, in its turn, disappeared in the reign of Charles II) was thus mentioned by Leland in 1545 :—"There is a fair Mansion Place of the Tames hard by the Church Yard, builded thoroughly by John Tame and Edmund Tame, the bakside whereof goith to the very Bridge of Fairford." (*Itin.*, vol. ii, p. 21.)

The founder of the family of the "Tames of Fairford" was, however, not destined to long enjoy his newly acquired honours, or to know the comforts of his luxurious residence, as, ere it was even completed, John Tame was gathered to his fathers, viz., on the 8th May, 1500.

By a somewhat singular coincidence, on the same 8th May on which John Tame died, Henry VII and his Queen Elizabeth landed at Calais to escape the plague which then raged in England ; and on the 23rd of the month Tame's intimate friend, Sir Walter Hungerford, arrived at Calais in attendance on the king, to whom, in all probability, he communicated Tame's decease.

With Tame's will we lose all further trace of his sons William and Thomas, and of his daughter Eleanor, as well as of his brother Richard and his son, to whom John left a trifling legacy. Indeed, with the exception of the single mention, in 1544, of Thomas, the son of William, no mention of the Tame family is again heard of, except Edmund and his direct descendants.



I may here state that, in addition to the reasons I have already offered, why the existence of the present church cannot be justly attributed to John Tame, I will refer to one, which I believe to be both cogent and conclusive, viz.: that, had John Tame rebuilt the church at his own expense, he would assuredly have provided for the chantry as a matter of course, and have made such provision for its maintenance as he thought fit, and thereby have rendered it wholly unnecessary that its foundation should have been dependent on the mere chance of his subsequently making a will, or upon the caprice of the vicar for the time being to permit the fulfilment of his wishes, or, still worse, to the contingency of his dying without a will, and thereby preclude the gratification of that desire to which he evidently attached the highest importance.

The foregoing circumstances, taken in connection with the fact that John Tame made no testamentary disposition whatever for providing for the expenses of the painted glass windows; and the declaration of Leland that Edmund Tame finished the church, I venture to submit, conclusively prove not only that John Tame had nothing whatever to do with the windows, but that they are entirely due to the consideration of his son Edmund, by whose care Hearne tells us, "a description of them was engrossed on vellum, and preserved in the church chest, but has unfortunately been lost." The paper MS. published by Hearne in his volume containing *Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More* (p. 273), and purporting to have been a copy from the original, must certainly have been most imperfectly made at a period long subsequent to the Reformation, and mainly, as I believe, for the use of the parish clerk of the day.

There is no pretence for alleging that Leland, on his visit to Fairford, put himself into communication with any member of the Tame family, nor does any evidence exist to warrant the belief that he even visited the church. So superficial, indeed, was Leland's notion of it as to render him altogether silent upon the foundation of the chantry by John Tame's will, or the erection of the painted windows by his son Edmund. His note on Fairford Church, as in many other instances, has no better foundation than that *unreliable hearsay*, which in 1542 could have had no greater value than we know it to possess in 1871. Again, what proof is

there that Leland has been correctly quoted? Hearne's first edition of Leland was not published until 1710, and then it was described as "*The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary, intermixed with divers discourses written by the Editor.*" What guarantee have we that Hearne's version of the Fairford visit may not have formed the subject of one of these *discourses*? His second edition of Leland appeared in 1745, and was described as being "collected and *improved from the original MS.*" What assurance is there that the tale of Fairford Church was not one of "Hearne's improvements"? Assuming, however, that Leland's MS., when examined, should bear out Hearne's statement—even then, its authority would be *worthless*, when tested by the truths now revealed to us.

John Tame's will was, as I have shewn, executed in 1496, at which period the church was completed. John Tame survived that completion four years. How then *could* Edmund Tame have *finished* it, in the sense attributed by Hearne to Leland?

Before taking leave of John Tame, it is worthy of notice that his will affords us an interesting illustration of the curious practice, which commonly prevailed in his time, of styling every priest as "Sir." Thus his son Thomas, the priest of Castle Eaton, is styled "*Sir* Thomas Tame;" the vicar of Fayrford, "*Sir* William Skynner;" and the vicar of Southrop, "*Sir* Thomas Strete"—a species of clerical rank altogether unconnected with that of knighthood, with which the title of "Sir" is ordinarily associated.

At the time of his father's decease Edmund Tame was in his thirty-sixth year, an age which enabled him to thoroughly appreciate the value and importance of the large properties, both personal and landed, which he then inherited—those in Gloucestershire alone including (among others) Harnhill, Nimpsfield, Notgrove, Rendcombe, Tetbury, and Fairford, at which last-mentioned place he took up his residence, in the mansion then in course of completion.

John Tame's remains having been duly laid in the spot selected by him, Edmund's first duty was to give effect to his father's will by founding the chantry and erecting the tomb. In all reasonable probability he sought the advice and assistance of the architect of the church, so that everything done should be in strict harmony with the building.

Under such superintendence the chantry was completed, and enclosed within a screen of very beautiful gothic carving in oak, which still remains; and in due course the chapel of "the Virgin" was provided with every necessary, in accordance with John Tame's wishes, and a fourth bell added to the belfry. In like manner there can be but little room for doubt that the tomb, both in form and ornamentation, was completed under the architect's advice, although from the fact that at the time of his decease John Tame had no armorial bearings whatever, as will presently be seen, the tomb could not have been finished, as we now see it, until after the year 1520. The chantry and tomb thus provided, the church was complete in every requisite but one, and that one *alone* was left for Edmund Tame to supply, viz., to substitute painted glass windows for the plain glass which then existed, and thereby evince a mark of respect for his parents as well as his devotion to the Romish church, of which he was so zealous a supporter. This resolve, fully carried out and completed many years before Leland visited Fairford, confirms that which I have already ventured to declare *must* have been Leland's original statement, viz., that "John Tame founded the Chantry in the new fair Church of Fairford, dedicated to the Virgin Mary; and that Edmund Tame finished the embellishment of the Church." That being so, will bring the period of the windows being placed in the church *circa* 1505-6, which will, in itself, form an important point, when considering the artist to whose talent the production of the windows is due.

Whilst alluding *en passant* to the windows, it may be interesting to mention the entry made by Anthony à Wood, in his diary, relative to his visit to the church in 1678:—"At Fairford, neare Meysey Hampton, where Mr. Willm Oldswert, the Impropiator did, with great curtisie, show me the beautiful church there, and the most curious paynted windows set up in the reigne of K. Henry VII. The said Church, Sir Edmund Thame, Knt. (who died 1534), did finishe, having been begun by his father, John Thame, Esq., who died in 1500."

This reference to Wood's visit is of further importance, as showing the painted windows were in the church at *that* period, which fact is in *itself* a satisfactory refutation of another of those fables by which the history of Fairford

Church has been disfigured, viz., that “during the convulsions connected with the Civil Wars, Mr. Oldysworth caused the windows to be taken down and concealed,”—a declaration to be found in *all* the accounts hitherto transmitted to us connected with the glass. Had such removal ever occurred, of a *surety* Anthony à Wood must have heard it from Mr. Oldesworth, and could not fail to have mentioned it.

That the religious zeal of Edmund Tame, and his interest in Fairford Church is beyond all question, is evident from the following extract from his will :—“ I, Edmund Tame the eldre, being of hole mynde, thanked be Allmighty God, make my testament in fourme folowing. *Firstle*, I bequeathe my soule to Allmighty God, to our blessed lady, and to all the holly company of Hevon, and my body to be buried in our lady Chappell in the Churche of Faireford. *Item*, I bequethe to the Vicar of Faireford *iiijl. vjs. viijd.* (£3 6s. 8d.) *Also* I will, that my Feoffees of my lands in Castleton to stande, and be seased to this only use, that is, to finde a Priest for ever to sing for the soules of my Father and Mother, and for the soules of me and of my wife, and other my friends, according to the feoffament thereof made.” To a mind so constituted, the pious work of providing the church, in which his father was buried, and wherein *he* desired he might also lie, with painted glass windows, became a duty, and was fulfilled as such. Nothing else in fact, as already shewn, then remained to be done to complete the ornamentation of the church. To provide the windows, thus constituted the *only* opportunity afforded to the religious mind of Edmund, and the finishing touch thereby given to the permanent beauty of the sacred edifice.

Without desiring for a moment to underrate the merit which attaches to the pious intention of Edmund, it must not be forgotten that the monetary value and importance of his gift in 1500 had no relation whatever to that with which it is invested at the present day.

In 1500, painted glass, if not absolutely a drug, as the late Mr. Winston has declared, was at all events a branch of art very poorly remunerated, and consequently it could be readily purchased at a very moderate figure. Some idea that such was the case, may be arrived at from the contract

with the artist employed by the Dean and Chapter of York to paint the eastern window of the majestic minster ; for which beautiful and masterly workmanship he received "four shillings per week regular wages, with small conditional gratuities, and was under an obligation to complete the work in three years."

That Edmund in every respect fulfilled his father's wishes, and maintained to the full the dignity of the family name, may be readily imagined by his adding to the family estates, by acquiring the manors of Dowdeswell, Barnsley, and East-leach Turville, in Gloucestershire. In 1505, the year in which I believe the glass to have been put up, he filled the very responsible and important office of "High Sheriff of Gloucestershire," and on the 26th July in the following year had the misfortune to lose his wife Agnes (a daughter of Sir Edward Greville), by whom he had four children—a son, Edmund, and three daughters, Alice, Margaret, and Elizabeth, all of whom afterwards married and survived him.

After remaining a widower for a few years, Edmund married a second time, his bride being Elizabeth Tyringham. No issue, however, resulted from this marriage, which appears to have been a very happy one. Indeed, as time progressed Edmund Tame developed as much ambition and determination as had ever distinguished his father, very shortly after whose demise Edmund was included in the "Commission of the Peace for Gloucestershire," in which he was confirmed by Henry VIII, on the 1st March, 1510. On the 17th November, 1513, Edmund's name was returned a *second* time in the sheriffs' roll of his native county, and in 1515 he was also inserted in the Commission of the Peace for Wiltshire, where, as already stated, he possessed considerable property. At this time he had abandoned all active interference in business, although he still embarked an extensive capital in the breeding of enormous flocks of sheep. His ambition was, however, rather with the Court than the counting-house, and so successfully did he play his cards as to receive the honour of knighthood from Henry VIII, in 1516, in which year he was attached to the Royal Household, as appears from the "list of names of the king's officers and servants sworn to attend in his chamber"; and wherein the name of Sir Edmund Tame appears as a knight of the

body, and that of his son, Edmund Tame, as an esquire for the body, extraordinary.

Amongst other circumstances connected with Fairford, which (in all probability) will be a novelty to many of its present inhabitants, may be mentioned, that for many years prior to John Tame making his appearance there, a great court, commonly known as the "Erlescourt," was annually held at Fairford to exercise the manorial duties. One of these courts was held there in Sir Edmund Tame's time, viz., the 24th July, 1517 (9th Henry VIII), under the control of Sir Edmond Poynings and Sir Wm. Denys, as "Stewards of the Royal Manor," and "Masters and Governors of Sodbury Park."

The 26th of August, 1520, was, however, *par excellence*, the red letter day in the history of Fairford, which ought to be for ever memorable in its annals, as well as in the pages therein devoted to the especial glorification of the Tames. Upon that eventful day, the honours conferred upon Fairford assuredly reached their culminating point, amidst such rejoicings and festivities as it had never theretofore known, or has witnessed at any subsequent period; and yet, this all important event has hitherto been permitted to remain wholly unnoticed by every writer upon Gloucestershire or Fairford.

What that event was I will presently mention. A meeting having been appointed to take place between Henry VIII and Francis I at Ardres, near Guines, commemorated in history as the "Field of the Cloth of Gold"; on that important event becoming promulgated throughout the length and breadth of the land, the nobility and gentry from each county earnestly strove for the honour of being permitted to form part of the royal retinue.

Fairford was not forgotten on the occasion, as amongst the gentlemen from Gloucestershire selected by the king to take part in the gorgeous solemnity, was Edmund Tame, the son of Sir Edmund. At the last moment, however, he was prevented from attending, and Sir Anthony Poynings was thereupon obliged to be substituted in his place.

Henry, with his magnificent court, returned to England about the middle of July, 1520, and remained for a few days at his palace of Greenwich, from which, on the 4th August, he proceeded to Windsor Castle, where Sir Edmund

Tame, as one of the “knights of the body,” was then in attendance on his royal and fickle master. The king was of course perfectly acquainted with the honourable position Sir Edmund occupied in Gloucestershire, nor, as may be well imagined, was he ignorant of the renown which, even then, attached to the painted glass windows erected by Sir Edmund in the church of the royal manor of Fairford, and wherein, as Henry well knew, Sir Edmund had not omitted to notice him, by introducing the well-timed compliment—the “feathers and mottoe” of the Prince of Wales. Whatever the inducing cause may have been, the result was the expression of the monarch’s determination to visit Fairford, and his graciously signifying to Sir Edmund his intention to constitute himself and suite his guests during the royal sojourn there, which was to be limited to a week. The twenty-sixth of August having been appointed for the king’s arrival, Sir Edmund and his retainers met his majesty and court at the border of the county, and conducted them through Lechlade to Fairford, where the royal party remained until the 2nd September, during which period we may reasonably conclude that neither the church nor its painted windows were left unvisited or enjoyed by the king and his suite. The royal satisfaction, indeed, with all that he saw at Fairford and its neighbourhood, as well as with the reception he there experienced, cannot better be evidenced than by mentioning the honour then conferred upon Sir Edmund by his majesty—an honour altogether unprecedented, so far as I have any knowledge of the subject.

Whether it was that the king noticed the tomb of John Tame to be *minus* armorial bearings, and that none had been exhibited by Sir Edmund, I will not pretend to divine. The fact, however, remains, that whilst his majesty was Sir Edmund’s guest he graciously made him a special grant of a shield, which could not, and dared not, have been assumed by, or be granted to a subject, unless by royalty itself, viz., the king gave Sir Edmund as his armorial bearings *the Supporters of the Royal Arms of England*—a crowned lion and a griffin—combatant and respectant—the lion being *azure*, crowned and clawed *gules*, and the griffin *vert*—clawed *gules* in a field *argent*.

By the kindness of our highly esteemed Vice-President, J. R. Planché, Esq., Somerset Herald, I am enabled to lay

before you a copy of the original entry of the grant of arms to Sir Edmund Tame, as they appear in the books of the Herald's College. There is also a singular circumstance connected with this grant which well deserves attention. The royal grant not having included a crest, the selection of that important addition seems to have been left to the Herald, who, from the well-known circumstance that Sir Edmund's fortune had been derived from wool, seems to have thought that the head of a tame animal connected with the knight's business would be most appropriate, and they, therefore, selected "a sheep's head gorged, with two annulets." This association does not, however, appear to have been approved by Sir Edmund, who may possibly have considered the suggestion in the light of a personal joke, and therefore declined it, as the crest never appears to have been coloured or adopted by him; and in every known representation of the Tame armorial bearings we find the royal supporters *without a crest*.

The king's favour did not, however, end with the grant, inasmuch as, on the eve of his departure from the Manor-house on the 2nd September, he dubbed Sir Edmund's son a knight, and bade him arise "Sir Edmund," thus closing his memorable visit with a graceful act of royal condescension, the best calculated to express his satisfaction with his reception, and to confer a lasting pleasure and honour upon the Tame family, and which in justice to their memory should assuredly be no longer left unrecorded.

On the 6th November following Sir Edmund the elder was again pricked by the king as high sheriff of Gloucestershire.

The next time we hear of Thomas Tame is in the year 1521 (12 Henry VIII), upon the occasion of the trial of the Duke of Buckingham upon the indictment found at Bristol Castle in Gloucestershire, when Thomas Tame served on the jury.

In the year following Henry's visit to Fairford, John Tame's tomb was completed by the addition of the armorial bearings so granted him as already mentioned, and added thereto were those of the Twynihoe family, *argent*, a chevron *gules* between three poppingjays proper, varying the escutcheons by arranging the several arms of the Tame and Twynihoe families *per pale*. I am indebted for the rubbing



of those I now produce to the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Morton of Fairford.

I have already had occasion to deny the oft-told tale that John Tame purchased the manor of Fairford, in 1498, from Henry VII; and I now refer to a fact which, when considered in connexion with the grand court held at Fairford in 1517, as before mentioned, conclusively proves my objection to be well founded, and further shews that even in 1521 the manorial rights were still vested *in the crown*. Thus Sir Edmund Tame, by warrant dated at Westminster, 9th April, 1521, was appointed by the king "to be steward of the lordship of Fayreford, with 40s. a year"; and even *this* appointment was but annual, as on the same day in the following year (1522) a similar warrant was issued. As, however, no further entry of it occurs, I am justified in submitting that it was Sir Edmund Tame who acquired the lordship of the manor of Fairford by royal grant or purchase in or about 1523, and *not* John Tame in 1498, as has been hitherto imagined.

The name of John Tame again comes before us in 1523, when, in a list of the "debts due to the king's grace, whereof the days of payment be expired, and the money not paid," John Tame appears for £60 as a "debtor to the crown by specialities made *temp. Hy. 7.*" In the same year Sir Edmund Tame the younger joined the king's army in France, then under the command of Charles Duke of Suffolk (15 Henry VIII), his name appearing in the official account of 1523, entitled "Diets and Wages of the Army Royal beyond Sea," etc. During the absence of his son with the Duke, Sir Edmund, for the third and last time, served the office of high sheriff of the county.

In 1523 a commission was issued by the crown, directed to the steward and chamberlain of the king's household and other officers, to collect the subsidy granted him for four years, from the persons in the king's household, in which list the names of Sir Edmund Tame and Sir Edmund Tame the younger appear together with that of *Thomas* Tame, the nephew of Sir Edmund, and who married Jane, second daughter of Sir Edmund Greville, Knight, sister of Agnes, the first wife of Sir Edmund Tame the elder. The collection of the subsidy was necessarily an important duty requiring the attention of the principal officials in each county.

For that of Gloucester a commission was issued directed to Lord Berkeley, Sir Anthony Poynings, Sir William Uvedale, Sir William Denys, and Sir Edmund Tame. The language of that commission being somewhat singular, it may interest you to know it as officially recorded: "15 Henry VIII, 2 Nov.—Commission to 'practice' with all persons in the county of Gloucester, having £40 and upwards in goods or lands, whose names are contained in a schedule annexed, for payment by anticipation of the subsidy granted in the last Parliament, and due after the first assessment thereof, in aid of the Duke of Suffolk, who has passed through all Picardy without resistance, taken the town of Ancon and other places by surrender, and the town of Bray by assault, and carried divers passages over the river Soome against Captain Ponteremir, and is on his way to Paris; and in aid of the Duke of Bourbon, one of the greatest princes in France, and now the declared enemy of the French king, who, with ten thousand Almainers in the pay of England, is also in pursuit of the said king. Of sums thus received by anticipation, Lord Berkeley, Sir William Denys, and *Sir Edmund Tame* are to be the *collectors*." The loyalty of the two knights, Sir Edmund the father and Sir Edmund the son, is further shewn by each having contributed the sum of £100, in 1524, towards the loan then to be made "for the king's personal expenses in France, for the recovery of the crown of the same."

During the last few years of his life, Sir Edmund the elder appears to have lived in retirement at Fairford, at which place he died on the 1st October, 1534; and in accordance with his before mentioned wish, was buried in the Lady Chapel there, beside his first wife Agnes. By the care of his widow, the Lady Elizabeth Tame, a blue marble slab in the floor of the chantry founded by his father, marked his resting-place; the marble having a band of brass around its edge, on which were engraved these words: "Of your charity pray for the soule of Edmund Tame, Knight, here under buried, which deseased the first day of October in the yere of oure Lorde God a thousand ecccc xxx iiiii, and for the soule of Agnes his first wife, which deseased the xxvi day of July anno 1506. On us and all Xtien soules Ihu have mercy. Amen."

As Sir Edmund made provision in his will for barring the

dower of his widow, his extensive landed property was inherited by his son Edmund, who had livery of the manor of Fairford the same year in which his father died. Notwithstanding, however, Sir Edmund's succession to Fairford, he did not attempt to take up his residence there; but in deference to his mother-in-law, the Lady Elizabeth Tame, he permitted her to occupy the Manor House, which she continued to do for some time after her step-son's (Sir Edmund) decease. At the time he succeeded as heir to his father's landed estates he was living at Rendcombe, which continued to be his residence, and was a place wherein he took the greatest interest. There also existed a further and independent reason which created a chasm between the houses of Rendcombe and Fairford, which could never be bridged over, or permit Edmund and the Lady Elizabeth to remain on other than "stately terms". That such was the case will be readily understood when it is known that Sir Edmund, influenced by the spirit of the Reformation, foreswore the faith of his ancestors; and as a consequence of so doing, "Protestant Rendcombe" soon formed a strong contrast to "Romish Fairford"; and the two households became divided accordingly, Edmund's remains finding no resting-place in the chantry of Fairford Church which owed so much to the liberality of his father and grandfather.

In 1536 Sir Edmund was selected as high sheriff of Gloucestershire, which distinction was conferred on him a second time in 1541.

The last public service rendered by Sir Edmund Tame, of which I have any present knowledge, is that his name is mentioned in "the Book containing the names of them which should attend my Lord of Suffolke for the mettyngge the Lady Anne [of Cleves] at Dover," and wherein Sir Edmund Tame figures among "the groomes of the Privy Chamber" forming part of "the kinges own traine." Among the directions given for that ceremony was, that "every knight should have a cote and gowne of velvet, and a chaine of gold." The chain and coat of velvet worn by Sir Edmund Tame on this occasion seem to have been carefully preserved by him to the time of his death, as by his will he bequeathed to "Dame Katheryne, his well beloved wief," his "best and greatest chayne of goolde"; and by a codicil to his will, to his "cosyn Edmunde Horne," his "cote of blew velvett bordered withe goolde."

Sir Edmund is popularly imagined to have done for Rendcomb and Barnsley that which it has heretofore been the fashion to declare his father did for Fairford, viz. rebuild the churches there. I will not on this occasion attempt to inquire how far that notion is well founded; but whilst I reject the tradition I am quite prepared to admit the fact that Sir Edmund erected the painted glass windows now in Rendcomb at the same time as those at Fairford, and to this subject I propose to return on a future occasion.

The extent of the change which had come over Sir Edmund in his religious sentiments cannot be better exhibited than in the contrast expressed in the wording of his will as compared with those of the other members of his family. In lieu of the pompous bequest of his soul, and the elaborate details given to ensure its salvation, as well as indicate the precise spot of his interment, he seems to have gone to the other extreme. He thus commenced his will:—"In the name of God, Amen. The thirde day of May, in the yere of our Lorde God a thousande fyve hoondred forty and foure, and in the xxxvjth yere of the reign of our Sovereign lorde Henry the viijth by the Grace of God of England, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faithe, and on yearthe[earth] of the Church of England and Ireland supreme hedde, I Edmund Tame, of Rendcombe in the county of Glouc., Knight, hole in body and perfecte of remembrance, thanked be Allmighty God, make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and forme following, that is to witt—First and above all things I gyve and bequeath my soul to Allmighty God my maker and redeamer, and my boddie to be buryed where God shall appointe and dispoose the place." This will of Sir Edmund has a further interest as being one of the earliest instances of testamentary dispositions which mentions Henry VIII as "Defender of the Faith," that title having only been conferred by 35 Henry VIII, cap. 3 (1543), a few months prior to the date of Sir Edmund's will.

Independent of being lord of the manor of Fairford, Sir Edmund had an interest in a farm in the neighbourhood, which he styled "the farne of Faireforde"; his term, title, and interest wherein he gave and bequeathed to his said "wief, the Lady Katheryn," upon whom the manor of Fairford was settled, by way of jointure, upon her marriage with Sir Edmund.

Sir Edmund died at Rendcomb in October 1544, and was buried, in the most unostentatious manner, in the south chancel of the church there. No monumental tomb has ever been erected to his memory, and the initials of his name, E. T., alone indicate the spot near which he was laid. His will was formally proved, on the 4th November following, by his widow and relict, Dame Katharine, as his sole executrix, and its trusts undertaken to be fulfilled by her.

It is almost needless to state that Lady Katharine followed her husband's conversion to Protestantism; and that whilst the Lady Elizabeth Tame maintained the Romish faith at Fairford, Lady Katharine Tame openly professed and encouraged the Protestant cause at Rendcomb.

As Sir Edmund died without leaving issue, the manors of Harnhill, Nimpsfield, Tetbury, Barnsley, Dowdeswell, and Eastleach Turville, went direct to Sir Edmund's three sisters, Alice, Margaret, and Elizabeth, as coheiresses. In anticipation that such would in all probability be the case, Leland, in his *Itinerary* (vol. i, p. 18), thus wrote: "Tame that nowe is at Fareford hath bene married a xii. year, and hath no child; wherefore be likelihood Syr Humphre Staford, sun to old Staford of Northamptonshire, is like to have the landes of Tame of Fareford, for he married his sister, and so the name of the Tames is like soon to decay." This prediction, as we have seen, was in the main fulfilled, the only variation from Leland's anticipation being that the Tame property became vested in Sir Thomas Verney by purchase. Some years prior to the death of Sir Edmund, his sisters were all married,—Alice, the elder, becoming the wife of Sir Thomas Verney; Margaret, the wife of Sir Humphrey Stafford; and Elizabeth, the youngest, the wife of Lewis Watkyn, Esq.

Within three years after Sir Edmund's decease, the shares of Margaret and Elizabeth in the settled property, together with the reversion to Fairford, were purchased by Sir Thomas Verney, and duly conveyed to him by deed dated the 26th February, 1547.

Notwithstanding Lady Katherine was entitled to Fairford as her jointure, she never appears to have disturbed Lady Elizabeth in the tenancy of the Manor House. In consequence of her ladyship's declining health she, in November, 1550, made her last will and testament, and gave directions

as to her burial in these terms : “I bequeth my soul to Almighty God, Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, three persons and one God in Trinity, to our blessed lady Saint Mary the Virgyn and Mother inviolate of our Saviour Jesus Christe, and to all the Holy Company of Heaven, and my body to be buried in the North Chapell of our Lady in Faireford aforesaide, by my late husbnde, Sir Edmund Tame the elder, Knight, deceased, whose soule God pardon, yf it fortune me, the said Dame Elizabeth, to departe out of this pnt. (present) lyfe in Faireford aforesaid, etc.”

As her ladyship died at Fairford in the course of the same month (of November, 1550) she was buried in accordance with her direction, and very shortly after, her executor, Sir Anthony Hungerford, Knight, of Down Amney, caused an engraved brass tablet to be inlaid on the marble slab which covered the remains of the knight and his two wives, whereon Sir Edmund was represented in armour, exhibiting on his surcoat the arms so granted to him by the king as before mentioned, having on either side of him a wife; the mantle of the one having the armorial bearings—*sable* on a cross within a bordure, both engrailed, *or*, five pellets for “Greville;” and the mantle of the other, a saltire *sable* for “Tyringham.”

Sir Anthony also caused a second engraved tablet to be let into the north wall of the north chancel, upon which was represented Sir Edmund Tame and his two wives, with surcoat in “Inescocheons,” and charged as above-mentioned, each kneeling before a desk upon which a book lies open, with three labels above their heads, on which are the following words in Old English characters :—

“Jesu, Lord, that made us,
And with Thy blood us bought,
Forgive our trespass.”

At their feet is the following Latin inscription :—“Hic jacent Edmondus Tame, miles, et Agnes et Elizabeth uxores ejus, qui quidem Edmondus, obiit primo die Octobris Anno D'ni MDXXXIII, et anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi vicissimo sexto quorum animorum propicietur Deus—Amen.”

The Manor House, Fairford, upon Lady Elizabeth's decease, was taken possession of by Lady Katherine Tame, but even that last connecting link, slight as it was, soon became broken by her ladyship's marriage with Sir Walter

Buckler, Knight, and on his decease, to Roger Lygon, Esq., whom she also survived.

As, however, the doctrine of the Reformation gained ground, so the change in the service of Fairford Church became complete, and the pomp of Romish ceremonies compelled to make way and utterly disappear before the onward progress of the Protestant faith. The masses to be sung for the repose of the souls of the deceased Tames in the chantry provided with so much care and faith, were silenced for ever. The altar glistening with the handsome and costly gifts of John Tame altogether vanished, and by the time Lady Katherine was laid in her grave in 1560, in the then Protestant church of Fairford, and within a few feet distance from John Tame, Sir Edmund, and his two wives; every vestige of the Old Faith had gone, and close by the spot where the altar stood in the chapel of the Holy Virgin, and in which so many of those *Aves*, *Paternosters*, and *Requiem masses*, so dearly prized by John Tame, his son, and wives, had been said and sung, a costly tomb was erected to the memory of the Protestant Dame Katherine, and to Roger Lygon, her third husband.

Thus, as we have seen, the short period of forty-six years (1498 to 1544) sufficed to include the first connection of the Tames with the Manor of Fairford, and its final alienation from them,—from the exaltation of the family name effected by John, to its utter extinction in the person of his grandson Sir Edmund.

Notwithstanding, however, that the link between the Tames and the Manor has been severed for upwards of three hundred and twenty years, they have left behind them as a souvenir of their piety a glorious monument which, so long as it exists, can never fail to command our admiration and deserve our gratitude, and which must always intimately and inseparably associate the “marvellous painted glass windows” in the Manor Church with “THE TAMES OF FAIRFORD.”





DILWYN CHURCH.

Interior, looking East.

ON DILWYN CHURCH.

BY REV. W. HEATHER, LL.D.

THIS church is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and as the "Feast" has always been observed on the Sunday after the 8th of September, we have no difficulty in determining that the church was dedicated at the festival of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, which was ordered to be observed in the Western Church either in the eleventh or twelfth century. It is a curious coincidence that I have the pleasure of meeting the British Archæological Association in this church on the very day of the festival which witnessed the celebration of its first dedication. Of that church all that remains is the tower. On its eastern face there remains the weathering of the roof, proving that this original church consisted of a plain nave, the same width as the tower itself. The pilaster buttresses, and the early character of the lancet-lights, must, I think, assign the date of the tower either to the end of the twelfth or the very earliest years of the thirteenth century. The tower communicated with the church by an arch, one half of which still serves the same purpose; the other portion is partially filled up with a pier, built as an abutment to the present south arcade. The outline of the entire opening can still be distinctly traced on both faces of the wall, and is plainly marked in the pointing of the masonry. One other interesting memorial of that church is still left to us in the font, now placed in the south-west angle of the nave; but discovered by myself, at the restoration of the church, buried upside down under the present font. It has been "cramped" together, but the cramps were removed before it was buried. Perhaps the damage was done at the pulling down of that church in which it was originally placed. However this may be, the decidedly early features of the font corroborate my opinion respecting the early date of the tower.

The present church, consisting of nave with north and south aisles, and the chancel, with sacristy, was built at the close of the thirteenth century, as evidenced by the details of the work and documents still existing.

The patronage of the church, no doubt, was in the twelfth century vested in the lord of Dilwyn, who was one of the leaders in a rebellion against King John,—Matthew de Gamages; and proving unsuccessful, his estates were seized by that monarch, and Dilwyn became a royal manor. In 1275 the advowson was given by the Earl of Leicester, son of Henry III, to the adjoining convent of Wormesley. In 1285 they first exercised their patronage by presenting the convent chaplain, Richard of Monyton (Monington) to the vicarage. In 1305 there was a dispute between the vicar and the convent as to the amount of maintenance falling to the share of the former. The prior alleged that the gifts of the church were not worth above £70 yearly; that they (the religious house) “have built the chancel new, and doe repayre it still, and find bookes,” etc. They would scarcely interfere with the fabric until they had presented (in 1285). The chancel and nave were evidently built at the same time. So that the document just quoted fixes the date of the present church between 1285 and 1305. Thus within a period of one hundred years we find two churches built. I think it is probable that the convent found the chancel of the original church very small, as, indeed, it would necessarily be from the width of the nave; and building the present large and beautifully proportioned chancel was the means of inducing the rebuilding of the nave. Making the new church line with the southern face of the tower, it was naturally thrown further north; and utilising the tower for closing the end of the nave, they built the projecting portion against its north-west angle; and the gable, with its coping complete, gives us the pitch of the roof and the line of wall-plait, which must have come just beneath the corbels which support the present existing perpendicular roof. The chancel is a singularly well preserved specimen of thirteenth century work, for the roof and walls have not suffered in the least, either from the effect of time or injudicious repairs. The windows, again, are intact; and so is the sacristy, rather a rare instance of an original erection, at any rate in Herefordshire. On the quoins of the east window, just above the present reredos, are the traces of two mortice-holes. I think into these was once fastened the ancient reredos, probably of wood. On the north side of the sacra-rium is the aumbry, still retaining, in a sound state of pre-

servation, its oaken shelf. On the opposite side is the piscina. On the south side of the chancel is a stone bench, and at its east end a separate seat.

Before the Reformation a building called "The College" stood just without the limits of the churchyard, adjoining the present lych-gate. The angle of this building is just visible in Dingley's sketch of the church taken at the end of the seventeenth century. In this "Colledge" resided six priests. The vicar was their custos. The whole seven were required to serve in the choir every Lord's Day, and the other two at Upper Chadnor Court, in a chapel there dedicated to St. Helen; long since destroyed, though the site can still be identified. I conclude that the stone bench was for the use of the six priests, and the seat eastward of the elbow for the vicar as custos. In the south window of the sacra-rium, and immediately eastward of the custos' seat, it will be noticed that the jambs are returned square. Was this intended for the seat of the Prior of Wormesley when present, the sub-prior, or other superiors of the convent? It may have been intended for this use. The four windows of the south aisle of nave exhibit the gradual development of tracery in window-heads. In the western window the space over the two lancets is unpierced; the next is pierced, but in the simplest manner possible. The two succeeding windows introduce us to tracery proper. The fourteenth century saw the canopy inserted in the north wall of chancel, and under which lies the effigy of a knight, respecting whom I shall say a word presently.

But if there were little doing in the church during the Decorated period, at its close and during the fifteenth century considerable activity prevailed, and the general aspect of the church was materially altered by the erection of the north transept, the south porch (one of the finest in this county), the insertion of the tall two-light western window, the setting up the present font, the raising the walls of the nave, surmounted by an embattled parapet, the substitution of the present depressed for the original Early English roof, the insertion of the large clerestory windows, and the separating of the chancel, the north transept, and the eastern end of the south aisle by the present wood screens. The north transept was used as the lady chapel, and the first priest appointed was Thomas Golosse, 23rd September, 1465, for it is stated that

the chantry of the Virgin Mary was recently founded by William Smytheote and Walter Brugg—its value was £4 : 5 : 8. There was a second chantry dedicated to St. Nicholas of the value of £4 per year. This chantry I suppose to have been enclosed by the screen at the east end of the south aisle. The piscinas remain of both chantries; and in the north transept the aumbry is placed in the north wall. Blount speaks of a third chantry dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel. There is no entry in the episcopal registers of any presentations to the chantries of SS. Nicholas and Michael, but I have found nine to that of S. Mary, beginning in 1464, down to January 19th, 1546. The corbels which carried the rood loft still remain, and also the stairs, enclosed in a turret of excellent ashlar work, situated at the angle formed by the north transept. There was formerly a north porch, removed early in the present century. The doorway was blocked up at the same time. A western gallery was erected in 1632 of rather elaborate design. The front consisted of an open balustrade, with a fairly executed frieze running along its base, and also this inscription:—"Vive ut vivas—Thomas Munn, and Thomas Bowyear, and Richard Ross, churchwardens—Sat cito si sat bene." In 1733 the six bells now in use were placed in the tower; they bear the following inscriptions:—1, "Prosperity to all my benefactors, A. R., 1733;" 2, "Peace and good neighbourhood, 1733;" 3, "A. R. Rudhall, of Gloucester, cast us all, 1733;" 4, "A. R., 1733;" 5, "Richard Bradford and Thomas Sheward, Ch. wardens;" 6,

"I to the church the living call,
And to the grave do summons all."

At the beginning of this century the nave was, for the most part, seated with the original open oak benches, and there were very few appropriated seats; but immediately afterwards upon these were superadded pretentious deal enclosed seats, the north aisle was completely covered by the erection of a gallery, and the finishing touch to the whole was given by the placing of a gallery over the chancel-screen to contain a barrel organ and the choir. The recent restoration, carried out under the direction of Mr. Haddon, architect, Hereford, included the opening out of the chancel and aisle roofs, the restoration of the nave roof, the cleansing the walls and stonework from plaster and whitewash, the lowering the

nave floor, open benches upon the model of the ancient ones, new pulpit, lectern, reredos, altar-table, font-cover, chancel-stalls, the opening of arch between chancel and sacristy for the reception of organ, and consequent moving of canopy and effigy further west, flooring church with Goodwin's tiles, the restoration of screens, with the addition of new fans, cornice, and cresting to central one, a warming apparatus, etc. The total cost of all the work done in church (fittings, etc., included) was about £2,500. During the progress of the restoration several traces of coloured wall decoration were discovered, but the original plaster adhered to the walls so indifferently that it was impossible to preserve it. All the pre-Reformation gravestones are placed around the font, together with one post-Reformation stone (that of Vicar Hammond), which exhibits lingering traces of mediæval treatment. One is interesting as bearing a chalice; a second as retaining the greater part of its inscription, apparently in memory of Thomas Killin and his wife; a third (next the porch) from its early character; and a fourth from the particulars of its history. I refer to the one placed over the original font. The first device was a cross flory; it was next carved with the shield of the Delaberes. Thirdly, the stone was appropriated by H. M., 1617—*i.e.*, Henry Munn, of Swanstone Court, in this parish; and fourthly as a cover to the vault of a Mrs. Browne, of Leominster, buried in the chancel in 1793, and where I discovered it a yard deep beneath the floor.

The richly-canopied slab standing at the bottom of the centre passage of the nave was formerly placed in the north transept. Composition was used instead of brass, and some of the original composition, with traces of the inscription, still remains. I have had the defective portions of the figures and canopy filled with cement, and the whole painted the original colour; I have also picked out the fragments of the letters forming the inscription in black. I cannot conjecture whom this slab commemorates.

The north transept was until recently repaired by the proprietors of the Luntley Court estate, so that most probably it was built by the then proprietor, and he and his wife may have been buried under it; or was it placed over some of the founders or patrons of St. Mary's chantry? The fourteenth century canopy on the north side of the chancel

has underneath it an effigy bearing a shield with the arms of Talbot. Tradition says it commemorates the builder of the church. The Talbots founded Wormesley Priory, and this chancel, as I have said, was built by the religious, and a member of the Talbot family may have found the funds, and, dying some years subsequently, have received the honours of burial on the north side of the chancel. But all efforts to identify the Talbot buried here with the known members of that powerful family have failed. The canopy was clearly inserted in the chancel, for, on removing it to construct the organ arch, the edges of the opening were plainly perceived. The grave was hollowed out of the foundation about fifteen inches below the present floor level, and directly within the face of the present wall line. The bones were in a remarkably good state of preservation after the lapse of five centuries, and the teeth complete, being apparently those of a person in the prime of life; and upon the whole, I should judge him to have been a powerfully built man of middle height. Several coffin nails of great length were found with portions of the wood adhering to them. Some pieces of charcoal were also mixed up with the bones. All these fragments were carefully collected and placed beneath the slab in its present position. All remains of encaustic tiles found during the restoration are preserved and placed against the south wall near the font. In 1645 the church contained the following stained glass windows: 1. East window,—arms of England, England and France, the See of Hereford, the Dean and Chapter of Hereford, and a fifth not identified. The four first are thus accounted for. Edmund, Earl of Leicester, gave the advowson to Wormesley Priory, the King confirmed the gift, the Bishop confirmed the same, and the Dean and Chapter also consented. 2. North chancel window,—arms of Talbot. 3. North-west chancel window,—the kneeling figure of a knight praying, with hands clasped, thirteenth century armour, with the Delabere arms. 4. South window of chancel,—arms of Talbot. 5. South-west chancel window,—arms unidentified. 6. Large window in north transept,—the twelve Apostles, and the arms of Tyrrell. 7. East window of south aisle,—Lionel, Duke of Clarence. 8. South-east window of south aisle,—arms of Heven. 9. The next window also contained heraldic glass unidentified.

With respect to the families thus commemorated, I have already alluded to the connection of the Talbots with Dilwyn; the Delaberes were commemorated in the glass, on the coffin-lid (mentioned above), and in the encaustic tiles. Bereton, in this parish, may have belonged to them. The family of Heven was seated at Dilwyn in the thirteenth century, and were still residing there late in the seventeenth century. Dinely gives sketches of the arms of Bradford and Roos, or Ross, as in the church when he visited it, but does not state whether in glass or otherwise.

All that remains of the ancient glass is now placed in the single lancet on south side of chancel, and was removed at the restoration from the tracery of great window of north transept. It consists of one entire figure, the easternmost. The second figure is new below the arms. All the filling in above these figures is old. The fleur-de-lis in the head of the window, the two next lions, the two finials, two pieces of plain ruby and blue glass, are also old; likewise the two heads of pinnacles, and the ornament immediately above, in the centre of the window; two pieces of green glass, and the whole of the bordering with the amber tint. This window was fitted up by Messrs. Heaton, Butler, and Bayne, who have also supplied the new glass in the other windows. The seal of Wormesley Priory is placed in the head of north-east chancel window, to commemorate the builders of the chancel and the patrons of the vicarage. It contains the Virgin and Child in the upper portion, a monk praying at the bottom, whilst the centre is occupied by an abbot and prior (the abbot to the east), and both vested. Round the seal this inscription runs, "The Common Seal of the Chapter of the Church of S. Leonard, Wormesley." The glass is executed from a photograph of an impression of the seal. The head of the opposite window contains the arms of the see of Hereford, the Bishop being the patron since 1562. From the suppression of the religious houses until this date (about twenty years) the patronage had been in the crown.

The south entrance formerly contained only a single door. The present lock (with a new case) and the two lower hinges were removed from this ancient door, which had been for some years thrown on one side, at the recent restoration. The present lych-gate is called here the "Scaniels." Symonds thus describes it in 1645: "At the church gate stands a

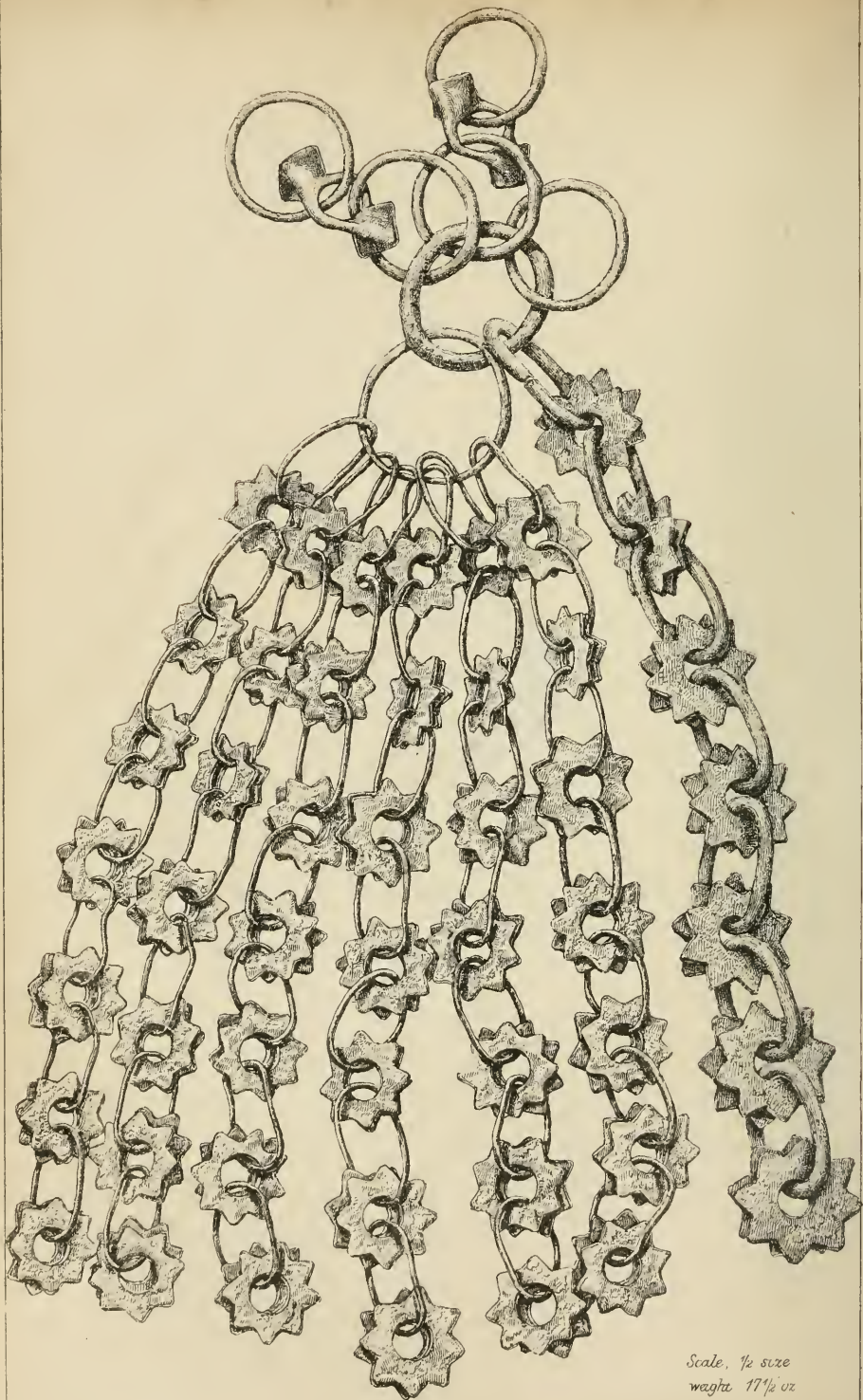
howse and square with pillars and two doores, which they call a Palm House. It formerly stood in the churchyard." He also mentions and gives a sketch of a water-wheel "which will turn spitts, two churnes, and beate in a mortar." Probably thus used by the College which stood hard by.

The parish Registers commence on 21st day of November, 1558, and are continued without a break. An inventory of church goods was made out about 1611 or 1612.

Vicars of Dilwyn.—1275, Thomas of Colchester; 1285, Aug. 8th, Richard de Monyton; 1309, Dec. 13th, Richard Rous; 1349, Aug. 14th, William Nicholas; 1395, Dec. 1st, Thomas Berwe; 1402, Sept. 13th, John Skele; 1407, April 28th, William Taylor; 1409, May 25th, Walter Robyns; 1422, Jan. 10th, John Dilewe *alias* Dilwyn; 1438, March 16th, Richard Rubart; 1464 (*circa*), William Strangford; 1501, Sept. 26th, William Blither; 15— John Carpenter; 15— William Duppa; 1597, April, Thomas Hammond, M.A.; 1617, June 25th, Thomas Denny, M.A.; 1628, Bartholomew Pettingall, M.A.; 1651, Martin Johnson, M.A.; 1699, Sept. 4th, William Tyler, M.A.; 1732, Dec. 9th, Thomas Evans, M.A.; 1767, March 9th, Thomas Willim, M.A.; 1801, March 19th, Richard Walond, M.A.; 1801, May 18th, Thomas Russell, M.A.; 1831, May 31st, Henry Charles Morgan, M.A.; 1864, Dec. 7th, William Heather, LL.D.

I must apologise for the length of this paper, which I can only justify on the ground that I wished to go into detail in order to obtain additional information on any doubtful points. I should very much like to hear something about—1, the date of the Talbot effigy, armour, etc.; 2, the date of north transept; 3, the date of the slab with the two canopied figures; 4, the date of the coffin-lid nearest the door; 5, the date of the fragment of memorial with the chalice sculptured thereon; 6, the date of the old font; 7, the intention of the hollow in the wall from the chancel door to south entrance; 8, as to the use of the seat in sacarium south window.





Scale, $\frac{1}{2}$ size
weight $17\frac{1}{2}$ oz

Proceedings of the Association.

JANUARY 11.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following member was announced: Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., 20, New Ormond-street, W.C.

Thanks were returned for the following present:

To the Author, M. Ch. Rössler, for treatise on "Les Antiquités Historiques du Musée du Havre." 8vo. Rouen, 1870.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited a remarkably fine specimen of a Caistor ware *olla*, and a cinerary urn with indented sides, also apparently Caistor; both found in Jewry-street, Aldgate, in 1870. Also five Samian *pateræ* found in St. Martin's le Grand during the same year.

Mr. J. W. Grover exhibited an iron linked *flagellum* (Plate 9) consisting of seven chains, each chain having seven links connected by stars. It was found in excavating for a new dock at Garston, Lancashire, two feet below the surface; and its weight is seventeen ounces and a half.

Mr. H. F. Holt exhibited an impression in wax of the privy seal of Queen Elizabeth.

Mr. Walter L. Holt exhibited specimens of wood and horn produced by pressure: 1, a medallion, in wood, of Orpheus playing amidst wild and other beasts; 2, twelve draughtsmen, in wood, from dies executed by the celebrated artist, Philip Heinrich Müller of Augsburg; 3, Alexander and Darius impressed on horn.

Miss Melveene Cooper exhibited, through Mr. Roberts, a pair of watered silk mittens of about 1735-40. They are of Brunswick green colour, 7 ins. long, $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins. round at the wrist, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ at the other end; the greater part covering the wrist, only half an inch extending from the insertion of the thumb, so that the fingers were entirely free. There is but one seam, on the outer edge, and the thumb is inserted in one piece. On the inside of the hand is a slit, $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins. long, with twelve eyelet-holes; and laced with a similar coloured, round, silken cord, 30 ins. long, of three twisted strands plaited, and knotted at the ends to prevent fraying and withdrawing through the eyelets. The mittens

are hemmed a quarter of an inch wide at the three openings, and edged-lined at the slit with plain sarsnet ribbon half an inch wide, the inner edges not being sewn down. The eyelets and end of the slit are button-hole stitched. The seams are opened, and herring-boned on the inside. An end of sewing silk, of the same colour, hangs by a knot from the wrist of one mitten, as though a trimming had been appended; probably not of lace, as that would not be likely to have been sewn with green.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited several other pairs of mittens, and made the following observations:

"The words *mitena*, *mitaine*, *meteyne*, *mytans*, and *mytens*, occur in the middle ages as a title for some kind of glove worn by country folk and others of humble rank. In the *Tale of King Edward and the Shepherd*, a work of the fourteenth century, it is said of the shepherd, that in his holiday attire,

‘The mytans clutt forgat he nought,
The slyng even is not out of his thought.’

And he obstinately refuses to give up his mytans when about entering the court of his sovereign. In the *Coventry Mystery* of the Nativity the third shepherd, addressing the infant Saviour, says:

‘Have here my mytans to put on thy hands,
Other treasure have I none to present thee with.’

"Peacham tells us that ‘December must be expressed with a horrid aspect, as also January clad in Irish rug, holding in furred mittens the sign of Capricorn.’ John Ray, in his list of south and east country words, defines mittens as ‘gloves made of linnen or woollen, whether knit or stitched. Sometimes also they call so gloves made of leather, without fingers.’

"These rustic and winter hand-covers were probably generally made without finger-stalls, like the classic *manica*, the gloves of our hedgers, and seal-skin mufflers of the Esquimaux; but for the last two or three centuries the title of ‘mits’ or ‘mittens’ has been mainly restricted to half-gloves which only reach to the knuckles of the hands, having side apertures for the thumbs to pass through. It is clearly proven that this variety of mittens was in vogue as early as the commencement of the seventeenth century, by one of the pair, formed of point-lace, worn by Prince Charles (afterwards King Charles I) at his christening at Holyrood, December 1600; which was long preserved among the royal relics in the museum of the late Sir Ashton Lever, and is now exhibited by myself. But in former days the use of this kind of mittens was not confined to infancy, for children of larger growth and adults wore them made of silk, wool, cotton, and leather; sometimes richly embroidered, but more commonly unornamented.

"I exhibit a pair of long mittens worn by a lady during the reign of George II, which are made of genuine Chinese nankeen, that once famous buff-coloured cloth woven of the fibres of the *gossypium religiosum*. They measure full 16 ins. in length, and the stalls for the thumbs are so short that they can have scarcely reached the first joints. Mittens of precisely similar fashion, but made of white cambric, are still seen on the arms of girls in many of our parish schools.

"The very choice pair of mittens submitted by Mr. Roberts cannot be assigned to a later era than the close of the reign of George II. The thumb-stalls are longer than those of the nankeen pair, but still only rise to the upper borders of the mittens. Though the mode of lacing is peculiar, it is not an unique instance; for I have seen a beautiful pair of crimson silk mittens laced at the wrists in a similar manner, with white silk cord, and which were certainly as early as the first half of the eighteenth century. Mr. Roberts informs me that these green silk mittens are asserted to be one hundred and twenty years old, and I see no reason to doubt the statement; but it has been called in question on two grounds,—1st, on account of their being made of watered silk, which is said to be quite a recent introduction; 2nd, on the score of their excellent preservation.

"It is uncertain when watered silks were first used, but they were familiar things long previous to the time to which these pretty mittens are referred. If proof of this be needed, we have only to turn to Dr. Johnson's Dictionary, where may be seen *s. v.* 'to water,—to diversify as with waves'; the following extract from Locke, 'the different ranging the superficial parts of velvet and watered silk does the like.' Be it remembered that John Locke died in the year 1704, *i. e.*, forty-six years previous to the date at which the mittens in question are believed to have been in use. But beyond this we have in Boyer's French and English Dictionary (London, 1699), *s. v.* 'ondé,'—'soye ondée, watered silk'; and in the English part of the Cambridge Latin Dictionary (1693), 'watered as silks are,—*undulatus*.' These are, comparatively speaking, late instances of the mention of watered silk; but they are, nevertheless, all-sufficient for our present purpose.

"In regard to the second expressed doubt about the silken mittens, it must be observed that the high state of preservation of an article of dress is no legitimate argument against its reputed age. I produce a pair of mittens which belonged to a lady who died just over a hundred years since, and which are as fresh in colour and condition as they were on the day they left the vendor's counter, the original thread holding the two articles together remaining unsevered. They are $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in length, made of fine, soft kid, white within, blue without, very neatly stitched round the tops, and heart-shaped bases of the thumb-stalls, and along the backs with white silk. I know not the

exact age of these mittens ; but evidence could be produced, which would be accepted in a court of justice, that they were the property of a lady who died in the year 1770 ; and I think their exhibition will go some way towards destroying the idea that the green silk mittens cannot be as old as they are presumed to be, and will tend to establish their claim of a hundred and twenty years' existence."

Mr. H. F. Holt read a paper upon "The Tames of Fairford," which will be found at pp. 110-148 *ante*.

25TH JANUARY.

J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THANKS were returned for the following presents :—

To the Society.—Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, for Journal, vol. i, fourth series, No. 4, 8vo, Dublin, 1870.

„ „ The Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society, for Proceedings during the years 1868-9, 8vo, Taunton, 1870.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited a largish-sized round-bottomed British *olla* of the third or fourth century, with three handles and a spout, found in London in January, 1871, which Mr. Grover thought might have been used for drawing water from a well, the three handles being for the purpose of attaching the rope or chain with which it was let down and drawn up. Also three highly ornamented French chest keys, with wards of the close of the sixteenth century.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, M.A., V.P., exhibited some *flagella*, upon which Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following remarks in illustration of that exhibited by Mr. Grover at the last evening meeting (see *ante*, p. 157) :—

"The set of penitential instruments now presented to our view, which are of a most irritant character, were obtained in Mexico, and purchased by Mr. Sparrow Simpson in France in 1869. They consist of four items, viz. : 1, a chin-piece, 9 ins. long, and about $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, pointed at the end where a cord has been attached to tie it to the head ; 2, breast or back-piece, $13\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, and $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. wide ; 3, waist belt, $21\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, and full 1 in. wide. These three instruments are composed of iron wire interlinked somewhat in the manner of chain armour, but with the ends of the links turned up on the inner side of the fabric, and spread into little blades, so that they would act like tenter-hooks upon the flesh of the unhappy victim. A 'nun's collar,' of similar construction, from a convent in South America, was formerly in the museum of the United

Service Institution. The fourth object in this set is a scourge, also formed entirely of iron wire. It is a chain 17 ins. long, with a ring at one end for the finger of the flagellant to pass through, so that it should not fly out of the hand; and at the other end is an eye-shaped loop with two others beneath it, and from which depend six lashes, $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in length, composed of chain and bugle-formed links, between which project crosspieces about 1 in. wide, with spear-like cusps. Though this scourge is far lighter than the massive one exhibited by Mr. Grover, it is still capable of inflicting terrible torments. The whole set of instruments suggest the notion that they must have been designed by devils rather than men."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., then read the following paper on *flagella*:

"Torture, self-inflicted or meekly submitted to from the hands of others, seems to have constituted an important element in religion in every age and country from a remote period of antiquity. The *galli* or priests of Cybele flogged themselves to excite pity among the people, with whips composed of a number of long lashes upon which were strung the perforated astragali of sheep and goats, hence the instrument was designated *flagrum talis tessellatum*. One of these singular scourges is represented, with other matters employed in the worship of Cybele, upon a bas-relief of marble engraved in Winckelman's *Momimenti Inediti*, No. 7, and in which the short handle has a human bearded head carved at either end, and is provided with three long thongs, on one of which are placed seven, on another eight, and on the third ten *tali*. Fearful as is the aspect of this tri-tailed whip, it must have dealt a faint punishment when compared with the blows of the *flagrum* with which slaves and offenders were corrected, and which consisted of a strong handle, from one extremity of which dangled several chains with metal knobs or bobs at their ends, and which is evidently the archetype of the medieval *plumbatum* and Turkish *knout*.

"A scourge, either with balls at the ends of the lashes, or else of knotted cords, is seen among the early representations of the emblems of the Holy Passion. And a scourge is the accepted attribute of several saints, as, for instance, Ambrose, Anthony, Boniface, Dorotheus, Gervase, Guthlac, and Peter Damian. The scourge of St. Guthlac was greatly celebrated for the virtue of its flagellations, and forms a conspicuous feature in the arms of Croyland Abbey.

"Thomas A'Becket, not only did penance by wearing a hair-shirt, but occasionally chastised himself with a scourge; and both shirt and whip of cords were long shown among the martyrs' relics at Canterbury.

"The *flagellum* discovered near Liverpool, and produced by Mr. Grover, is probably one of the finest, most perfect, and curious examples of its kind which has escaped destruction, and from its discovery



and fabric I feel assured that it is at least as early as the fifteenth century.

"A scourge of a most brutal nature is preserved in the collection at Goodrich Court, and is thus described in Skelton's *Ancient Armour* (pl. 66):—'A whip of steel of the middle of the sixteenth century—It is composed of several truncated cones, grooved with sharp edges, and held in opposite directions, so as to give sufficient oscillation without rising so far as to strike the hand of the executioner. It seems to have been held by a strap, but its barbarity is evident.'

"In the museum of Scottish Antiquaries at Edinburgh are shown two curious and rather early penitential instruments. One is a belt made of iron wire, formerly in the possession of the family of Crawford of Cartburn, to whom it was given by a Romish priest in 1771. The other is a scourge of iron wire, with the lashes armed with points like that from Mexico submitted by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson. Such diabolical inventions as these *flagella* well merit the classic name of *scorpio*, for every cusp as it descended on the flesh of the sufferer must have felt like a sting; and yet these 'aids to faith' bore the mild designation of *disciplines*. And this fact will explain two puzzling entries in the *Catalogue of the Rarities at Don Saltero's Coffee House in Chelsea* (40th ed., pp. 7, 11), viz., 'a nun's discipline,' and 'a friar's discipline.' Whilst our thoughts are engaged on scourges, I will venture to introduce to your notice a very novel species of *flagellum* from Yorkshire, which, in respect to the bob at its end, may be compared to a lash of the ancient Roman *flagrum* and modern Turkish *knout*. It consists of a tolerably stout hempen cord, rather over 30 ins. in length, one end of which was passed round the hand of the operator, and the other is secured to a cylindric bob, $2\frac{7}{8}$ ins. in length, formed of folds of leather tightly bound round with strong waxed thread. I am indebted to Mr. J. Blashill for this curious instrument of punishment, who accompanied the gift with the following interesting memorandum: 'A *babble*, used by boys in Holderness on 5th November for reciprocal castigating, and afterwards thrown into the bonfire—its use is now much neglected. This specimen was made for me by old John Saunderson, of Sutton, agricultural labourer, as being the correct thing. I can certify, if needful, that its appearance and effects when applied are all that can be desired. The boy to be operated on should wear a short jacket and be caught stooping—J. Blashill, 1869.' The employment of this scourge on the 5th of November, and its consignment to the flames, has surely no sort of connection with the Guy Fawkes festival, but is a remnant of some archaic religious rite in which fire and penance formed parts. November was one of the four months in which the Druids kindled their great fires, around which mystic ceremonies were performed, and of which traces yet linger in many parts of the

Britannic islands. It has been suggested that the title of *babble* is a mere variant of *bauble*, the staff or sceptre of the fool, which has been identified as a Priapian, and therefore sacred emblem. There is a deep obscurity about the origin of the *babble*, and its use on a stated occasion, which is difficult to remove, but I trust that by giving publicity to the little here gathered respecting it, we may elicit further information on the subject, and learn if such an object and such a custom be confined alone to Yorkshire.

"From the worship of Cybele to the gambols of Yorkshire boys is a tremendous stride, but the intermediate links which bind these extremes together prove that the customs of the present hour are a reflex of the past; shadows, misty they may be, but still visible shadows of things which had their birth in ages beyond the reach of history or the grasp of thought."

Mr. Gordon M. Hills, Hon. Treasurer, exhibited a Keltic bronze spearhead sent by Mr. W. C. Palmer, of Bollitree, near Ross. It was found at Coughton Marsh, near Ross.

Mr. Hills also exhibited a painting in oils on oak panel, measuring 18 ins. by 12 ins., said to be by Jan van Eyck, a Dutch artist, who flourished at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and representing a festival of fools or jesters. At the back-ground, to the left of the pictures, are eight shields of arms, which have become too indistinct to be clearly identified.

Mr. W. H. Cope thought the picture was probably painted by a Dutch artist, named Brouer, who was a contemporary of Ostade's.

Mr. Edward Levien exhibited the head of a walking cane (*circa* 1730) probably of French execution, richly enamelled on copper, with ornaments in raised gold, and painted with four landscapes after the manner of Dresden porcelain. At the broad end are two oval shields of arms. 1. *Per fesse, azure and gules*, in chief a demi-man issuing, extending his dexter hand, in which is an indistinct object, ppr.; in base the guivre of Milan, crest on a helmet and ornamental mantling, *gu.* and *az.* out of a ducal coronet, *or*, an angel with expanded wings, *gules*, and charged on the breast with a saltire of the last. 2. *Gules*, two proboscides, ppr. crest, on a helmet and ornamental mantling, *gu.* and *az.* out of a ducal coronet, *or*, two proboscides of the arms. These coats appear to be those of a Milanese noble and his lady. On the top is an ornamental initial "R" richly enamelled in green and gold.

Mr. J. R. Planché read a paper, entitled "Notes on New Theories with regard to the Fairford Windows, and the Early History of Wood Engraving," which will be found at pp. 100-9 *ante*.

British Archaeological Association.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL CONGRESS, HEREFORD, 1870.

SEPTEMBER 5TH TO 10TH INCLUSIVE.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1870.

THE first meeting of the Association was held in the Assembly Room of the Green Dragon Hotel, Hereford, at three o'clock, on Monday, the President, Chandos Wren Hoskyns, Esq., M.P., being in the chair. Amongst those present were the Mayor of Hereford (C. Anthony, Esq.), Mr. Alderman Bodenham, Mr. Alderman Cam, Mr. Alderman Carless, and Councillors J. G. James, J. F. Symonds, J. Bosley, G. Davison, O. Shellard, G. King, R. Keay, W. Russell, W. Phillips, T. Birch, T. Davies, and E. Smith; Mr. F. Bodenham (Clerk of the Peace), Mr. Carless (Town Clerk), Mr. C. Lingen, Mr. J. Davies (Magistrates' Clerk). The Corporation were attended with the usual retinue and insignia of office. There were also present—the Rev. Sir Henry Baker, Bart., Mrs. Atlay, Mr. and Mrs. Hoskyns, Mr. W. H. Black, F.S.A., Mr. Henry Godwin, F.S.A., Mr. Gordon M. Hills, Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., Mr. Thos. Wright, M.A., F.S.A., Mr. Severne Walker, F.S.A., Mr. Charles Faulkner, F.S.A., Mr. Thos. Blashill (London), Rev. C. Boutelle, F.S.A., Mr. G. Gordon, F.R.S., F.S.A., Mr. Leach, F.S.A., Mrs. Leach, Mrs. Gow (London), Mr. R. F. Wegg-Prosser, Rev. Canon Jebb, D.D., Mr. Secretan Woodhouse, Rev. Canon Powell, Rev. W. Poole (Hentland), Mrs. James Davies, Mr. T. T. Davies, jun., and Miss Davies, Rev. F. T. Smith, Rev. T. Phillips, Mrs. Carless, jun., Rev. C. J. Robinson, Mr. J. H. Knight, Mr. F. R. Kempson (Hon. Local Secretary), Dr. Bull, Mr. E. Lloyd (Leominster), Mr. Flavell Edmunds, Rev. J. and Mrs. Woollam, Mr. Rankin, M.A. (Bryngwyn), Rev. J. E. Cheese and Miss Cheese, Mr. T. Curley, Mr. Wm. Evans, Mr. A. Thompson, etc., etc.

The Mayor said he had now to call upon the Town Clerk to read an address. The Town Clerk then read the following :

“To the President and Members of the British Archæological Association.”

“We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and citizens of the city of Hereford, in council assembled, desire to take this early opportunity of welcoming your Association to our city, and to assure you of the interest felt by

the citizens in the proceedings to be taken by you during the period of your holding your annual meeting amongst us. Although we cannot vie with many cities and towns in which your Association has held previous congresses, in presenting to your notice any very large amount of subjects of antiquarian interest, yet we venture to hope that the Congress of 1870 will not be the least interesting, or the least productive of information, of the many that have been held.

"In our cathedral church we are happy to have obtained all the advantages of a thorough and complete restoration, without any loss of, or injury to, those antiquities which it is the special object of the British Archaeological Association to study and investigate; and we trust that the searches made by your learned Society amongst our municipal archives may not be devoid of result, but effective in throwing further and new light on the portions of the history of this ancient city.

"We cannot too strongly express our sense of the value of the British Archaeological Association and its kindred societies, tending as they do to promote a more general knowledge of the architecture and customs of the earlier periods of our history, and to educate the people to a truer appreciation of any object calculated to assist in extending that knowledge.

"We hope that the Congress held in the city of Hereford may be as valuable in its results to the Association as it is welcome to the citizens and the inhabitants of the surrounding district.

" (Signed)

CHARLES ANTHONY, Mayor.

The Mayor then rose, and addressing the President, said :—Sir, I have but little to add to this address, except to tell you that in a very full house it was passed unanimously. We are particularly gratified on this occasion that you, sir, are the President, for you are not only one of the members for this city, but you are also a Herefordshire man. You are, therefore, well acquainted with, and can appreciate and point out the numberless beauties of our beautiful county. In this respect, therefore, I anticipate that the visit of the Congress will be well repaid. Herefordshire may not be so attractive to archæologists as many other counties, but I think the members of this Congress will find antiquities within our borders of the highest interest. On looking over the programme of your intended visits, I note an omission, which I hope I shall induce you to fill up. It is well known to you, sir, that Sutton Walls, as they are called, are but some three miles north-east of this city; not only are there Roman remains in that vicinity, but those walls are the site of the palace of the King of Mercia—that great bad man, Offa, who, as we all know, violated in that palace the rights of hospitality by murdering his guest, the King of the East Angles, who had absolutely come to Sutton to solemnise his nuptials with Offa's daughter. Now this spot, this Saxon antiquity, must be an object of great interest to the historical antiquarian, and I hope you will not fail to visit it. We hope, sir, that the weather will be propitious for the excursions, and I

am sure the visit of your Society to this ancient city will be a red-letter day in the annals of Hereford.

The President, addressing the Mayor, said that he could assure him that he felt it to be a very high privilege to have been elected to represent that Association. He felt this doubly from the kind manner in which they had just endorsed that nomination, and in his joint capacity as their representative and as an old friend and neighbour of the city of Hereford, he might venture to say, on behalf of the Society, that the reception they had already met, the kind manner in which their investigations had been facilitated, and public documents laid open to them, had given them a gratifying foretaste as to their week's pursuits. While he had the duty of expressing their feelings, it was also part of his duty, as their representative, to read the annual address, and he would, therefore, shorten his present words. He would again express his and their thanks, and would join with the Mayor in hoping that that would be a red-letter day both for the Society and the citizens of Hereford.

The President, during the reading of his address, printed at p. 21-45, *ante*, which occupied exactly an hour, was frequently applauded, many of the most eloquent passages being signally marked by the audience. At the conclusion,

The Mayor said : Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am not aware whether I am exactly in order in proposing a resolution, but this I know, that in proposing a vote of thanks to our worthy President for the very able, eloquent, and instructive inaugural address to which we have just listened, I shall give utterance to the unanimous expression of approbation and thanks of the entire audience, who have enjoyed the privilege of listening to that address. The President has swept down on the stream of time for nearly two thousand years, graphically describing many of the most important events in our political, civil, military, and ecclesiastical history, and he has sketched actions of the deepest interest of the Britons, the Romans, the Saxons, the Normans, and the English, and in his long and vivid description he has demonstrated that the city and county of Hereford, so far from being barren, are rather rich in archaeological subjects ; and I have no doubt that, should the weather prove favourable, the members of the Congress will, as the President has observed, experience great pleasure in their archaeological explorations throughout both city and county. In proposing this vote of thanks to their President, I feel there is no need of a formal seconding, as I am certain it will be carried by acclamation.

Mr. G. Godwin, F.R.S., said that he had been asked to rise and propose a vote of thanks to the President, but his Worship the Mayor had already done it, and done it in a much better way than he could. He (the Mayor) had discharged that duty most admirably, and he was much

obliged to him. But the Council had still given him something to say, viz., to propose a vote of thanks to the Corporation of this ancient city for the kind and handsome manner in which they had opened the Congress. Archaeologists knew that they owed a good deal to the Corporation and ecclesiastical authorities for the example they set in maintaining and restoring their great cathedral. He remembered that from the time of Dean Merewether—he was sorry to say that he could remember so long—this object was in view. It had now been carried out, the ecclesiastical authorities being aided by the city and county, and they would on the morrow all have an opportunity of admiring the restored cathedral. He moved a vote of thanks to the Mayor and Corporation.

The company then proceeded to inspect the city antiquities, under the guidance of Mr. Flavell Edmunds and Mr. F. R. Kempson. The first halt made was on the site of the Barton Gate, in St. Nicholas Street, a few yards from St. Nicholas Church.

Mr. Edmunds said that the company were invited to stop there just for a moment, because that was the spot where the most successful stratagem in the civil war of the seventeenth century was enacted. The Governor of Hereford issued a mandate to the surrounding district to send in men to repair the fortifications of the castle, and the commander of the parliamentary forces, Colonel Birch, knowing that fact, had sent a waggon up this road, apparently laden with hay, which, when it entered the Barton Gate, was intentionally overturned, thus preventing the gate from being closed. As it was being overturned, the hay fell off, and a number of armed men sprang out of the cart, and cut down the guards at the gate. The victors then let in a larger force which had been lying in ambush in the fields near. The city was thus taken by surprise. The gate had been removed about ninety years ago. Others of the gates had stood longer than that one. This was not a principal gate, but one of less importance than some of the others, in that it did not communicate with any great thoroughfare. Just outside, however, was the scene of the execution of Owen Tudor, who, with many other Lancastrians of distinction, was brought a prisoner to Hereford after the battle of Mortimer's Cross in 1461, and was beheaded on that spot, probably because the monastery of the White Friars stood close at hand between the road and the river, and the friars seem to have undertaken the interment of the bodies of the slain men. The body of Owen Tudor was removed and interred in the church of the White Friars in London.

The party then proceeded along Victoria Street, a new street in the old Town Ditch or Moat, now filled up, where a bastion and other portions of the city wall can be seen. Mr. Edmunds thought that the entire thickness of the wall was eight feet, but they had now only the outer portion to judge from.

The site of the west gate in Eign Street was then pointed out, and also a portion of the wall in the passage leading from Eign Street to West Street, near the Maidenhead Inn, which bears the singular name of "Gunner's Lane," a reminiscence of the siege of Hereford, when guns were no doubt mounted on that and other parts of the wall, although there is no record of the city having been assaulted at Eign-gate in any part of the siege. The city walls were "slighted" along with the castles, by order of Parliament, to prevent them from becoming strongholds for the defeated party. The continuation of the wall was pointed out in Wall Street, and then along New Market Street, where portions of the city wall are visible in many places. The street bears in the line of the ancient moat. The artificial stream of water which filled the moat was brought by the rulers of Mercia, at the close of the ninth century, from the stream called Eign Brook, at a point considerably above the city. It had now been applied to the less distinguished but more useful purpose of flushing sewers. Mr. Edmunds remarked that at the time of the erection of the wall it might be considered very doubtful whether the people had industry or skill enough to square stones for the purpose. Kenchester was not far off, and he thought they must have helped themselves to Roman materials.

The site of the Northern or Widemarsh Gate was then pointed out near the Gatehouse in Widemarsh Street, there being a portion of the masonry remaining. This was the scene of one of the encounters of the Civil War. The parliamentary forces came up the street and posted their cannon near to this gate; they battered for a long time, but had to draw off. A house near the gate lower down the street, now divided into two shops, is the only one of that time remaining about here.

At the bastion of the city wall in Blue School Street Mr. Edmunds said he thought that the breaches which were visible were the work of the cannon two hundred years ago, and that this bastion seemed to have been partially blown up, hence the great cracks visible on the face of the masonry.

It was suggested by Mr. G. Godwin, F.S.A., and by several archæologists, that the rubbish which completely invests the base of the bastion ought to be removed.

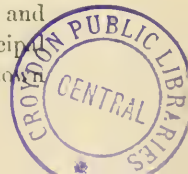
The party then proceeded to Coningsby's Hospital. The coat of arms of the Coningsbys is over the entrance. The ground belonged to the Knights Templars, but which, on the dissolution of that order in the thirteenth century, was given to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was granted to the Coningsby family, who, in the following reign, erected the present structure and founded in it a hospital for decayed servitors and soldiers. The arms are remarkable as an example of what is known as canting

or punning heraldry, which originated in the fifteenth century. Having no idea of the true meaning of their name, they fancied that it had some reference to "conies," or rabbits. Hence their coat of arms represented on the one side the lattice-fence which kept the conies in their abode, and on the other side the conies enjoying themselves within it. The name of Coningsby has no connection with conies, but manifestly means "king's abode." It is a pure Norse or ancient Danish word, and is one of the proofs of the long residence of the Danes in this country.

Before passing into the building, Mr. Edmunds directed the attention of the party to the fact that there was an incident of some interest connected with that road. On the 24th of May, in the year 1264, Prince Edward (afterwards Edward I) was a prisoner in Hereford Castle, having been captured by the barons in the battle of Lewes; but he was allowed to go out riding with his guards, for health and recreation. On that day the Prince passed down the street where they then stood, and rode on until he reached what was then a great waste called Widemarsh. The Prince then provoked his escort to try the speed of their horses. When he got to the top of the Holmer Hill, about two miles from the city, he saw in the distance a signal for which he had been looking, a white kerchief waved. He at once galloped off in that direction, merely calling out to his guards, "Good day, gentlemen. I promise I shall not forget your kindness to me and my father." The guards could have shot him, but they had only been commissioned to keep him; and their horses being tired in the race to which he had provoked them, they were unable to follow him. The Prince soon reached an armed party of his friends who were in waiting for him, and was conducted by them in safety to Wigmore Castle, the stronghold of the Mortimers. From thence he issued soon afterwards to head the army which afterwards won the great battle of Evesham, utterly ruining the cause of the barons, and replacing Henry III on the throne for which he was so unfit.

The party entered the dining hall of the Hospital, and then passed into the chapel where they were shewn a tombstone or coffin-lid of the thirteenth century, with incised cross, standing on a "calvary" of three steps. This stone is supposed to have covered the remains of one of the knights. It was found partly buried under the soil in the garden.

The Dominican Friary, in the rear of the Hospital, was then visited, the triple windows in the eastern wall exciting much interest, and some little discussion. Mr. Edmunds said that the building was described by historians as the prior's house, that it was considered to have formed one side of a square enclosing the Preaching Cross, and that the triplet windows were understood to have lighted the principal apartment. After the Dissolution the Coningsbys made it their town



house, as Hampton Court was their country house ; and for that purpose, no doubt, altered the building, the round tower being their work ; but the remainder of the edifice he considered to be the original structure.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills said that the eastern side was the west wall of the cloister, which extended to the spot where the tower stands, and there joined the church. The centre of the church he believed to coincide with the line of the walk which now leads to the Cross. The church thus stood on the south side of the present ruin. Possibly there was an inner wall to the cloister, on the west side of which were apartments for the prior. Against the church was the south side of the cloister quadrangle. Its east and north sides are wholly lost ; but the existing west side gives a perfect idea of what the whole was. It is a late work of the fifteenth century.

Mr. Edmunds then went on to observe that after the building ceased to be used as a residence by the Coningsbys it was dismantled. Some years ago some one had had the bad taste to put a wooden roof over the ruin, and convert it into an unusually ugly looking barn. Mr. Arkwright, the present owner of Hampton Court, had removed the roof. He thought that all archæologists were greatly indebted to Mr. Arkwright for this. After referring to the gift of the land by Sir John Deinol, *temp.* Edward II, and the consecration of the church in the following reign, on which occasion the King (Edward III) and a great retinue assembled, Mr. Edmunds maintained that the east wall with the triplets was at least as old as the Cross. The style of the latter structure was identical with that on the Hay Road, which the party would pass next day on their excursion. The White Cross he had ascertained to have been erected about 1360.

Referring to the triplets, Mr. G. Godwin said he did not think they were of more ancient date than the fifteenth century.

The Cross, recently restored, was then inspected ; and in reply to Mr. G. Godwin, Mr. Edmunds said he did not know why the cross at the top came to be placed there. There was no authority for it.

Mr. Hills pointed out that the restored pulpit had now no way into it. It was properly a cross, and not, as it had long been miscalled, a pulpit. It was accidental that one side had fallen into ruin, giving it an entrance, and the aspect of a pulpit ; but all its sides are now properly closed alike.

An engraving was produced which shewed the pulpit to be open on all sides ; but Mr. Edmunds said the pulpit, when he first knew it, was open on one side only.

Mr. Godwin and Mr. Roberts commented on the inappropriate character and improper position of the cross which has been placed on the summit.

A hasty visit was then paid to All Saints' Church, where the beautiful carved oak stalls, the fine open timbered roof of the north aisle, and several of the old windows, were inspected with much interest. In the library it was found that one of the books entitled *Destructio Vidorum* bore the date of 1497 in Arabic numerals.

St. Peter's Church was next visited, and some severe comments were made upon the manner in which the spacious chancel with its fine stalls, but wretched windows, is separated from the body of the church. The visit to this church terminated the inspection of the antiquities of the city.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 6TH.

The morning having been spent at the Cathedral (see p. 47, etc.), a visit was paid in the afternoon to the Roman town of Magna, since called Kenchester. It is very close to the railway station of Credenhill, on the line from Hereford to Brecon. A plan of the walls, made in 1721, and engraved for Dr. Stukeley, was in the hands of some of the visitors. In his time the place was wrongly identified as Ariconium, and it is so called by him. The circuit of the walls was now traced, and quantities of broken Roman pottery were quickly collected in the hands of the party. The site of the town or fort comprises about twenty-one acres, the enclosure being a long irregular hexagon.

Mr. T. Wright, F.S.A., observed that twenty years ago Roman masonry was to be seen here; none is now visible.

The Rev. Prebendary Scarth said: "Very little is known respecting this city. It lies upon the great Roman road from Caerleon through Abergavenny, by Magna Castra, and on to Wroxeter. The form of Wroxeter is not unlike that of this city, as they are not rectangular. It has been said that they were British cities taken possession of by the Romans, and afterwards fortified by them. It may be so; but I believe there is no proof of it. My own idea as to the site on which we are now standing is this,—that it was at first a small station, which was enlarged and grew into a city; and I think it must have grown into its present form and size at the time when Caractacus waged his seven years' war. It was, no doubt, one of the camps which protected the Romans, and where they organised their forces while they carried on war with the Silures. At Uriconium the circuit of the place is three miles, which seems to be the extent of our largest Roman cities. Silchester and Cirencester were about that size. Magna Castra seems to have been scarcely one mile. Very little has been done here in the way of excavation; but I have no doubt, if an attempt could be made judiciously and wisely, as has been done at Wroxeter, as much might be found here to repay the trouble taken, as has been discovered there. Some most interesting excavations have been made at Silchester, under

the direction of a most competent man, Mr. Joyce. He has excavated the site of the Forum, and has turned up a variety of curious pavements and articles. Among other things he has a Roman eagle, the first which has been found in this country. I happened to be present when Mr. Joyce discovered it. Mr. Joyce is now forming a museum on the spot, and it promises to be one of the most interesting and instructive in the country. I do think, therefore, that if some excavations could be made here, under good direction, much would be found, as there are always peculiarities of discoveries at each different place. Thus there are abundant inscriptions at Wroxeter, but none at Silchester; coins in singular quantities at another place; elsewhere a series of Roman altars found buried with their faces downwards, evidently so laid by the religious Romans themselves, for safe keeping on some hostile irruption, and these altars bearing valuable historical inscriptions. Amongst the inscriptions there is a reference to the cohorts of the *Voluntarii*. Thus while we, in the nineteenth century, commend our own wisdom which has created our volunteer force, we learn that the Romans had a force of the same kind. These altars seem to have risen up to say 'You are no wiser than your forefathers were'; and so it is. With so much encouragement in what has been done elsewhere, I look upon this as a *terra incognita*; and I do hope that excavations will be undertaken, and the explorers be rewarded for their labour."

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., observed that at Verulam, under the auspices of this Society, the whole plan of the city had recently been ascertained at a cost, in excavation, not exceeding £25.

The party then ascended the lofty wooded hill called Credenhill, which rises to the north of Kenchester, and which is crowned by an immense earthwork. It is just five miles west from the city of Hereford, and commands extensive prospects over the county in all directions except to the north. The following particulars, contributed by Mr. Flavell Edmunds, were read *in situ* :—

CREDENHILL CAMP.

The attraction of this spot to the antiquary is the large camp which includes the summit of the hill. Its great extent, the two longer sides measuring each nearly three quarters of a mile, and the area included being at least eighty acres, places it pre-eminent among the many camps in the Marches; while the importance of the earthworks, the great strength of the position, and its obvious relation to the Roman city at Magna Castra, furnish interesting themes of discussion to the student of history. That it was the site of a British town or fortress, in pre-Roman times, is highly probable; but there is no evidence of the fact. The British name, if it ever had one, has melted away into the mists of the dim past. When the Romans settled down at the base of the hill,

they seem to have seized and enlarged this camp ; but its shape, which is nearly oblong, the care and skill with which the accessible points are protected with a double line of earthworks, the strongly defended "covered way," which may be still traced in the direction which leads to the Roman road from Magna northward, at the south-east corner of the hill, all go to suggest that the fortifications are, to a great extent, Roman. The covered way is so constructed as to give the readiest access to the inhabitants of the Roman city ; and its strongest defences are on the sides which would be most exposed to an enemy coming from the north or the west, from which sides—as being nearest to the great pass out of the mountains of Wales at Hay—an enemy might be expected to come. All the appearances go to show that Magna, with Sugwas camp on the south-east and Credenhill camp on the north, constituted a great frontier post in the ages when the Roman power was newly planted in Siluria.

A moment's consideration of the historical facts will, I think, show that the camp was anterior in formation to the city. The cases of Bannium, Isca, Venta, etc., illustrate the Roman practice of naming their cities from some object in the immediate neighbourhood. In those cases the Bannau, or High Places of Breconshire, the river Usk, and Gwent, the British name of the district, are preserved in the words Bannium, Isca, and Venta ; and in like manner Magna Castra seems to refer to the great camp which the Romans found already formed on the neighbouring hill. The small size of the city, only some twenty-one acres, shows that it was not the *castra*, while the fact that the neighbouring camp is more than four times as large as the city, strengthens the supposition that the city took its name from that truly "great" castrametation.

The name of the hill, on the other hand, seems to belong to a much later period, that of the decline and fall of the Roman power in Britain. As I have already observed, the British name of the hill, if it ever had one, has wholly died out of memory. Further, no part of the present name can be traced to a British etymon, although there are many instances of bilingual names in the district. It is true that one writer spells the name *Credonhill*, and founds thereupon a derivation of the middle syllable from *din* and *donum*, but he seems to have imagined that spelling for the sake of his theory. Certainly there is no ancient or medieval authority for the spelling *Credonhill*. In *Domesday Book*, the most ancient authority, the word is spelt "*Cradenhill*" and "*Credenelle*," but it occurs in no other form. Both these spellings may be taken as attempts to write the word as it was pronounced at the end of the eleventh century. Neither helps us much as to the etymology. The last syllable is, however, undoubtedly Saxon, and we are, therefore, warranted in seeking first for the etymology of the rest of the

word in the same language. Taking this clue, the etymology becomes clear. The Saxon habit was to put the name of the owner in the possessive case before the descriptive word. Thus I read Credenhill as Creda's hill, the possessive case, in the third declension of A.S. nouns, being formed by adding *n* to the nominative. The question then arises, was there a historical personage whose name was anything like Creda, whom we might expect to find commemorated on this spot?

Here history comes to our aid. In the year 586, when Britain, long abandoned by decrepit Rome, had broken up into a congeries of little jarring states, so that its name had become a proverb, "Britain fertile in tyrants," an Anglian chief named Creoda or Crida penetrated hither from Eastern England, and here set up the kingdom of Mercia, or "the Marches." The first step to the establishment of that kingdom would, of necessity, be the capture of the Romano-British city of Magna Castra. That it was taken about that time, and that the inhabitants fleeing from the ruins settled at the British town of Caerffawydd, on the Hênffordd—or old way across the Wye into Southern Siluria, then called by the Britons Irging and Gwent—is admitted by local historians. It is undoubted that the see of Hereford was founded about that time, its first bishop whose name is recorded being Putta, evidently a Saxon, whose name is perpetuated at Puttastun, now Putston. That this hill was named from the conquering Crida becomes all but certain, when we remember that the names of several of his successors are affixed to other places in the district. Peada, the fourth king of Mercia (A.D. 656), is thus commemorated at Pedwardin, which may be rendered "Peada's camp among the Britons;" and Wolfhere (A.D. 656) at Wolferlow and Wolferton. Cenred (704), the seventh king of Mercia, is commemorated in Kinnersley, *i.e.*, Cenred's place, and also in the name of the village which arose near the ruins of Magna, which is still known as Kenchester, or Cenred's fortification; and Ceolred (709), his successor, in like manner gave name to Ceorlestre, "the town of Ceolred," now corrupted into Cholstrey. Since the less important successors of Crida were thus commemorated in the names of Herefordshire settlements, *à fortiori*, the name of the founder of the kingdom would be preserved in like manner; and for that purpose no place so fitting as the great camp which he must have seized to enable him to destroy the Roman city, which was the great obstacle in the way of the founding of his kingdom.

Like the smaller camps of Acornbury and Dinedor, Credenhill seems to have been intended as a summer camp, to be used in time of war for the protection of cattle and as a place of refuge for the country people. Within its *enceinte* there are two pools, and as the rock is covered with a thick coating of earth and greensward, there would be pasturage for a large number of cattle.

The camp, as I have hinted, is nearly oblong. It has three nearly straight sides, the fourth—that to the south-west—being somewhat rounded. There are four entrances, one near the commencement of each side of the oblong. Wherever the ascent is easy, the earthworks are doubled. In some places the agger is still from ten to twelve feet high, although no doubt it has lost part of its height from the beating of the rains of centuries. As there is a footpath along the agger throughout its whole extent, the line is easily traced. The external escarpment is in many parts sixty or seventy feet high. The direction of the longer sides of the camp is from north-east to south-west.

Mr. W. H. Black, F.S.A., said : “What I have to remark about Creden Hill is necessarily connected with that which in the paper which has just been read is called Magna Castra. We have no authority for Castra. It is not written in the old records treating of this place. In the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, which must be put about the year 120 A.D. (in which, on account of its antiquity, it is not wonderful that many Roman cities are conspicuous by their absence ; and which consists simply of fifteen journeys in different parts of this isle, south of Scotland), this place is mentioned in the ablative plural, *Magnis*. This was in a journey from Caermarthen, not to Wroxeter, but, as may be abundantly demonstrated, to the town of Stone in Staffordshire, which was a Roman town of remarkable privileges and extensive jurisdiction. The course by which we arrive at is by the stations called in the *Itinerary* Leucaro, Iscar, and Burrio. Then we come to a place, Gobannio, which is evidently Abergavenny ; and then we come to Magnis, twenty-two miles from Abergavenny. From this place the next is a much larger stretch, viz. twenty-four miles to Bravinio. Now I take it that the name Magnis, as applied to the little city below, and not applied to it alone, has been derived from this camp. Have we not Marden not far off ? Which means a great fortress ; that is to say, the neighbouring fortress, Sutton Walls. The name Marden is equivalent to the Roman name of this place ; but we must not confound Magna with Marden, because the measures will not allow us to go so far.” Mr. Black then proceeded to explain the important position which, as he conceives, Creden Hill held in the geometrical system of the Roman survey, or mensuration of the country, remarking that until his arrival now on the spot, he had no means of knowing how favourable a place it was for an outlook, and for a great geometrical landmark. Exhibiting a map of the district, on which he had previously laid down the principal lines of the Roman survey, he drew attention to the fact that all of them pass over the centre of Creden Hill, and strike important points of the county boundary ; and whilst now viewing the situation for the first time, it was evident to him that those lines, as he had laid them down,

had been ranged to landmarks conspicuous from Creden Hill. The distant points which Mr. Black called for, were in fact, in almost all cases, easily pointed out by Mr. J. F. Symonds and other gentlemen present, who evinced great interest in the investigation.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., called attention to the covered ways alluded to by Mr. Edmunds, and reminded the meeting of the sunken way at St. Alban's, which several antiquarians pronounced to be a covered road leading from one station to another.

The Rev. Prebendary Scarth spoke of the existence of covered ways at other places, probably to provide means for conveying provisions to the camp.

Before quitting the Hill, the party was most hospitably detained by the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert of Creden Hill Court, and of the Rev. C. H. Bulmer of Creden Hill. It was consequently too late to visit the interesting little church of Creden Hill.

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THE GENEALOGY AND ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF THE EARLS OF HEREFORD.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P.

IN a paper I prepared for and read at our Norwich Congress in 1857, I took the opportunity of correcting some very serious errors into which many of our most esteemed genealogists, both ancient and modern, had fallen respecting the parentage of a certain Earl of Hereford who was the father of Raoul de Gael, Earl of Norfolk, and acquired an unenviable notoriety by his conduct in a battle with a combined force of Irish and Welsh, on the borders of this county, in 1055; in consequence of which it is alleged the city and Cathedral of Hereford were burned by the invaders, and the Bishop himself within its walls. I shall not, therefore, increase the length of my present communication by travelling over the same ground; but I take up my story from the point at which I left it on that occasion, *videlicet*, where it became disconnected with the earldom of Norfolk.

The great Dugdale asserts, in his *Baronage*, that Milo of Gloucester was the first person who had the title of Earl of Hereford after the Conquest. Presuming that, like Vincent, he considers William Fitz Osborne and his son, Roger de Breteuil, to have been only "official Earls," as that acute genealogist describes the former, he seems also to have included in that category Robert le Bossu, Earl of Leicester, to whom King Stephen, early in his reign, gave the city, castle, and whole county of Hereford, in right, apparently,



of his wife Ita (or Amicia), granddaughter of Raoul de Gael and Emma, one of the daughters of the William Fitz Osborne aforesaid, and coheir of her brother, Roger de Breteuil, who succeeded his father in his English possessions and dignities. In proof of this, Vincent produces the charter of Stephen, which is as explicit as possible: "Stephanus Rex Anglorum Archiepiscopis etc. salutem. Sciatis me reddidisse hereditarie Roberto Comiti Legrecestræ et heredibus suis, burgum Hereford et castellum et *totum comitatum de Herefordseyre* præter terram Episcopatus et terram Abbatis de Rading et alteram terram Ecclesiarum et Abbatiarum &c. Quare volo quod præfatus Comes et heredes sui post eum teneant bene et in pace et libere et quiete & honorifice in bosco et plano &c. cum aliis omnibus rebus et libertatibus quæ ad omnia præfata pertinent cum quibus *Guil. filius Osbern* unquam melius vel liberius tenuit. Testibus Roberto de Gant Cancellario, et Will. C. de Warren, et Will. C. de Lincoln, et Will. C. de Albermarle, et C. Simone, et Will. Martel, et Turgisio de Ab-rincis, et Will. de Albeni Britone. Apud Nieutonam."

If the grant of the city, castle, and whole county of Hereford to Earl Robert and his heirs, to hold as freely as did Will. Fitz Osborne, did not convey with it the earldom, then, of course, neither Ralph, nor William, nor Roger, have a right to be included in the catalogue of the Earls of Hereford; and Dugdale is, strictly speaking, correct as regards Milo of Gloucester being the first Earl, as in 1141 the Empress Matilda¹ uses these words in her charter, "Sciatis me fecisse Milonem de Gloc. Comitem de Hereford," and gives him at the same time "tertium denarium redditus burgi Hereford," and "tertium denarium placitorum totius comitatus Hereford"; without which grant (the third penny of the pleas), it has been contended the title of Earl was not legally conferred on any one. But although there can be no question that such grant did, soon after the Conquest, accompany the creation of an earl of an English county, if it did not convey it, the possession of the whole county in fee, with here-

¹ The Book of Lanthony Abbey, however, says the earldom was bestowed upon him by King Henry I,—"*Walterius Constabularius prædictus habuit unicum filium nomine Milonem Constabularium quem Milonem Rex Henricus prædictus fecit Comitem Hereford & ultra hoc in augmentatione ipsius comitatus; dictus Rex Henricus dedit sibi et heredibus suis totam forestam de Dene.*" If this be true (for we have not the charter), the grant of Matilda could only be a confirmation as Henry I died in 1135.

ditary succession, must have justified the assumption of it; and it seems to have been generally accorded to the holders by contemporary writers, except in the case of Robert le Bossu, Earl of Leicester, who does not appear to have ever styled himself, or been styled by others, Earl of Hereford also.¹

With Milo of Gloucester, therefore, the catalogue of the undoubted Earls of Hereford must, at all events, begin. Son of Walter, Constable of England, and Emma, daughter of Dru de Balon or Baladon, and husband of Sibilla, daughter of Bernard de Newmarch, lord of Brecknock, by Nesta, one of the favourites of King Henry I, he was evidently a person of considerable influential connexions, and probably more illustrious descent, than we have yet been able to discover. It has been stated that Stephen soon dispossessed him of his earldom; but it seems to me that his short enjoyment of it was caused by a greater power than Stephen's, for on Christmas' Eve, 1143,² only two years after the grant, he was accidentally shot by an arrow while hunting, leaving by his wife, Sibilla de Newmarch, five sons and three daughters.³

Giraldus Cambrensis tells us an amusing story of a miracle in which Earl Milo figures as a witness. He and Payne Fitz John, lord of Ewyas, riding in company with Gruffyd ap Rhys, on the borders of the lake Brechinioe, at a time of year when it was covered with waterfowl of various descriptions, the Earl alluded to an ancient saying in Wales, to the effect that, if the natural Prince of the country coming to this lake, should order the birds to sing, they would immediately obey him, and jestingly proposed that Gruffyd should prove his descent by this ornithological experiment. Gruffyd retorted that, as Milo and Fitz John were now in possession of the country, they ought to try first. They agreed; and having failed in inducing the wildfowl to acknowledge them, Gruffyd, after many pious prayers and genuflexions, stood up and commanded the birds, in the name of the Divinity,

¹ In a charter of Henry II this Robert is named amongst the witnesses as "Roberto Comite Leycestrie," and next to him occurs "Rogerio Comite Herefordie," clearly shewing that Roger Fitz Milo, who died in 1154, was Earl of Hereford during the lifetime of Robert le Bossu, Earl of Leicester.

² "In vigilia natalis Domini, anno Domini mxcxliii" (the Book of Lanthony). The Book of Brading also says (ao. 1143) "Comes Hereford Milo 9 kal. Jan. sagitta occisus obiit." (Fol. 15b.)

³ His widow, Sibilla, married secondly Adam de Port, by whom she had no issue.

to declare whether or not he was lineally descended from the natural Princes of Wales. Upon which, says the credulous chronicler, the birds immediately beating the water with their wings, began to cry out and proclaim him. The spectators, he adds, were astonished and confounded (as well they might be); and Milo and Fitz John hastily returned to the court, and related the singular occurrence to King Henry, who does not appear to have been greatly impressed by it, simply and frankly admitting that the waterfowl were fully justified in their view of the question.

Roger, the eldest son of Milo, succeeded him as Earl of Hereford,¹ having married Cecily, daughter of Payne Fitz John, lord of Ewyas, one of the witnesses of the miracle aforesaid. He died, without issue, in 1154 (1st of Henry II), when the King took the earldom into his own keeping, and refused it to Walter, the next son of Milo, and heir to his brother, who is known only as Walter of Hereford. He also died without issue, as (remarkably enough) did his three younger brothers, Mahill, Henry, and William: whereby all their inheritance came to their sisters, Margaret, Berta, and Lucia; the eldest of whom having married, before 1125, Humphrey de Bohun, third of that name, and sewer to King Henry I, the earldom of Hereford and the high office of Constable of England eventually descended for many generations in that family.²

Of the origin of the De Bohuns very little has yet been discovered. We are vaguely informed that the first of the name known to us, and distinguished as "Humphrey with the beard" (that hirsute appendage being remarkable amongst the closely shaved Normans), was a near kinsman of the Conqueror; but in what particular degree, or by which of the many branches legitimate and illegitimate, of the ducal house of Normandy, no information is afforded to us. After

¹ The charter of King Henry II to the Abbey of St. Martin of Troarn is witnessed by "Roger Comite Herefordiae."

² Berta, the second daughter, who married William, son of Philip de Braose, became heir to her mother, and brought the lordship of Brecknock to her husband. She has been given for wife by Dugdale and nearly all the previous genealogists (Mr. Stapleton included) to Philip, the father of William; but it is quite clear, from the charters of both father and son to the Priory of Sele in Sussex, that the wife of Philip was named *Aenor*, and that of William *Berta*. (Vide *Mon. Ang.*, i, p. 581, and also the Book of Lanthony; for the latter match, *Mon. Ang.*, ii, p. 66.) The Rev. Canon Cartwright, in his *History of the Rape of Bramber*, was the first, apparently, who noticed the error. Lucia, the third daughter, became the wife of Herbert Fitz Herbert.

the Conquest he became possessed of the lordship of Taterford, in the county of Norfolk; so that whatever his relationship to, or support of, William, no very great benefit or reward appears to have resulted from it. Bohun, or rather Bohon, the place whence the family derived its name, is situated in the arrondissement of St. Lo, in the Cotentin, where are still the communes of St. André and St. George de Bohon. The mound of the castle was visible some thirty years ago, and may be still. The honour of Bohon was in the possession of this "Humphrey with the beard" at the time of the Norman invasion: previous to which period there is evidence that he had been thrice married, for his grant to the nuns of St. Amand, at Rouen, of a tithe of his own plough and a garden, is made for the health of himself and his three wives,—not one of whom, unfortunately, is named; but it is witnessed by "*William Comes*," as the Duke was often termed prior to his elevation to the throne of England. Humphrey's later gift of the church of St. George de Bohon as a cell to the Abbey of Marmoutier, is confirmed by "*William King of the English*," his Queen Mathildis, his sons Robert and William, his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, Michael Bishop of Avranches, Roger de Montgomery, and Richard son of Turstin, which certainly support the belief that he was a close connexion of the Conqueror.

Wace speaks of him as "*De Bohon le viel Onfroï*"; and Mr. Stapleton observes that these details are evidences of a long life, and justify that description. He was dead before 1113, having had issue three sons and two daughters;¹ but by which wife or wives we are at present, unhappily, in ignorance. Robert, the eldest son, appears to have died in his father's lifetime, probably unmarried. Richard, the second son, also called Richard de Marsio or De Meri (from his possessions in the marshy territory upon the banks of the river Ouse, in the vicinity of L'Homme, otherwise called L'Isle Marie), confirmed in 1113 the gift of his father Humphrey to the monks of St. Martin de Marmoutier; and had seven hides of land in Bereford (Little Barford) given him in augmentation of his barony by the Conqueror, for services ren-

¹ One of them appears to have been named Adela: at least I find "*Adela Amite Hu'fri de Buhun*" in the Fine Roll for Wiltshire, 31st of Henry I (A.D. 1131); at which period his grandson, the third Humphrey, had succeeded to the property; and it could not be on the mother's side, or she would have been a daughter of Edward of Salisbury.

dered to him in England. Richard dying without male issue,¹ the third and youngest son, Humphrey, succeeded his father in his English possessions, which had been augmented in the reign of Rufus by an extensive barony in Wiltshire, through his marriage with Maude (or Mabel as she is sometimes called), daughter of that most mysterious personage, Edward of Salisbury, on whose provoking parentage and inexplicable connexions I descanted at some length in a paper at the Salisbury Congress.² This marriage was made, we are told by the chronicler of Lanthony Abbey, at the instance of William Rufus himself; and with this lady her father gave to the said Humphrey, in free marriage, all his lands and tenements which were of his own acquisition. Now as Humphrey de Bohun already possessed by inheritance an extensive barony in Wiltshire, these additional estates must have made him a very important personage, and fully entitled him to the appellation of "Great" in the higher sense of the word, though the epithet of "Crassus" appearing in some of the pedigrees as a synonym of "Magnus" may point to a less honourable derivation.

This Humphrey de Bohun, second of the name, dapifer to King Henry I, and distinguished in the history of his family as "the Great or the Fat," died in 1131, leaving by his wife aforesaid an only son named also Humphrey,³ and a daughter named Maude;⁴ which Humphrey, third of the name, dapifer to the King,⁵ increased the fortunes and dignities of the house of Bohun by marrying, before 1125, Margaret, eldest daughter of Milo Earl of Hereford, as I have before mentioned, and one of the sisters and coheirs of her brother Mahel, after whose death the earldom of Hereford is said to have been either bestowed on Humphrey, or enjoyed by him

¹ His only daughter and heir married a Norman of the Cotentin, named Engeler, living 1130, a younger son of Savarie, lord of Midhurst, son, as it is stated, of Frangualo de Fougères by Cana de Saumur. (*Vide* a very well argued paper in the *Herald and Genealogist*, vol. vi, p. 429, by Mr. Eustace Avenel.)

² In Sir W. Segar's MS. *Baronagium Coll. Arm.* I find the mother of Edward set down as "..... daughter to Hugh Comte de Mans, uxor Gualterus," but no authority stated; and the said Gualterus, the Walter le Eurus of the Laycock Book, called Earl of Mans and Chaumont in the Vexin.

³ "Umfrid' de Bohun redd' compot' de xxij*li*. & xs. p' relevat' t're pat's sui. Et de cecc m' arg' ut sit dap' Reg'." (Fine Rolls, Wilts, 31 H. I, A.D. 1131.)

⁴ Of this Maude we know nothing.

⁵ He witnesses King Henry's charter before mentioned as "Humphredo de Bohun, Dapifero."

in right of his wife, with the office of Constable of England. Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, died 6th of April, 1187 (35th of Henry II), having had, like his father, only one son, a fourth Humphrey, who married Margaret, daughter of Henry Earl of Huntingdon, sister to William King of Scotland, and widow of Conan le Petit, Comte de Bretagne and Richmont,—another great match, which certainly must have increased the dignity and influence, and most probably the wealth, of this fortunate family. This fourth Humphrey has also been set down by some writers as Earl of Hereford and Constable of England; but if Milles be correct in placing his death in 1183,¹ he died five years before his father, and consequently could not have succeeded him in the earldom, or exercised the office, even could it be shewn that the third Humphrey de Bohun ever actually possessed the former. By his wife Margaret he left an only son, as his father and grandfather did before him, who was named Henry, apparently after his maternal grandfather, the Earl of Huntingdon; and this Henry de Bohun was undoubtedly created by King John, in the second year of his reign, Earl of Hereford, with the grant of £20 and the third penny of the pleas of the county of Hereford. The charter is dated at Porchester, 28th of April, 1199; and as his mother, Margaret, is said to have died in 1201, having survived her husband nineteen years, and is not designated Countess of Hereford, but only mother of Henry Earl of Herefordshire, there seems every probability that he, Henry, was the first Earl of the family of De Bohun, and that at all events his father had never been so considered.

Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, married Maude, sole daughter to Geoffrey Fitz Piers, Earl of Essex, and eventually heir to her brother, William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, and died 1 June, 1220. His widow, Maude, who married, secondly, Roger d'Auntisey,² and bore to him four sons,

¹ And that he is correct is evident from the fact that in 1185 Margaret was his widow, and in the gift of the King, having had one son by Humphrey de Bohun, at that period ten years old. (Vide *Rot. de Dominabus &c. de Norfolk & Cambridge*, anno 31 Henry II. She is called in both entries Countess, but in the latter distinctly Countess of Brittany, and sister of the King of Scotland, but no mention of Hereford. In the first entry she is said to be over forty years of age, and in the second only thirty. The boy is said to be "in custodia Margarete de Bohun," by whom I presume is meant his grandmother, Margaret, daughter of Milo Earl of Hereford.

² "Rex baronibus suis de Seac'o salutem &c. Allocate Rogero de Auntisey

Humphrey, Henry, Ralph, and Robert; and two daughters, Maude (or Avice) and Margery. Of these, Humphrey succeeded his father as Earl of Hereford, Henry died in infancy. Of Ralph we only find that, with his wife Lora, he was a benefactor to the Abbey of Grendon. Robert and Maude are only mentioned in the Book of Walden. Margery married William Earl of Warwick. But there appears to have been a daughter named Avice, who may be one and the same with Maude, who, according to Segar, was the first wife of Reginald de Mohun, of Bruton, Somerset, and whom he makes mother of his heir,—a point of importance to consider, but not on the present occasion.

Humphrey de Bohun, fifth of that name, and second Earl of Hereford of that family, upon the death of his mother (6 kalends of September, 1236), was created Earl of Essex, and married first Maude, daughter and heir of Ralph de Isondon, Comte d'Eu in Normandy, by whom he had two sons,—Humphrey, who died during the lifetime of his father (A.D. 1264), and Henry; and three daughters,—Maude, wife first of Anselm Marshal, Earl of Pembroke; and secondly of Roger de Quincey, Earl of Winchester; Ela, wife of Ralph de Thoney; and a third not named.¹ The Earl Humphrey married secondly Maude de Avensbury, by whom he had a son named John (afterwards knighted), lord of Haversfield. This Humphrey de Bohun, who, to his double title of Earl of Hereford and Essex, obtained the addition of a still nobler one, that of “the Good,” which appears to have been generally conferred upon him by the people, died 23 Sept. 1275,² and was succeeded by his grandson, Humphrey, son of the Humphrey sixth of the name, who died in 1264, by his first wife, Eleanor, daughter and coheir of William de Braose, lord Brecknock, as well as of her mother, Eva, coheir of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke.³

et Matilda Comitissæ Hereford' uxori suæ. sorori et heredi Will'i quondam Comitissæ Essex," etc. (Rot. Lib. 13 Henry III.)

¹ In a hundred roll for the county of Dorset, 1 Edward I, occurs an entry in which the name of Milo de Bohun occurs: “Jur' dieu't q'd Milo de Bohun tenet man'iu' de Gussich Dynaunt q'd fuit aliquo temp'e escaeta d'ni R. p' quend' Roland Dynaunt Normann & Rex t'didit idem man'ium Matil' de Olyl, sed nesciu't q'm'o que quid'. Matill' postea fuit uxor Will'i de Cantelupo & q'd man'iu' post mortem d'c'e Matill' devisit ad man' Humfridi Bohun fil' sororis d'c'e Matill'.”

² Book of Lanthony and Chronicle of Gloucester.

³ Segar suggests that she had another son by Humphrey de Bohun, named Gilbert (afterwards knighted) as Gilbert was a family name of the Marshals.

Humphrey de Bohun, seventh of the name, Earl of Hereford and Essex, married Maude, daughter of Ingleram Lord Fiennes, by whom he had an only son, Humphrey, eighth of the name, who, on his father's death in 1298 (27th of Edward I), succeeded him in his earldoms of Hereford and Essex, and took to wife the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward I, and widow of John Earl of Holland, adding still more lustre to his lineage by an alliance with the royal family of England.

This eighth Humphrey de Bohun, fourth Earl of Hereford and third Earl of Hereford and Essex, was slain at Borough Bridge, in Yorkshire, 16 March, 1321, by a soldier who disgraced himself by the dastardly act of thrusting a spear through the planks of the bridge as he was crossing it. His issue by the Princess Elizabeth consisted of six sons,—1, Humphrey, who died young; 2, John, who succeeded him as Earl of Hereford and Essex, and married first Alice, daughter of Edmund Earl of Arundel, and secondly Maude, daughter of Ralph Lord Basset, but died in 1335 without issue by either wife; 3, another Humphrey, aged twenty-four at his brother's death, and who succeeded him as Earl of Hereford and Essex, but died unmarried in 1361; 4, Edward, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Ros of Hamlake, but also died without issue; 5, William (twin with Edward), who continued the line, and was created Earl of Northampton by King Edward III in the eleventh year of his reign (A.D. 1337), and was one of the original Knights of the Garter; and 6, Æneas, who died without issue. Also four daughters,—1, Margaret, who died young; 2, Alianora;¹ 3, another Margaret; and 4, Isabella, who also died in infancy: the largest family of any De Bohun on record, who appear to have been as remarkable for the paucity of their progeny as for the rank and wealth of their wives.

William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, married Elizabeth, daughter of Bartholomew de Badelesmere, and coheir

There was a Sir Gilbert Bohun at this period who bore the arms of De Bohun differenced by three escallop-shells *gules* on the bend *argent*. Humphrey married a second wife, Joan, daughter of Robert de Quincey, but by her had no issue.

¹ Alianora married James Butler of Ireland, afterwards created, by Edw. III, Earl of Ormonde. The second Margaret became the wife of Hugh de Courteney, afterwards created by the same monarch Earl of Devonshire. (*Book of Lanthony*; *Mon. Ang.*, vol. ii, p. 68.)



of her brother, Giles Lord Badelesmere, and widow of Edmund de Mortimer, by whom he had a son, Humphrey, who succeeded him in 1350 as Earl of Northampton; and in consequence of his two uncles, John and Humphrey, dying without issue, became also, on the decease of the latter on 16 October, 1361,¹ Earl of Hereford and Essex; and a daughter named Elizabeth, who married her cousin, Richard Fitz Alan, son and heir of Richard Earl of Arundel.

This Humphrey de Bohun, eleventh and last of that name, Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton, married Joan, daughter of Richard Earl of Arundel, and sister of his brother-in-law, and dying 16 January, 1372,² left two daughters, his coheirs, who each kept up the illustrious character of their ancestors by marrying members of the royal family of England,—Eleanor becoming the wife of Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Gloucester, son of King Edward III; and her sister, Mary, the wife of Henry surnamed Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, brother of the same great King of England; and which Henry was, in consequence of this marriage, created Duke of Hereford by Richard II, 29 of September, 1397, subsequently ascending the throne of England as Henry IV.

The title of Earl of Hereford was assumed by Humphrey Earl of Stafford, grandson of the elder sister Eleanor; but he was never so created, and the dignity merged in the crown.

As a herald I could not, of course, conclude this paper without some notice of the armorial insignia borne by or attributed to this illustrious family and their predecessors. As respects the titular or "official" Earls, I have only to repeat what I have so often already stated, that no hereditary arms, nor, indeed, anything that could be strictly called heraldry, existed previous to the twelfth century, about the middle of which the earliest instances make their appearance; and therefore those attributed to the Fitz Osbornes and their contemporaries are purely imaginative, the inventions of a later period.³ Milo Fitz Walter, moreover, lived

¹ Rot. Ant. Abbie de Walden MS.

² Ibidem, Escheat. sub anno.

³ The veracious but virulent Augustine Vincent speaking of the still earlier Comte d'Hereford, Ralph de Mantes, says, "His arms, as some impostors have delivered, were two red bends upon gold; which I no way credit, for that we had not the use of armoric in England so ancient." (*Discoverie of Brooks's Errors.*)

so nearly to the time I have mentioned, that it is just probable he might have assumed some device of an heraldic character, although there is no reliable authority for the two bends, one *or*, and the other *argent*, which have been ascribed to him. On his seal he is represented on horseback, in a hauberk of what is termed "maseled" armour, and bearing a lance and a shield; but the gonfannon of the lance is without device, and only the inside of the upper portion of the shield is visible, which as a piece of negative evidence is very important; for as soon as armorial insignia began to be assumed, the armed equestrian figures of knights and barons are purposely engraved and depicted with their shields in a position calculated best to display the heraldic bearings by which they were to be recognised on the field of battle; and we may certainly, therefore, draw the inference fairly, that if Milo had assumed coat-armour, it would have been exhibited in the customary manner. The arms of the De Bohuns are well known and authenticated by numerous examples from the close of the twelfth century, and are to me extremely interesting, as I believe them to present a very curious instance of the ancient mode of amalgamating coats of arms previously to the invention of quartering.

The heralds of the twelfth century having, as I take it, invented for William Fitz Osborne the coat of arms which has been subsequently handed down to us, viz. *gules* a bend *argent* surmounted by a fess *or*, they differenced that of Milo by simply changing the fess into another bend, and blazoned it *gules*, a bend *or*, another *argent*. Some fifty years after his death we find the De Bohuns who descended from his eldest daughter, and one of the coheirs of her brother Mahel, bearing a bend *argent*, cotised *or*, between six lions rampant; the said lions being, I believe, the arms borne by them in token of their intermarriage with the daughter of Edward of Salisbury,—*azure*, six lions rampant being the arms borne by William Longuepée, Earl of Salisbury, who married Ela, the sole daughter of William Fitzpatrick, Earl of Salisbury, Edward's grandson; and the bend *argent* cotised *or* intimating the two bends, one *or*, the other *argent*, of Milo of Gloucester. If I am right in this conjecture (for it is only a conjecture founded upon my observations of ancient and apparently similar combinations in early seals of arms) another question arises, Had the De Bohuns pos-

sessed any heraldic device of their own previous to their adoption of the family arms of their wives? The De Bohuns of Midhurst, who acquired the barony of Bohun by the failure of the male issue of Engler, who had married the heiress of Richard de Meri, certainly bore an entirely different coat. Two early seals of these Bohuns of Midhurst present us with a crescent. They are those of a Savaricus and a Franco de Bohun, and are attributed by Charles Brooke, Somerset Herald, in his *Aspilogia*, to Savaricus de Bohun of Midhurst, who lived in the reign of Henry III, and to Franco de Boun, great-grandfather of that Savaricus to whom Richard I granted the manor in the first year of his reign.¹ The latter I consider, not a coat of arms, but a badge, as there is no shield. The crescent is also "reversed," *i. e.* with the points downwards; but this may be only an accident in the sealing, as the seal is round, and appears to me upside down, from the position of the legend. The other exhibits a heater-shaped shield of the form in use in the reign of Henry III, and may be blazoned either as a crescent within a border, or an inescutcheon charged with a crescent, colours and metal of course not indicated. Now it is a curious fact that the very Savaricus to whom this seal is ascribed is distinguished in his pedigree, on the authority of a Patent Roll (25 Henry III) as *Lunaticus*; but whether from the arms he bore, or in consequence of mental aberration, is an inquiry *de lunatico* which we have at present no evidence before us to justify an opinion upon. Certain it is that some of the family continued to bear the crescent otherwise differenced. A Frank de Boun, apparently the son of this Savaricus, is recorded in a roll of the reign of Henry III (the earliest known at present) as bearing *gules*, a crescent within an orle of martlets *ermine*. At the same time we find a Sir John de Bohun of Midhurst, the sixth descendant from this Franco, in the direct line, bearing in the eleventh year of the reign of King Henry VI, a coat which is blazoned in ordinaries as *or*, a cross *azure*.² The fact that no member of this branch of the De Bohuns has borne the arms of the other line deriv-

¹ Segar, in his MS. Baron., mentions a coat attributed to a John de Bohun, *temp.* Richard I (?), which displayed *azure*, on a chief *or* a lion passant *gules*, but gives no authority. He only quotes a book in the possession of Gibbon Blue Mantle Pursuivant.

² There is a drawing of his seal in Glover's Catal. MS. A (College of Arms). The crest, a man's head in a "salade" or bascinet.

ing from Milo of Gloucester and Edward of Salisbury, is at least a point in favour of the conjecture I have ventured to form respecting the origin of the well known coat of the Earls of Hereford, as Engeler de Fougères, who married the heiress of the elder brother, would, according to the custom of the time, have most probably assumed the armorial insignia of his wife's family had any been at that time in existence. The arms or device of the family of Fougères were branches of fern or fern-leaves ("Fougère"). The coat of the crescent has still to be accounted for.

THE TOMBS AND MONUMENTAL SCULPTURE IN HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

A REPORT OF THE OBSERVATIONS MADE BY THE REV. C. BOUTELL
IN EXAMINING THE MONUMENTS IN THE PRESENCE
OF THE HEREFORD CONGRESS.

THE monuments of this Cathedral claim our attention, in one sense, even more than the edifice itself which has so long sheltered them, because they approach us personally. In the history of the Cathedral fabric they take a position analogous to that which biography holds in general history. The monuments here are too numerous, I fear, to permit me to ask you, within a reasonable time, to examine the whole of them individually; but I will point out some of the most remarkable.

I will speak first of the shrine of St. Thomas de Cantilupe. I shall then pass on to the episcopal monuments which would naturally claim precedence in a cathedral church, and which here possess one remarkable and very unusual feature. The characteristic of the funeral monuments of the middle ages usually is such that the age of the monument will be of the period of the death of the prelate or person commemorated. Monumental honours were rarely thought of at an after period, except, of course, when the preservation of sacred relics was intended, but that is another question. There is in this church a series of effigies all constructed at the same time. There does not appear to be any record of

the person who was as anxious to preserve the memory of his predecessors in the office of bishop; but here they are, ten or eleven of them. The monuments are all of the same date, viz. from 1320 to 1330. You will ask how, if I have no knowledge of any record concerning these memorials, I can form a judgment as to the time of the execution of the work? The works speak for themselves. It is one of the attributes of mediæval monumental work, that wherever the chisel has touched, there is the work possessing certain characteristics of treatment and feeling which enable us to judge accurately of its date almost to within five years.

Another series of monuments in this church commemorates the dignitaries of this Cathedral, the deans and canons. These monuments consist of some sculptured effigies; but chiefly, perhaps, are found amongst the brasses. And as Mr. Herbert Haines has undertaken to treat of these metal works of art, I shall have little to say with respect to the Cathedral clergy. I will only observe on the great number of the brasses which have perished, of which the outline only is left in the existing stones which held them, often retaining the memory of a fine work. There is a magnificent array of them remaining at Lincoln, where they have been placed in the choir, and they shew well.

The third class of monuments is that of the laity, in respect to which one subject of remark will be the question of their right attribution. I do not think there is evidence that any of the De Bohuns were buried here. The contrary supposition, perhaps, arose from the feeling that the Cathedral should possess some memorial of the De Bohuns, Earls of Hereford.

Coming to the individual monuments, I at once accept the challenge which Mr. Hills, in his discourse on the architecture of the Cathedral, threw down. Notwithstanding the reasons he gave us for suspending our judgment, I accept the monument which has long been connected with the name of the saint as the tomb and shrine of St. Thomas de Cantilupe. As Mr. Hills told you, he was appointed to this see in 1275; and after a short reign he died, in 1282, in Italy. His bones—literally, for only the bones of his bodily form—were brought to Hereford. From the history of the different translations of the relics, I have no doubt that, down to our own time, the tomb has had four moves; and

then it had a fifth at the late restoration of this Cathedral, under the eye of the architect, Mr. Scott. This move brought to light the singular circumstance that the slab at the bottom, on which the superstructure rests, is itself an earlier monument,—a slab whose face, now hid by the superstructure, is covered with an elaborate and beautiful cross. Then we have constructed upon that slab the lower story of the structure, corresponding with what we call an altar-tomb. The two sides and the west end are decorated with arched panels, in every one of which stands an armed figure. The slab which covers this part of the structure shews traces of having been inlaid with a canopied brass, enough remaining of the indent to shew that it is one belonging to the time of St. Thomas de Cantilupe. It has been suggested that at some subsequent period the slab may have been applied to commemorate some other person, and this idea is said to be supported by the representation of the bishop with only the half figure in brass; but I do not agree with this. Indents on the slab shew traces of brass fleurs-de-lis semé, as it were, in the field; but there is no trace of the outline of the inverted lion's face which in the arms of Cantilupe, since adopted for the see, should have the flower proceeding out of the mouth. Above the brass is a beautiful open arcade, the spandrels of the arches filled with exquisitely carved foliage. If we assume this to belong to the shrine of St. Thomas de Cantilupe, this part would be where the offerings to the saint were placed. Above this part, where the shrine itself was placed, is imperfect, for we have no shrine remaining. As a shrine, this monument partakes of a twofold character; the actual monument of the bishop some time or other converted into a shrine, in order that it might combine the bishop's relics and the offerings to the canonised saint. A shrine was always associated with an altar, and generally a kneeling place for votaries; but here we do not see these now. The objection to its being a shrine, or being a bishop's monument at all, is the presence of the armed figures. I do not think that a sound objection. The monument of a bishop in Lincoln Cathedral contains, I think, armed figures. I do not like to speak with too much certainty, but if I am not mistaken there are armed figures on the one side. It was not uncommon in those days to represent one or more of the scenes of the Gospel on monuments. There are some

tombs which are intended to represent the sacred tomb from which the Saviour arose. Upon them we have various sculptured figures, including the guards at the sepulchre; so that armed figures are not by any means unusual, even on monuments of ecclesiastics. But although those armed watchers are not the same as those we have here, yet I think such instances do away with the objection that has been made to the armed figures on this shrine. The figures on the shrine are evidently the work of French artists. This is seen particularly by reference to the position of the shield and sword. In English works the armed figures have the shield carried on the left arm; but in these figures the shield hangs upon the wrist, and rests upon the ground, and the sword is made to suit that position. As to Bishop Cantilupe being connected with the order of the Templars, as some one has suggested, I do not see that these figures offer any proof, and the suggestion may be dismissed. But I think that it would require something more than the armed figures on the monument to do away with the tradition that this is the shrine of Bishop Cantilupe. With respect to the architecture of the shrine we could not very well say late Early English, or plain Decorated; but it is difficult to fix upon such terms as would not involve the necessity of these contradictions. I should call this shrine in the Decorated period. It has been called Early English. It marks the interval before one pronounced period has been completely merged into its successor.

The monument of Dean Aquablanca next claims attention. It shews well the vestments of this dignitary. The beautiful monument against which it is placed is that of Bishop Peter de Aquablanca, who reigned in this see from 1240 to 1268, whose effigy it contains under an elaborate canopy of stonework. The effigy was executed by men who were masters of their work. The sculpture of the drapery is as good as it can possibly be. The amice is worn loosely round the throat. In the next century it was worn tighter. The ends of the stole shew below, and are crossed over. Then there is the dalmatic covered by the chasuble. One hand holds the pastoral staff, the other is raised in benediction. You will notice the mitre with its fillets, the form of which corresponds with the period to which the monument belongs, for the mitre altered in *contour* and increased in height.

In the north aisle of the choir we come to a part of the series of episcopal effigies, all of which, as I have told you, were made about A.D. 1320 to 1330, as the mode of dress infallibly shews. One of these effigies bears the model of a tower or castle in his hand. This effigy is in alabaster. It is the monument of Bishop Stanbury, and you will see that the dalmatic is worn as an episcopal vestment.

In the north-eastern transept I will direct attention to the monument to a civilian and two ladies, having the appearance of a destroyed brass. It was formerly inlaid with alabaster, as I myself have seen when pieces of alabaster were yet remaining. In the north-west angle of this transept we have an example of an episcopal monument without an effigy. My friend, the Rev. F. T. Havergal, knows some interesting facts connected with it, and will, perhaps, relate them himself. The architectural style of the canopy and recessed arch agrees with the period to which it is assigned, viz. after the death of Bishop Swinfield in 1316.

The Rev. F. T. Havergal : "This is the tomb of Bishop Richard Swinfield, the successor of St. Thomas de Cantilupe. I was present when this tomb was opened, a few years since, in the presence of the Dean of Hereford. On raising the top slab, the first movements of the crowbar brought to view a glittering substance bright as a sovereign. It proved to be the head of the bishop's pastoral staff. The body of Bishop Swinfield, it was found, had been buried in a shell, and encased, in mummy style, with an outer leaden coffin. With him were buried the chalice and paten. There was a trace of wine in the chalice. When the examinations were completed, the tomb was closed again, and cemented. Two rings, the gilt staff-head, the chalice, and paten, which I now exhibit, were not replaced, lest their known existence should tempt to dishonesty. They will now be seen, and yet be carefully preserved. Whether this monument of Bishop Swinfield ever had an effigy or incised slab there is no evidence at all. That slab which you see forming the top of the tomb is the lid of the coffin itself. An inscription painted on the masonry attributes this monument to Bishop Swinfield. On the stone at the back there is a representation of the crucifixion."

Rev. C. Boutell : In the north side of the Lady Chapel is a lay effigy about which there is a dispute as to the identity.

It has been said that it is a memorial of one of the Earls of Hereford. At the beginning of the century to which this effigy belongs mail-armour was in use, and then it was found that weapons were invented which made it no safeguard. This competition of new weapons against old armour, and then new armour against the last invented weapons, produced continual change in the armour, and this is represented on the monuments. The armour of this effigy is of about 1325, or within five or six years before or after that date. In times before the era of this monument they covered the whole armour of the body with a surcoat, which must have been very inconvenient in the saddle. It was then cut shorter in the front, leaving it long in a straight line behind. Here we have an example of it. This lasted nearly until 1340. The head-piece underwent great varieties of *contour*. This one has a peculiarity I will mention,—the camail formed of chain-work, and hung from the head-piece over the shoulders as a guard to the throat. It was attached to the helmet by little rings, which rings they found were liable to be cut: hence was adopted the method of sewing it on with a small leather interlace, as here it appears. How far back the date of the canopy over the figure may extend I cannot say. The monument has often been attributed to one of the De Bohuns, Earls of Hereford.

The monument close to the last is that of Johanna de Bohun, a lady, who was a very liberal benefactress to this Cathedral. There is one thing in the costume to be particularly noticed, viz. the whimple, corresponding with what was the amice of the ecclesiastic. It was the privilege of the ladies of different ranks to hide their faces, to a certain extent, as they liked. One of high rank could hide her eyes, nose, and mouth; of a lesser degree, her nose and mouth; another degree lower, only her mouth; and according to these peculiar circumstances was the adjustment of the whimple.

On the south side of the ante-chapel to the Lady Chapel I call your attention to an effigy in an arched recess in the wall. It is to Dean Borieu. The sculpture in the arch is made to contain a rebus of the name,—boars, each carrying in the mouth a sprig of rue. Upon them are shields with the arms of the Deanery.

In the crypt under the Lady Chapel is a fine incised slab

dated 1497. It is a memorial of Andrew Jones, a merchant of this city, and Elizabeth his wife. He restored this chapel, which is dedicated to St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin Mary.

In the south aisle of the choir we have more of the series of bishops' effigies executed in 1320 to 1340. Here also is the monument of a lady, which is a good example of its kind. We cannot say much for the art; but it is worthy of notice on account of the accuracy of the costume, and the fact that there is a swaddled baby with the mother. Some babies are marked with the baptismal cross, but this is not. There is no other instance of a swaddled baby being swathed in the folds of the clothes of the mother. This knight, instead of having his gauntlets in his hands, has them clasped together, and put by him.

Passing to the south aisle of the nave, here are two effigies in these mural arches. The one is probably the effigy of a dean, and the other is evidently the monument of one of the treasurers of the Chapter, as he holds a key. The date would be from 1320 to 1325, judging from the canopy.

Then the recumbent figure under one of the arches which divide this aisle from the nave is the effigy of Sir Richard de Pembridge, one of the knights, one of the founders of the Order of the Garter. There is a very similar effigy at Wantage in Berkshire; but I cannot tell whether this one has the insignia of the Garter represented, as this one has. This is one of the earliest instances of an effigy having the Garter on. I think there is only one earlier. One of the legs of this effigy had been gone for many years, till fifteen years ago some one thought to complete the figure; but, with more zeal than discretion, he gave the insignia of the Garter to the restored leg, to make it correspond with the other. Lately Lord Saye and Sele has caused this mistake to be rectified. There are several things in this monument which are in a very great degree characteristic of this period,—the peculiar adjustment of the belt so much below the waist; the exceedingly pointed formation of the covering for the foot; but the point is destroyed in the remaining original foot, and therefore the man who executed the new one had nothing to guide him: hence he has committed a great mistake. He has made the foot almost round at the end,—a form of foot-covering not known until 1475, which is as

much out of place as the second garter. The crest to the helmet is a most admirable example of the kind of plume worn in those times. We have read in poetry a good deal about the flowing plumes, but the knights did not wear "flowing" plumes. The plumes on the helmet were always stiff and erect, just as they are seen round this helmet.

The concluding monument is that against the north door, to Bishop Booth, of about 1519. Want of time compels me to pass it by, as I have done that of Bishop Trevenant in the south transept, Bishop Charlton in the north transept, and another Bishop Charlton in the south-east transept.

THE MONUMENTAL BRASSES OF THE CATHEDRAL AND COUNTY OF HEREFORD.

BY THE REV. HERBERT HAINES, M.A.

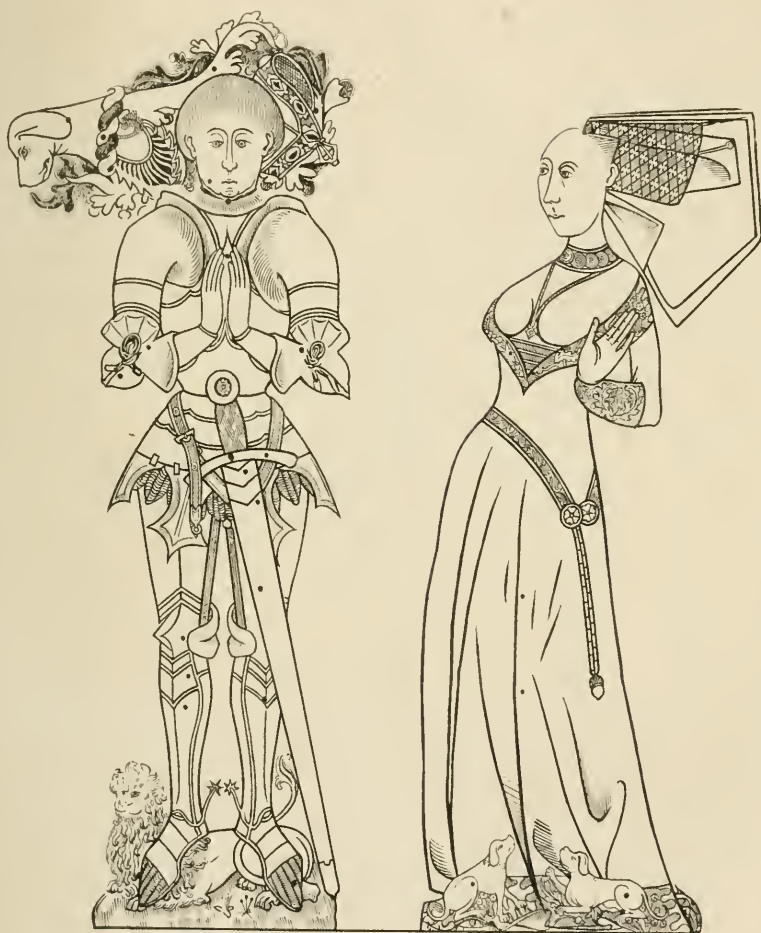
(Continued from p. 99.)

THE monumental brasses of the county of Hereford may be briefly noticed in the alphabetical order of the churches :

Brampton Abbots, near Ross.—A small female figure in plain pedimental headdress, tight-fitting gown, and long plaited girdle, is now fastened, together with its inscription, to the south wall of the chancel. The effigy of the husband is lost, and had disappeared before the discovery of the brass on the removal of the flooring of the chancel in 1857. The inscription runs thus :

"Orate pro aīabus Johīs Rudhale Armig'i et Johanne vxoris sue qui obiit xxiiij^o die ffebruarij anno domini Millmo ccccc vj^o quorū aīabus propicietur deus amē."

Burghill.—1. On the east wall of the chancel is a small quadrangular plate with figures of a man in cloak, ruff, doublet, and trunk-hose, kneeling at a table with open books; behind him is a similar figure of a little boy; and opposite are figures of a woman and her little daughter, in plain gowns. At the upper dexter corner is a shield with the arms, *azure*, a chevron between three eagles' heads erased *or*; a mullet for difference, Aubrey. The corresponding shield is lost. The inscription below the figures is in capitals, and as follows :



Alcey Brass, from Lechlougher Church, Herefordshire



“Here lyeth byried the body of John Awbrey Esq’ yongest soñe of William Awbrey Doctor of law and one of the masters of Request in ordinary to Qveene Elyzabeth who died y^e xjth of Jvne 1616 being about y^e age of .38. yeres he married Rachell the daugther of Richard Danvers of totn^v in wiltshire Esq’ by whome he had issve one sonne and one daugther God send him a ioyfull Resvrrection.”

2. On the north wall of the chancel is a stone inlaid with a shield bearing *gules* a lion rampant guardant *or*, tail forked, supporting between the paws a rose of the field stalked and leaved *vert*, Master, impaling a lion rampant crowned, within a bordure engrailed bezantée (?), Cornwall. On a plate opposite is engraved a representation of a terrestrial globe on a stand. Beneath is this inscription in capitals:

“Here lyeth the bodye of Robert Masters Gent: late Lord of this Mannovr who travelled wth Thomas Candish Esq^r to Virginia and afterward above the Globe of y^e whole worlde & after his retrvrne married Winefrid ye daught^r of Thom^s Cornwall of Byckland Gent by whom he hath 2 sones & .7. daugthers he departed this life the .3. of Jvne A^o 1619.”

Clehonger.—An interesting and carefully engraved brass of about the date 1470, supposed to commemorate a gentleman and lady of the Aubrey family. The male effigy is 3 feet 3 inches long, in armour. The head is bare, and reposes on a tilting helmet with a dog’s head for the crest. The defences of each arm are alike. The sword is suspended diagonally in front of the legs, and the two principal tuilles are of a peculiar shape. The feet have the toes encased in socks of mail, and rest on a lion. The lady has a large “butterfly” headdress, and a tight fitting gown, exposing the bosom, with the cuffs and lower part encircled with flowers and scroll-work instead of fur. The girdle is neatly ornamented, and has an appendage in the shape of an acorn suspended from it by a short chain. The brass was lying loose at the School-House for some time after the restoration of the church, but is now (?) carefully fixed to the wall of the chancel.

Colwall.—A brass to Anthony Harford, Esq. (1590), in armour, and his wife, with about four sons and as many daughters. The figures and inscription are on a quadrangular plate, and fixed to the wall. The organ has for some years been placed before the brass; and, as is the case at Burnham, Buckinghamshire, and Acton, Suffolk, effectually prevents the prosecution of antiquarian researches.

Ledbury.—1. An effigy of a priest, *circa* 1410, not quite a foot high, kneeling, and habited in cassock, cape, and hood. Above was a figure of St. Peter, and below is the couplet,

“Sey pat’ nost’ for sere Williā Calwe
That loued wel god and alle halwe.”¹

2. A figure bareheaded, and in armour, with an inlaid collar and pendant badge. The sword is suspended obliquely in front of the legs, and the feet rest on a recumbent horse. The effigy is almost a counterpart of one at Fladbury, Worcestershire, of the date 1488. The inscription beneath is as follows :

“Hic iacet Thomas Caple Armig’ qui obiit quinto die Mensis ffebruarij Anno Domini Milli^{mo} quadringentesimo octogesio decimo cui’ aīe p’picet’ de’ Amē.”

3. A small oblong plate engraved with an armed figure bareheaded, and wearing trunk-hose under the defences of the thighs. The inscription is at the feet, and in capitals :

“Here lyeth bvyryed the body of John hayward of Wellington covrt ats Priors covrt in the covnty of Heriff: Esq^r who deceased the xxiiiith of Aprill An^o Domini 1614.”

The last two brasses have been removed from the floor and placed against the wall. There was another brass,—a kneeling figure of a priest in a cope, with a representation of the Holy Trinity above, and a border-inscription to Robert Preece. It is sketched by Dingley, p. ccxlvii. The following quaint inscription remains in the church :

“The world’ fashion defied
Our lords passion applied
his blisse only in this deseried
ould Richard Hayward he died
ANO LO 1618.”

Ludford.—A rather large brass, in good preservation, having been apparently on a raised tomb, but now fixed against the wall of the north chantry or aisle. It is interesting as being engraved in Queen Mary’s reign, during which period but few brasses appear to have been made. The male effigy, in armour, has the head and hands bare. The gorget is of mail, and of large size, as is also the mail skirt: the sabbatons are square-toed. The lady is in the usual

¹ The words at the ends of the lines seem to be abbreviations of “Callowe” and “hallowe”. The former is the name of two places near Hereford and Ledbury, from one of which “Sere William” may have derived his surname.

costume of the time, and has an oval ornament engraved with the five wounds suspended from her girdle. The arms of the figure are slightly mutilated. There are figures of nine sons and five daughters : a sixth is lost. The inscription is beneath the effigies, and runs thus :

“ Here vndernethe this Stone lyeth y^e Bodye of Wylliam ffoxe of Ludlowe yn the Countye of Salop Esquier and ffounder of thys Ile adjeynyng vnto this Churche and which Wyll^m reedefyed the Almes Howse of Seynt Gyles beyng decayed. and also Jane hys wyff Doughter & heyre of Richard Downe of Ludlowe aforseyd. which Wylliam Decessyd the xxiiith daye of Aprill Anno dñi M^t cccc^oLiij^o, and the seyd Jane Decessyd the day of A^o dñi M^t cccc^o On whose Soules Jhū haue Mercy.”

At the corners are four shields : No. 1, quarterly first and fourth, *argent*, a chevron between three foxes' heads erased *gules*,—Foxe: second, quarterly first and fourth, on a bend three dolphins embowed *or* ; second and third partially defaced : third, quarterly first and fourth, on a bend three dolphins embowed *or* ; second and third, three fusils in pale : fourth as first. No. 2 is No. 1 impaling a bend cotised. No. 3 is No. 1 impaling quarterly first and fourth a lion rampant *or* ; second and third, three chevronels. No. 4 is the same as No. 1. The impalements of the second and third shields occupy only a third of the field instead of one half, as if the engraver took more room for the more elaborate quarterings.

Marden.—On the floor of the chancel is the figure of a lady in a dress of unusual richness. Her hair is brushed back, and supported apparently by a comb with nine ornamented points placed at the back of the head. She wears a rich necklace, and a large stiffened lace collar. Her gown has striped sleeves which, together with the pointed bodice, are richly braided. A large flounce is worn at the top of the skirt, which is extended by a farthingale. On two small plates beside her are a swathed child with the head resting on a cushion, and a daughter in similar attire to the mother. At the feet is this inscription in capitals :

“ Vnder this monvment lyeth the body of Dame Margaret the moste deere wife of S^r George Chyte Knight, and daughter and sole heyre of Thomas Welford of Wisteston Esquier deceased whose pietie and vertves deserve to srvive in the memorie of men vntill this her bodie shall live againe revnited to her blessed sowle to live

with her Redeemer for ever. She had by her saide husband 2 daughters onelie, Anne, and Francis: which Francis dyed y^e first daye of her birth. Her said mother following her the next daye after, beinge the ninth daye of Jvne Ann^o 1614.”

Above the figure is a large shield bearing *gules*, semée of mullets *or*, three swords barways proper, the centre one encountering the other two; a canton *per fesse argent* (?), and *vert*, charged with a lion of England, Chute. An escutcheon of pretence quarterly,—first, *argent*, a chevron *sable* between two pellets in chief, and a cross crosslet in base, of the second, Welford; second, *sable*, a chevron and a canton *ermine*, Harper; third, on a cross engrailed five escallops, Criketoft (?); fourth as first.

In the same church is this inscription :

“Here lyeth Buried the body of Henry Wall, who deceassed the yere of o^r lord god. 1579.

“Erth goeth vppō erth as mould vppon moulde
erth goth vppon erth all glistening in goulde.
as though erth to the erth never turne shoulde
and yet must erth to y^e erth soner then he woulde.”

Brasses formerly existed in the following churches of Herefordshire : Bromyard, Holm Lacy, King's Pion, Sutton St. Nicholas (John Wallweyn, 1617), Westhide, Leominster (Alice Redyng, 1473), and Weobley (Watkyn Garraway and wife Agnes, sixteenth century, and a civilian, 1424). Those at the last two places are sketched by Dingley.¹ In one of the buildings attached to Goodrich Court is a slab, formerly in the chapel, inlaid with the brass figure of a man in armour, c. 1480, and forming part of the collection of the late Sir Samuel Meyrick. It is stated that it originally was at Sawbridgeworth Church, Herts, but no indent corresponding to it is left there. It is probable that a few other brasses may be found in Herefordshire, which have hitherto escaped notice.

A few incised slabs remaining in Herefordshire have come under the writer's notice. In the north-eastern transept of Hereford Cathedral an ecclesiastic with a cap on his head, and marginal inscription in French, all now much defaced. This is attributed by Mr. Havergal to Gilbert de Swinfend, chancellor of the choir, 1299. An ecclesiastic wearing a cap, under a canopy, early in the fourteenth century. A

¹ Pages cxlvi and cexlvi.

Knight of the Garter and his wife, probably Sir John Devereux, K.G., who died in 1394; and his lady, a daughter of Sir John Barre. These last two were inlaid with white stone or composition incised, which is now nearly all lost. In the Charnel House an alabaster slab to Andrew Jones, 1497, and his wife Elizabeth. At Bodenham, a member of the Devereux family in chain-mail, *circa* 1330. Leominster, Ralph Hac-luit, 1527, and wife. Both these were alabaster slabs, and sketched by Dingley;¹ they are probably no longer existing. Ledbury, Edward Cooper, Archdeacon of Hereford, 1596. Ludford, Thomas Fox and family, sixteenth century, inlaid with white stone, and much defaced.

ON A SERIES OF ANTIQUITIES COLLECTED AT ARICONIUM, NEAR ROSS, HEREFORDSHIRE,

BY WILLIAM CHARLES PALMER, ESQ., OF BOLLITREE.

THE DESCRIPTION ARRANGED BY GORDON M. HILLS,
HON. TREASURER.

ON the 10th of last September, according to the programme of the Hereford Congress, a large party paid a visit to the alleged site of Ariconium. I believe that absolutely nothing is known of this Roman town beyond the fact that it is mentioned in the thirteenth Iter of the Antonine Itinerary. This Iter commences at *Isca* (Caerleon), and notes the distances between certain places on the route to *Cullea* (Reading). The whole distance is stated at 109 *milia*, viz., to *Burrium*, 9; to *Blaestium*, 11; to *Ariconium*, 11; to *Glevum* (Gloucester), 15; to *Durocornovium*, 14; to *Spinae* (Speen, near Newbury), 15; to *Cullea*, 15. The difficulty of reconciling the distances has long made the position of several of the places named a matter of debate; but for fifty years past, for Ariconium, opinion has favoured the site near Bollitree, about three miles north-east of Ross. Two associates who accompanied us, Mr. Thos. Wright and the Rev. H. M. Scarth, able expositors on such a point, were not shaken in this opinion, notwithstanding the assurance of another of our associates, the learned Mr. W. H. Black-

¹ Pages ccxxxvi and cxlvii.



who for ten years past has devoted himself to the production of a commentary on, and elucidation of, the Antonine Itinerary, that he will be able to shew that Ariconium stood within the Forest of Dean, several miles from the spot now visited. It was admitted, however, on all hands, that the place, whether rightly named or not, must have been a busy town during the Roman occupation, from the evidence of coins, personal ornaments, and quantities of pottery, found there. The population was engaged in smelting the iron ores of the district, as the cinders spread abroad testify.

Mr. William Charles Palmer, of Bollitree, has long entertained himself by searching over the land at every fresh disturbance of the plough, and thus he has collected wholly from this site the numerous objects of antiquity which he has obligingly forwarded for our inspection.

The site to which the Congress was directed is near to the house or hamlet called Bollitree, in the parish of Weston under Penyard. The place is three miles north-east of Ross, eleven miles north-west of Gloucester, and three miles north from the Forest of Dean. The modern road from Ross to Newent runs through the site, and the road from Ross to Gloucester passes about half a mile distant. The ground where ancient remains are found comprises about a hundred acres, over which area the soil is black, and often mixed with cinders and pottery. No indications of any enclosing mound or dyke occur, yet there are slight elevations of the ground in some places. The greatest part, and the most perfect, of the coins are found in a field, within the site, of about fifty-nine acres; and in the upper portion of this field (which is called "Upper Hask Field"), of about twenty-five acres, most of the coins have been found. The middle portion is called "Lower Hask," and the lowest part of the field is called "Cinder Hill." The field commands an extensive prospect over the surrounding country, the Welsh mountains, Malvern Hills, and the Forest of Dean. The present proprietor of the land is the Rev. Henry Usbourne.

The articles sent by Mr. Palmer consist of brooches and a few other articles of personal use, a few miscellaneous objects, and of a quantity of coins. Mr. Palmer has sent all the coins he possesses, which have any markings or subjects on them. Many more found by him have been entirely defaced by age and exposure.



OMAN
FIBULAE FROM ASACON, M.
(British Mus.)



First let us examine the articles of use and ornament, and afterwards the coins.

FIBULÆ.

No. 1. A bronze fibula, in perfect condition, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, delicately ornamented with a grooved chasing down the centre of the shank, and laurel-shaped leaves enfolding the sides. The shank is bow-shaped, and tapers to the point. The head is set transversely, and is made to contain the spiral spring of the brooch-pin.

No. 2. A perfect fibula of the same type, but without any ornamentation. The fluke holding the catch of the pin is perforated.

Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. Specimens of fibulæ slightly varying from the plainness of No. 2, till they approach the ornamental character of No. 1, in having a beaded or hatched line down the centre of the shank; $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. Nos. 3, 4, and 7, have perforated flukes.

Nos. 8, 9, 10. The two first are still more advanced in the centre ornament towards No. 1: they are respectively $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch and 2 inches long. No. 10 is $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches long; has a ridge down the back of the shank and leaves at the side, like No. 1.

No. 11. Is $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches long, richly ornamented with leafage in bold relief, elegantly formed into scrolls. The point of the shank formed into a knob to protect the point of the pin.

Nos. 12, 13, 14. Are $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. The first ridged down the back; the ridge like a dorsal fin. The other two are ornamented with transverse mouldings at the top of the straight part of the shank. The shanks all have obtuse points formed to protect the point of the pin.

Nos. 15, 16. Two smaller fibulæ, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, differ from all before in having no cross head to the shank for the reception of the spring of the pin. In Nos. 13 and 14, the cross head is materially changed in this respect, and diminished to a flattened shape. Here the flat shape is still further diminished from it; a single loop projects through which the centre or bar of the spring passed. The cross heads of the first twelve examples furnish a fixing at each end of the cross for the little bar or pin which passes down the centre of the spiral spring of the brooch.

Nos. 17. Is the most simple form of the whole. It is almost identical with the modern nursery safety pin. The shank and the pin are one continuous piece of metal, yet the shank somewhat enlarged, flattened out, and grooved down the back. The arrangement of the spiral spring of the pin is perfectly preserved, and is most ingenious.

Nos. 18, 19, 20. The first is the upper portion of a brooch or fibula with a cross head, having the addition of a loop above the cross head, probably intended to attach the brooch by a little guard-chain to the dress—a precaution against its loss when out of use or inadvertently

unfastened. The shank is flattened, engraved on the back, and has the side edges scalloped. This brooch has a little blue glass bead set in it at the bend of the shank. No. 19 has a different cross head from any of the preceding, leaving the back of the spiral spring bare. The spring has a wire frame, carried by a hook turned backwards, at the head of the shank; the shank spread out in front of the spring to receive its pressure. The shank is a flattened band, passing through a button-shaped ornament half way down. This specimen unites in one the long-shaped and the round fibula. The form, if not new to us, has been rarely seen. No. 20 is of a character different from the previous specimens; it has a solid rounded head, instead of a cross head, hollowed out to receive the spring in the same way as a cross head. It has a loop for a guard-chain like No. 18. Its shank, in its lower part, is fitted to receive some ornament, which has entirely disappeared, but which must have been large and massive.

All the fibulæ are bronze.

Nos. 21, 22. Are bronze wire ring-shaped brooches or buckles. The ring, formed with an opening on one side, making it penannular.

No. 23. A silver finger-ring, quite plain.

Nos. 24, 25, 26, 27. Bronze rings, all plain, except No. 26, which has notched ornaments at intervals along one edge. This one, and perhaps No. 25, are probably ear-rings; the others are finger-rings.

Nos. 28, 29. Two bronze rings—probably chain-links.

No. 30. A minute ring-shaped buckle, scarcely $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch diameter, richly ornamented with what in classic architecture is called an egg-and-tongue enrichment. The metal is so coated with a fine white patination as to be entirely concealed.

No. 31. A little bronze stud, exactly like in form to the shirt-studs now in use.

Nos. 32, 33, 34. Tiny toilet instruments of bronze, $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches long, all perfect. The first two are forked at the point for cleaning the finger-nails. The first is of flat metal, the second of round. No. 34 is an ear-pick, a little spoon. It and No. 32 have each a loop at the top of the handle for suspension to a ring. All the articles were thought worthy of ornament. On 32 and 33 the attempt at ornament is considerable.

Nos. 35, 36, 37. Bronze keys; the stem piped in each case. No. 37 is not a very common form: the pipe of the key is only about half an inch long, the bow of the key is set sideways to it, and thus it was worn as a finger-ring.

Nos. 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43. Bronze pins and nails.

No. 44. Perhaps a bronze stylus point, made to fit into a bone, ivory, or wooden handle. If the above be a correct description, the article is a very unusual one. Gentlemen present, when it was laid on the table,

had not seen such an one before. It was suggested that it might be an arrow-head.

No. 45. A jet die for dice-playing. Dice are very rarely found.

No. 46. Two inches of the point of a bronze spear.

No. 47. A series of glass beads, one of them showing a gold iridescence, the others blue, white, and green. One is blue glass, with white spiral ornaments; one jet. The two largest are ribbed earthenware beads.

Nos. 48, 49. Carnelian oval intaglios. The first about half-an-inch diameter, engraved with two figures facing each other, one hand of each extended outwards holding a cornucopia, a small vessel or altar on the ground between them, with flames issuing from the top. The next engraved with a figure of Cupid.

No. 50. A small crystal intaglio engraved with a tree (Oriental looking); the engraved parts gilt; half an-inch diameter, oval.

No. 51. A minute blue glass with intaglio—perhaps an owl. The glass is not a quarter-of-an-inch diameter.

No. 52. A plain green glass bead set in bronze; the whole not exceeding a quarter-of-an-inch diameter.

Nos. 51, 52, 52, 54. Opaque fine earthenware oval and round ornaments, convex on one face; intended for setting in metal. The first is of black paste, with a flower in centre, of five white paste oval leaves and red eye. The second is an imitation, in form of a little cockle-shell, with three white riband bands crossing the ribs. No. 53 is plain black; No. 54 is plain white. The size of the objects varies from three-eighths to seven-eighths of an inch diameter.

The whole of the preceding articles appear to be Romano-British. The next is of doubtful origin:

No. 54. A brass or bronze cock on a little square stand. It has been considered by some authorities to be of the fifteenth century. In our *Journal* (vol. xxi, page 220, and Plate 11A) a somewhat similar object, and of the same size, but wanting the stand, is described and represented. That one was found with some Roman bronze figures of Penates at Exeter. The opinion expressed at the exhibition attributed this article to the same era as the preceding.

The next is mediæval:

No. 55. A lead circular seal, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch diameter. Mr. W. De G. Birch has deciphered the inscription as far as practicable. It is thus:— + s' ISOBELLE FELIE M' DE AVI...I, in Lombardic letters, and is of the time of Henry III (1216-1272).

We come next to the coins. So far as they can be taken to indicate the duration of Ariconium in history, they shew

that it endured as a British town ; they exhibit a remarkably continuous series of coins of the Roman occupation, from the conquest of Britain by Claudius down to a few years later than the reign of Constantine, viz. to A.D. 360. An ominous absence of coins then occurs, and Mr. Palmer has never found here any coin of the Saxon period. These circumstances confirm the tradition that the town was destroyed by invaders, and seemingly in one of the early inroads before the occupation by the Roman legions ceased.

Numismatically, the coins are not of intrinsic value. The one to which most interest and value attaches, is a beautiful one of Cunobeline, No. 9 in the following list. The Roman coins are, with one or two exceptions, of common types. The three (Nos. 102, 110, 111) which bear a Christian monogram have an interest of their own. In the description of the coins we are indebted, for all the information of value, to their examination by our associate, Mr. J. B. Bergne, F.S.A.

The British coins Mr. Bergne thus describes :

No. 1. Of very pale gold ; weight 20 grains. It is very much dishd. The convex side shows some slight trace of an impression ; the first leaf or two of the line of a laurel wreath, which traversed the coin. The concave side has more remains of the impression, but they are unintelligible attempts at ornamentation. There is not anything like it in Evans' plates ; but Mr. Bergne thinks it is British.

Nos. 2, 3, 4. British coins in silver of the type Evans, Pl. F, No. 6-8 ; weight $13\frac{1}{2}$ to $16\frac{1}{2}$ grains. The obverse shows a profile head to the right with a crown of ivy leaves, and appears as if copied from coins of Naxos and Thasos. The reverse is a rude figure of a horse to the left, the field filled up with annulets and other ornaments. The coins of this type quoted by Evans were generally found in the West of England.

Nos. 5, 6. British coins in silver of the type Evans, Pl. F, No. 9 ; weight about 15 grains. *Obv.*, a rude attempt at a face in profile to the right. *Rev.*, a horse galloping to the right ; annulets, crescents, and pellets, in the field. Although the attempt at a face is of the most barbarous design, yet the manual execution is neat ; the horse on the reverse is of very tolerable work, and on one of the two coins shows much spirit. Mr. Evans attributes the type to the West of England, notwithstanding that one example, which he quotes, was found at Colchester—an attribution which is confirmed by the present coins.

No. 7. A British coin, greatly oxidised, looking like copper, but which Mr. Bergue believes is really of base silver, weighing about 12 grains. The type on one side is a horse, and somewhat resembles No. 12, Pl. xvi, of Evans, but with numerous annulets in the field. It is hard to tell what is intended to be represented on the other side.

8. A copper coin of Cunobeline. The legend is quite gone, and the type is very indistinct; but enough is discernible of the latter to shew that it is an example of Evans, Pl. xii, No. 6.

9. Another copper coin of Cunobeline (Evans, Pl. xii, No. 4). *Obv.*, an armed and helmeted bust, to the left, shewing the shoulders. Possibly imitated from that on the obverse of the consular coin of the Aquilia family (Cohen, Pl. vi, No. 5), though that is turned to the right. The legend is CVNOBETII (*sic*). *Rev.*, a boar to the left; some object in front, which is not fully shewn owing to the coin having spread in the opposite direction; but it seems to be a plant which he is devouring. Above the boar are three pellets arranged in a triangle; below, between two lines forming a sort of tablet, TASCII.

A great deal has been written upon this type of Cunobeline; and it was from a specimen in the collection of Mr. Wigan that Dr. Birch¹ founded the interpretation, now generally acquiesced in, of the much disputed word TASCIO, as meaning TASCIOVANI FIL. (the son of Tasciovanus). The examples hitherto described have been too imperfect to admit of an undoubted reading of the word FIL.; and unfortunately the coin now under description, though fairly preserved and beautifully patinated, does not assist in determining the question; the last three letters, or rather strokes, after the c being only III. It is remarkable that the letter s appears to have been altered in the die from a c, having been at first accidentally omitted. The coin is on a thinner piece of metal than usual in the copper coins of Cunobeline, weighing only seventeen grains, and hence the head on the obverse is not well brought up in striking. Its authenticity, however, is beyond dispute.

See, on this subject, papers in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. iv, p. 29; *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. vii, p. 27; *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii, p. 355; *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xviii, p. 36. See also in the *Arch. Journal*, vol. xxvi, p. 349, on the meaning of the letter F in reference to the letter T which occurs in the word CVNOBETII on the coin last described.

¹ Numismatic Chronicle, vol. vii, p. 78.



COINS OF THE PERIOD OF THE ROMAN OCCUPATION.

No. 10. A Roman consular coin of the Cordia family. Silver. See Cohen, Pl. xiv, No. 1.

ROMAN COINS.

Claudius, the Conqueror of Britain, A.D. 41 to A.D. 54.

No. 11. The coin is middle brass, in imperfect condition. *Obv.*, a bust of Claudius to the left; the head bare, the inscription imperfect,—L. CLAVDIVS CAES AR.... *Rev.*, Pallas throwing a javelin, between the letters s—c in the field (s. c., *senatus consultum*). Mr. Bergue says, though of Roman type, the coin is of rather barbarous execution, and was no doubt struck at a distance from Rome. Cohen, in his works on Roman imperial coins (vol. i, p. 165), says on this type of Claudius, *i. e.*, Pallas throwing a javelin, “Il existe des médailles de ce type, de fabrique barbare, qui ont été trouvés à Gloucester, et qui furent probablement frappés par les Bretons. (Voyez *Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ* de Lysons, planche 15.)

Vespasian, A.D. 70 to A.D. 79.

12. The coin is middle brass, in indifferent preservation. *Obv.*, laureated bust of the emperor to the right; IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN AVG. COS. *Rev.*, an erect female figure between the letters s—c on the field; the left arm raised, holding a spear; the right extended sideways, from the elbow, holding perhaps a branch. Inscription, AEQVITAS AVGVSTI.

13. A silver coin, Vespasian or Titus. *Obv.*, bust to the right; inscription imperfect. *Rev.*, a seated female figure; ANNONA AVG.

Domitian, A.D. 82 to A.D. 96.

14. A coin, middle brass, the execution and condition perfect. *Obv.*, a laureated bust of the emperor to the right; IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. COS. XII. CENS. P. TR. P. P. *Rev.*, female erect, holding a rudder on the ground, a cornucopia in the left hand; s. c. on the field; FORTVNAE AVGVSTI.

15. A silver coin in nearly perfect condition. *Obv.*, a fine laureated bust of the emperor; IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. PMT. R. P. ... *Rev.*, Minerva erect, to the right, standing on a disproportionate galley; IMP. XIII. COS. XIII. GENS. I. P. P.

Trajan, A.D. 105 to A.D. 117.

16. A silver coin, worn. *Obv.*, bust to the right;ANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. V. P. P. *Rev.*, Mars erect; S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI.

Hadrian, A.D. 117 to A.D. 138.

17. A middle brass, a fine specimen, but the inscriptions defaced.

Obv., a fine bust to the right, with corded wreath ; bearded, short and curly ; a long inscription, the word HADRIAN distinct, the rest almost lost. *Rev.*, the emperor erect, to the right, fully armed ; his right hand raised level with his head, holding a long spear erect from the ground ; a sceptre in his left hand ; s. c. in the field ; VIRTVTI . AVGVSTI.

18. A large brass of the same emperor ; the *obv.* defaced, except the bust ; the *rev.* totally defaced.

Antoninus Pius, A.D. 139 to A.D. 161.

19. A middle brass. This coin is rare. *Obv.*, bust to the right ; the corded fillet on the hair developed into radiations ; bushy whiskers and moustache, no beard ; the inscription imperfect, ...ONINVS . AVG. PIVS . P. P. TR..... *Rev.*, Victory driving a fast quadriga. The inscription is limited to the exergue, VICTORIA . AVG.

20. Middle brass. *Obv.*, the bust to the right, laureated ; otherwise as the last, and the likeness maintained. The inscription defaced, and yet a portion of the name recoverable. *Rev.*, an armed female figure seated on a rock, her large shield before her. The inscription, BRITANNIA.

21. Silver. *Obv.*, a bare-headed, whiskered, and moustached bust to the right ; DIVVS . ANTONINVS. *Rev.*, a fine figure of an eagle ; CONSECRATIO.

Faustina Senior, Wife of Antoninus Pius.

22. A middle brass. *Obv.*, the bust of the empress, veiled, to the right ; DIVA FAVSTINA. *Rev.*, an erect female figure ; s. c. on the field. Inscription defaced ; probably ETERNITAS.

23. A silver coin. *Obv.*, the bust of the empress to the right ; DIVA FAVSTINA. *Rev.*, a seated female figure ; inscription illegible.

Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 162 to A.D. 180.

24. A middle brass. *Obv.*, laureated bust to the right ; inscription only legible in parts, AVRELIVS. *Rev.*, an erect female figure ; inscription illegible.

Faustina Junior, Wife of Marcus Aurelius.

25. A large brass. *Obv.*, bust of the empress to the right ; FAVSTINA ... *Rev.*, an erect female figure ; s. c. in the field ; FECVN...

Commodus, A.D. 180 to A.D. 192.

26. A large brass, much defaced, inscriptions illegible. *Obv.*, bust of the emperor to the right. *Rev.*, a figure of Mars.

Septimius Severus, A.D. 193 to A.D. 211, died at York.

27. Silver. *Obv.*, laureated, bearded bust to the right ; SEVERVS . AVG.

PART. MAX. *Rev.*, an erect figure in military dress; in his left hand a long spear, the head on the ground; PONTIF. TR. P. III.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, vulgo Caracalla, A.D. 211 to A.D. 217.

28. Silver coin. *Obv.*, a youthful laureated bust to the right; ANTONINVS . PIVS . AVG. *Rev.*, a female erect, to the left, holding a branch; FELICITAS . PVBLICA.

29. Silver coin. *Obv.*, a youthful bust to the right, laureated; ANTONINVS . PIVS . AVG. *Rev.*, a fully armed male figure, erect, to the left; a long spear, erect, on the left of the figure; his right hand holds a wreath over a tripod, on which is a fire; RESTITVTOR . VRBIS.

30. Silver coin. *Obv.*, a youthful bust, as the last, and the inscription the same. *Rev.*, Victory erect, to the left, approaching a low object or crouching figure; the legend, . . C. PARTH. P. N.

Geta, brother of Caracalla, slain A.D. 212.

31. A silver coin, the legends defaced. *Obv.*, a young bust to the right; the word GETA barely visible before the face. *Rev.*, an armed figure erect, and some other representation not definable; PRINCIPI ...

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, vulgo Elagabalus, A.D. 218 to A.D. 222.

32. A silver coin. *Obv.*, bust to the right, with whiskers and moustache, laureated head; IMP. ANTONINVS . PIVS . AVG. *Rev.*, the emperor erect, to the left; a branch in his right hand, a cup in his left, held over the flames of an altar; a star above it, an ox at the foot of the altar; INVICTVS . SACERDOS . AVG.

Julia Mæsa.

(The last named emperor was her grandson. Her coins are contemporary with his.)

33. A silver coin. *Obv.*, bust of the empress to the right; IVLIA . MAESA . AVG. *Rev.*, a female figure seated; CONSECRATIO.

Julia Mammea.

(Daughter of Julia Mæsa, and aunt of the Emperor Elagabalus.)

34. A silver coin. *Obv.*, bust of the empress to the right; IVLIA . MAMMAE . AVG. *Rev.*, a female figure erect, crowned; VENVS . VICTRIX.

Philippus, A.D. 244 to A.D. 249.

No. 35. A billon. *Obv.*, a bearded bust, with rayed crown, to the right; IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS . AVG. *Rev.*, an erect figure; FELICITAS . TEMP.

Valerian, A.D. 253 to A.D. 260.

36. A base silver coin. *Obv.*, a rayed, beardless bust of the emperor to the right; IMP. C. P. LIC. VALERIANVS . AVG. *Rev.*, a female figure erect holding a military standard in each hand; FIDES . MILITVM.

Gallienus, A.D. 260 to A.D. 368, slain.

(His coinage begins in the time of his father, Valerian,
as early as A.D. 254.)

37. A billon. The *rev.* of this coin is rare. *Obv.*, a young head, rayed, to the right; GALLIENVS . P. F. AVG. *Rev.*, the god Vulcan standing in a temple or portico which is carried by two pairs of columns; the god has a hammer in his right hand, and forceps in his left; the legend, DEO . VOLKANO.

Salonina, Wife of Gallienus.

38. A billon. *Obv.*, bust to the right; SALONINA . AVG. *Rev.*, female figure erect, with two children; FECVNDITAS . AVG.

Posthumus, A.D. 258 (when his usurpation in Gaul began) to A.D. 267.

39. One billon, or debased silver. *Obv.*, rayed, bearded bust to the right; IMP. POSTVMVS . P. F. AVG. *Rev.*, a naked figure running (Sol with a whip); ORIENS . AVG.

Tetricus (Usurper in Gaul), A.D. 267 to A.D. 273.

Nos. 40, 41, and 42. Three coins, third brass. *Obv.*, on each a bearded, radiated head to the right. One has IMP. TETRICVS . P. F. AVG.; another, IMP. C. TETRICVS ... AVG.; the third, ... C. TETRICVS ... *Rev.*, the first has a female erect, with a branch in the right hand, and cornucopia in the left; HILARITAS . AVGG. This coin is unusually good. The other two, though from different dies, have the same subject; a standing female holding a wreath, and a variety of implements about her. The legend of the second is SALVS . AVG. On the third it is almost destroyed, the edge of the coin being chipped, but was probably the same.

Tetricus Junior, contemporary with the last.

Nos. 43, 44, 45, 46. Four coins, third brass. *Obv.*, on each a rayed bust to the right; C. PIVSV. TETRICVS . CAES. *Rev.*, varies on each,—a female demi-figure holding a branch; PAX . AVG. A device (qy. barbarous); SPES . AVG. A long-necked jug with large bowed handle; PIETAS . AVG. A figure erect, which, with the legend, is much obliterated; PAX . AVG.

Claudius Gothicus, A.D. 268 to A.D. 270.

No. 47. A third brass. *Obv.*, a rayed head to the right; IMP. C. CLAVDIVS . AVG. *Rev.*, an armed erect figure; N in the field; inscription partly illegible, ... VICTOR.

Quintillus reigned for seventeen days in A.D. 270.

48. One third brass. *Obv.*, a rayed head to the right; IMP. [C. M. AVR. CL. QV]INTILLVS . AVG. The parts within brackets obliterated by

chipping of the edge. *Rev.*, a female figure erect; in the field, D; in the exergue, a letter illegible; CONCORDIA . AVG.

Maximianus, A.D. 292 to A.D. 311.

49. One middle brass. *Obv.*, a laureated, bearded bust to the right; IMP. MAXIMIANVS . P. AVG. *Rev.*, a nude male erect; a wreath in the right, a cornucopia in the left hand; R. F. in the field; a device in the exergue; GENIO . POPVLI . ROMANI.

Constantius I, vulgo Chlorus, A.D. 292 to A.D. 306. *Died at York.*

50. One third brass. *Obv.*, laureated bust to the right; DN. CONSTANTIVS . P. F. AVG. *Rev.*, a soldier, erect, striking with his spear at a fallen soldier; legend, FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO; in the exergue, CPL.

Theodora II, Wife of Constantius I, A.D. 292.

Nos. 51, 52. Two third brass; alike, except in the exergue. *Obv.*, laureated bust of the empress to the right; FL. MAX. THEODORA . AVG. *Rev.*, a female nursing an infant; PIETAS . ROMANA; in the exergue, TRP. on one, TRS. in the other.

Carausius, Usurper in Britain, A.D. 287 to A.D. 293, *slain.*

Nos. 53, 54, 55, 56. Four third brass. *Obv.*, on each a rayed, bearded, head to the right; the legend, IMP. CARAVSIVS . P. AVG. *Rev.*, one has an erect soldier with shield and spear, facing to the right; MARS Another has an erect female figure to the left; a branch in the right hand, a spear in the left hand; legend nearly obliterated, M. P. . . . Another a similar figure without a spear; SPES . . P. . . The fourth has a figure of Victory; A in the field; COMES . AVG.

Allectus, Usurper in Britain, A.D. 293 to A.D. 296, *slain.*

Nos. 57, 58, 59, 60. Four third brass. *Obv.* all, a rayed bearded bust to the right. *Rev.*, one has a female figure erect, a sceptre in one hand and wand in the other; S. P. in the field; XII in the exergue. Another is much defaced, but was probably as the last. Another—an uncommon type—has a galley; VIRTVS . AVG. Another, also a galley, LAETITIA . AVG.; and in the exergue, Q. C.

Constantine the Great, A.D. 306 proclaimed Emperor at York, to A.D. 337.

No. 61. One middle brass. *Obv.*, laureated beardless bust of the emperor to the right; IMP. CONSTANTINVS . P. F. AVG. *Rev.*, a figure of Mars to the right; S. A in the field; MARTI . PATRI . CONSERVATORI; in the exergue, P. T. R.

Nos. 62, 63. Two third brass. *Obv.*, helmeted beardless bust to the right; CONSTANTINVS . AVG. *Rev.*, an altar with a globe upon it; three stars over it, a crescent at foot; in front of the altar VOTIS . XX. Legend, BEATA TRANQVILITAS; in the exergue, P. T. R. *Obv.*, bust as the last;

IMP. CONSTANTINVS . MAX . AVG. *Rev.*, two winged figures (Victory erecting a trophy on the stump of a tree); on the shield VOT. XX, above it three stars. The surrounding legend is doubtful; in the exergue P. LN.

Nos. 64, 65. Two third brass; the design in most respects alike. *Obv.*, a laureated beardless bust to the right, with sceptre; CONSTANTINVS . P . AVG. (the difference is the omission of the letter P in one case). *Rev.*, an altar with a globe upon it, and three stars over; upon the front of the altar VOTIS . XX .; one has the first three letters in the top line, and this one has P . LON . in the exergue; the other has only two letters in the top line, and S . TR . in the exergue; the legend is BEAT . TRANQVILITAS.

Nos. 66, 67. Two third brass. *Obv.*, a laureated beardless bust to the right; IMP. CONSTANTINVS . P . P . AVG.; one of them omitting the P . P. *Rev.*, a figure of the sun wearing the pallium, a globe in the left hand; T . F in the field; the legend SOLI . INVICTO . COMITI.; in the exergue P . LG on one, and on the other (which is contracted on the reverse) BTO. on the exergue.

Nos. 68, 69. Two third brass; very similar to the last two. *Obv.*, busts as the last; one legend IMP. CONSTANTINVS . AVG.; the other legend CONSTANTINVS . P . AVG. *Rev.*, figure of the sun and encircling legend as the two reverses last described; the one belonging to the first obverse above has S . F. in the field, and P . LG. in the exergue; the other has T . F in the field, and P . TR in the exergue.

No. 70. One third brass. *Obv.*, a laureated bust as before; CONSTANTINVS . MAX . AVG. *Rev.*, two erect soldiers each with sword and spears, between them two erect standards, a star between them; the surrounding legend GLORIA . EXERCITVS.; in the exergue P . CONST.

Nos. 71, 72, 73. Three third brass. *Obv.*, as the last. *Rev.*, as the last, omitting the star between the standards, and having TR . P. in the exergue.

Nos. 74. One third brass. *Obv.*, bust as before; IMP. CONSTANTINVS . AVG. *Rev.*, Mars erect and fully equipped; MARTI . CONSERVATORI; in the field T . F.; in the exergue P . TR.

No. 75. One third brass. *Obv.*, juvenile laureated bust to the right; CONSTANTINVS . AVG. *Rev.*, two winged figures facing each other, and holding up each a wreath, between them the letter D; legend, VICTORIE . DD . AVGG . QXX; in the exergue TR . P.

No. 76. One third brass. *Obv.*, juvenile laureated bust to the right; CONSTANTINVS . AVGG. *Rev.*, an armed figure with shield and spear; the legend obliterated.

No. 77. One third brass. *Obv.*, laureated bust of the emperor to the right; CONSTANTINVS . AVG. *Rev.*, a wreath in the centre of the field, within it VOT . XX; the encircling legend, D . N . CONSTANTINVS . MAX . AVG.; exergue T . T.

Urbs Roma, belonging to the reign of Constantine the Great.

Nos. 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84. Seven small brass; all nearly alike, from different dies. *Obv.*, a female helmeted bust to the left; VRBS . ROMA. *Rev.*, a wolf suckling twins, two stars above; T . R . S in the exergue; two exergues thus: one exergue has a star added; two exergues have P . LG .; in one of these the letters are preceded by a dot on the horns of a crescent, and in the other by a simple pellet. Another reverse has a palm branch between the two stars at the top, and another has an annulet similarly placed; the exergue of these two is imperfect.

Constantinopolis belonging to the Reign of Constantine the Great.

Nos. 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90. Six small brass, all nearly alike, from different dies. *Obv.*, a female, helmeted bust, to the left, holding a sceptre; CONSTANTINOPOLIS. *Rev.*, a standing, winged, helmeted female figure, with a shield and spear; at her foot in front the prow of a ship; in one case a star above the prow, in another a device; the exergues have P . CONS to the two last; others are TR . P, TR . S, P . LS.

Fausta, Wife of Constantine the Great.

No. 91. One third brass. *Obv.*, a bust of the empress to the right; FLAVIA . FAVSTA . AVG. *Rev.*, a female figure suckling twins; . . . REIPVB-LICÆ; in the exergue SI.

Crispus, A.D. 317 to A.D. 326 (a son of Constantine the Great, put to death by his father).

No. 92. A third brass. *Obv.*, laureated beardless bust to the left in armour, a spear-head in front; CRISPVS . NOBILE. *Rev.*, an altar with globe on it, three stars over; the inscription in front, VOTIS . XX; legend, BEAT . TRNQVITAS; in exergue P . LON.

Constantinus II, A.D. 317 to A.D. 340, slain.

Nos. 93, 94, 95. Three third brass. *Obv.*, a laureated, beardless bust to the right; CONSTANTINVS . IVN . NOB . C. *Rev.*, two erect soldiers, each with sword and spear, between them two erect eagle standards; legend, GLORIA EXERCITVS; in the exergue, T . R . P .

No. 96. One third brass. *Obv.*, bust and legend as the last. *Rev.*, as the last, except the exergue, which has P . LG.

No. 97. One third brass. *Obv.*, a laureated juvenile bust to the right; CONSTANTINVS . IVN . NOB . C. *Rev.*, a wreath in the centre within the wreath VOT . X.; the encircling legend, CESARVM . NOSTRORVM; in the exergue the letters are lost.

No. 98. One third brass. *Obv.*, as the last. *Rev.*, as the last in the centre; the encircling legend is CESARVM . NOSTRORVM; the exergue P . LON.

No. 99. One third brass. *Obv.*, A juvenile laureated bust to the left; an ill-defined object before the face; no legend. *Rev.*, in three parallel lines across the field CONSTANTINVS . IVN . NOB . C.

Constantius II, A.D. 323 to A.D. 337.

No. 100. One third brass; a very perfect coin. *Obv.*, a juvenile laureated bust to the left; FL . IVL . CONSTANTIVS . NOB . C. *Rev.*, a pretorian gate, surmounted by two tripod jars with a star between; PROVIDENTIAE . CAESS.; in the exergue S . TRE.

No. 101. One third brass. *Obv.*, a laureated bust to the right; FL . IVL . CONSTANTIVS . NOB . C. *Rev.*, two soldiers erect each with shield and spear, two military standards erect between them; GLORIA . EXERCITVS; in the exergue . PLG.

Constans I, A.D. 337 to A.D. 350.

No. 102. One middle brass. *Obv.*, a laureated bust of the emperor to the right; D . N . CONSTANS . P . F . AVG. *Rev.*, the emperor erect in a galley, holding a phoenix or a victory in his right hand, a standard in his left, bearing (the first instance in this collection) the symbol of Christ, *chi-rho*; victory seated at the helm; the first words (probably FEL . TEMP. are lost); only REPARATIO remains; the exergue is not legible.

Nos. 103, 104, 105, 106. Four third brass; much similarity, but different dies. *Obv.*, a very long necked bust, laureated, to the right; D . N . CONSTANS . P . F . AVG. *Rev.*, in one case, a phoenix standing on two steps; in the others on a globe; the legend is the same in each case, FEL . TEMP. REPARATIO.

Nos. 107, 108, 109. Three third brass. *Obv.*, a well-executed bust to the right, of good proportions, filleted or laureated; CONSTANS . P . F . AVG. *Rev.*, two erect figures of victory facing each other; VICTORIAE . DD . AVGG . QNN.

Magnentius, A.D. 350 to A.D. 353.

No. 110. One middle brass in very good condition. (This coin and the next, as well as No. 102 previously described, bear the symbol of Christ, *chi-rho*.) *Obv.*, a juvenile bust to the right, no head-dress; the legend has one letter apparently inverted, and two are indistinct; IMA... MAGNENTIVS . AVG. *Rev.*, the emperor erect, holds a small figure of victory in his right hand, and in his left a standard with the monogram of Christ upon it, *chi-rho*; in the field A; the encircling legend, FELICITAS . REIPVBLICE; in the exergue TR . P.

No. 111. A third brass; this coin is probably of Magnentius. *Obv.*, has a bust to the right with bare head, like the previous coin, but the legend has been chipped away. *Rev.*, two figures of victory raising

a trophy ; upon the shield of the trophy vot, with some numeral illegible beneath ; above the shield the Christian symbol, *chi-rho*.

Fl. Helena, died A.D. 360.

No. 112. A third brass. *Obv.*, bust of the empress to the right ; *FL. HELENA . AVG.* *Rev.*, erect female figure, a branch in the right, a spear in the left hand ; *PAX . PVBLICA* ; the exergue is illegible.

Nos. 113, 114, 115, are small brass coins of the Constantines, too imperfect for further description.

Nos. 116, 117. Coins of empresses ; one of them may be of the Empress Helena, before named. The inscriptions are too much damaged for identification.

Nos. 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127. These coins resemble those of Tetricus, father and son. They are damaged beyond identification.

EPISODES IN THE CAREER OF HUMPHREY DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, AND HIS FIRST DUCHESS.

AND THEIR CONNEXION WITH THE ABBEY OF ST. ALBAN'S.

BY GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A., HON. CURATOR
AND LIBRARIAN.

THE strange, eventful history of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, so commonly called "the Good" that we are prone to inquire why, and that of his beautiful but ill-fated first wife, Jacqueline or Jacoba of Hainault, might, without doubt, be made the subject of a most interesting and exciting romance, and one that the accomplished pen of our late President, Lord Lytton, so highly gifted and trained to the consideration and development of historical characters as it has so often proved itself to be, could better illustrate and adorn than any other writer of the present day.

The times of the "Good Duke" were of a most stormy nature, and as far as the then future of our country was concerned of the utmost interest and importance ; and although the result, in after years, tended to the firm establishment of England's greatness, no man then living could have imagined what would come out of the constant struggles for place and power, at the court of a child-like king, between

exalted and highly gifted men, culminating in the famed faction-fight of the houses of York and Lancaster; what would eventuate from the rapid decline of our influence and possessions in France, which startled and dismayed the stoutest hearts of England; nor venture to predict anything but disgrace and ruin to his country out of the unseemly and incessant intrigues of the royal family itself, and the ambitious acts of the haughty nobles by which it was surrounded.

But as it is the object of this paper to concentrate as much as possible the interest of Duke Humphrey's life with his acts of beneficence and kindness to the Abbey of St. Alban's, and not to go too far away into the other tempting details of his adventurous career, I must be pardoned if I at once proceed to the matter in hand, and only glance at those romantic incidents which his marriage with Jacqueline, and subsequent separation from her, brought about, but which I trust my readers will forgive me also for not entirely leaving unrecorded.

The Duke of Gloucester's interest in the Abbey of St. Alban's took its rise most probably in his friendship for John Bostock (afterwards the famous Abbot Whethamsted) whilst at Oxford, where, no doubt, was encouraged that love of books and learning which so peculiarly distinguished Humphrey's character, and which, considering the days in which he lived, speaks well and eloquently for him; and tends to prove that, had the times been less distraught, and his own fancies and feelings had fuller opportunities of development, the name of the "Good Duke" would have been more richly deserved than, with all his many faults and wicked acts, as seen by the light of our experience, it appears to have been.

It was at Gloucester College, which had been the residence of Gilbert Clare, Earl of Gloucester, in 1260, that Humphrey and Whethamsted met; for at that College, we are told, all young monks were sent to complete their education in more classical learning than they could obtain at their Benedictine houses, and especially from St. Alban's; and this was the reason of John Bostock's going there, and thus becoming acquainted with his afterwards patron and friend.

That the Duke of Gloucester, when Protector of the King,

if not of England (as his enemies contended he contrived to be), was a true friend to Whethamsted, who was twice abbot of the monastery of St. Alban's, is abundantly proved by the fact that the Duke helped to get the charter of the Abbey renewed, and so enlarged that no monastery in the kingdom had the like, nor any church such a franchise; and also by the Duke and his wife Jacqueline becoming members of the fraternity of the monastery, and living there for a time in conformity with a practice that had formerly prevailed, but which this abbot's predecessors had suffered to fall into abeyance.

The reason of Whethamsted reviving this old custom was, no doubt, to obtain funds for the repair and restoration of the Abbey church, which had, through neglect and natural decay, fallen into very bad condition; and it is easy to perceive that the Duke of Gloucester's going to the monastery with his young and beautiful wife gave an attraction to the occurrence which greatly contributed to the ends the worthy abbot had in view. It was in the year 1423 this event happened; and Clutterbuck, in his *History of the County of Hertford*, thus refers to the revival of the old custom above alluded to: "To this purpose he, the Abbot John de Whethamstede, collected many sums from the lay gentry who were well disposed towards the monastery, and he encouraged an old practice of admitting into the fraternity many gentlemen and ladies of high rank and quality. They were said 'suscipere in se fraternitatem'; and at others, 'admissi sunt ad fraternitatem'; but the meaning of both phrases is the same. In the number who entered this year, Roland Penteshall, Knt., and many others who were of rank and eminence for fortune, knights also; and one of them is styled 'Dapifer Reginæ'; another who entered was Thomas More, formerly Dean of St. Paul's, whose executors, some years after, gave £26 towards the repairs. In 1423 there were admitted the illustrious Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and Jacqueline, Duchess of Holland and Haynault, his wife. These two personages having kept the Feast of the Nativity (or, in modern phrase, passed the Christmas holidays in the monastery), conferred, at their departure, two purple robes to the Abbey. This admission into the fraternity gave no new civil privileges to the persons, nor laid on them any new duties or burdens; they were not compellable to un-

dergo the strict and rigid way of living observed by the monks, neither to rise early, nor eat the bread of carefulness. But it was a token of their esteem and honour for religion, and they were allowed to vote in the Chapter. So that it was a wise policy to encourage the rich and great to become thus interested for the safety and prosperity of these institutions. In 1428 above thirty persons took on them the rule of the fraternity, as appears by the list; and one of them was Sir Henry Beauchamp, probably the son of Henry Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. All these contributed to the works of the church."

It is well known that the Duke was a master of languages, and used to correspond with the most distinguished foreigners and learned men of his time, in their own and the Latin tongue, and was always ready to receive and entertain them when visiting England: indeed, his love and devotion to literature and science were so great as to induce him to bequeath to the University of Oxford (his venerated *Alma Mater*) some one hundred and thirty "rare books," as an entry in an old register at Oxford records; and although no catalogue of them is in existence, there can be little doubt of their value, when books at this time (so soon after the discovery of printing) were costly and rare enough,—in fact, treasures that few beyond princes and rich nobles could indulge in. We may rest assured that the gift to the University was as highly appreciated as it was generous and noble on the part of the accomplished donor.¹

That the "Good Duke" was also a lover of architectural studies and pursuits is evidenced by his not only building the "Divinity School" at Oxford, but by his helping to beautify and restore parts of the Abbey of St. Alban's itself, where, with his congenial friend and former fellow-student, the zealous and learned Whethamsted, he probably spent many of his early and happiest days. The gift, too, noticed before was not by any means the only one he made to the Abbey, since he is said to have bestowed costly vestments for the use of the choir, and rich hangings for the altar, together with a variety of gold embroidered suits and several hoods of cloth, and velvet, and satin, for the use of

¹ The remains of this celebrated and early bequest of books were long afterwards absorbed in the Bodleian Library, and where some of the choicest of them now exist.

the ecclesiastics. Of the Duke's interest in and preservation of works of art as well as literature,—in fact, for his taste generally as an antiquary,—we have a satisfactory proof in some curious lines written by John Lydgate, the court poet of those days, albeit but a poor one after the “Father of English Poetry,” as he is generally termed, Geoffrey Chaucer; or his friend and companion, Gower, who joined with him in improving and reforming the English language,—not many years before Lydgate's time. The lines were written by Lydgate in honour of his patron, the Duke Humphrey, at the time of his nephew's grand coronation, as Henry VI of England and King of France, at Paris, Dec. 17, 1430,—an event that inspired, by its grandeur and unexampled interest, all the poets and painters of the day to commemorate it. The words are as follow, and point out specifically enough the great Duke's love for antiquarian studies, even in the midst of his other employments and duties; weighty enough at this period of his history, as all know from what followed so soon after the King's coronation in France, and England's loss of territory thereby :

“Duc of Gloucester men this prince call;
And notwithstanding his state and dignite,
His corage never doth appalle
To studie in booke of Antiquite;
Therin he hath so great felicitye
Vertuousli himself to occupie,
Of vinous slouth to have the maistrie.”

It may well be supposed that Humphrey's taste for architecture, and the embellishment of the Abbey, led him to design the noble shrine which to this day exists (albeit shorn of many of its former beauties) over the Duke's resting place in the Saints' Chapel, and which Abbot Whethamsted is generally supposed to have erected as a fitting monument to his truly devoted friend and patron. Still this is a disputed point, as many are of opinion that when Whethamsted, after ruling over the Abbey about twenty years, resigned his office upon the plea of ill health, although the decline of the power of his great friend at court was probably the cause, and John Stoke, Prior of Wallingford, was elected to succeed him, it was he, and not Whethamsted, who built the tomb, or perhaps completed what his predecessors had so piously begun; as in his time the death

and burial of the illustrious Duke took place,—the latter with great pomp and circumstance at the Abbey; forming, indeed, the principal event of John Stoke's rule, which was by no means a successful one for the establishment, as he suffered its possessions to be wasted by the inferior inmates; and although he stood up in the defence of the Abbey's rights and privileges, as is seen by the Cotton. MS. Nero, D. vii, the exertions he made to preserve them proved ultimately to be fruitless.

There are, however, others who do not agree that the splendid tomb, forming even now one of the most interesting features of the old Abbey, was erected by Stoke; and Mr. Gough, in his work on *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, considers that the tomb was built by Abbot Whet-
hamsted, “the firm friend and admirer of the Duke,” entirely, although the following extract from the Cottonian MS. above alluded to seems to point to a different conclusion: “Et quemadmodum pro jure et libertate suæ ecclesiæ viriliter sæpius se opposuit: sic etiam Dei ad honorem et decorem ipsius vicibus variis quam plura fabricari fecit. Nam dum sospes superstesque fuerat illud lapideum tabernaculum quod pro nunc erigitur super domini ducis Gloucestris sarcophagum fabricari faciebat.”

It may be as well here to give an account, taken from Clutterbuck's before mentioned work, of the interesting discovery of the remains of the celebrated Duke, and a description of the tomb, which, although worn by time and natural decay, still presents features of great interest, and evidences of former grandeur: “It seems that in making an excavation to form a vault in the Saints' Chapel, the workmen employed in digging struck against a little stone staircase of four or five steps, which led to a further examination, and at length introduced them to a more ancient vault where they found a leaden coffin containing the Duke's body embalmed in a brown liquor. In consequence of this the staircase with the vault and all its contents were opened to the view of the public; and a trap-door being placed over it, Duke Humphrey's vault in St. Alban's Abbey became a mine of wealth to the parish clerk for a long series of years, till at length the embalming liquor became exhausted by exposure to the air, and all the bones of the skeleton were either mouldered into dust or carried away.” Upon the wall of



the east end of the vault was painted a crucifix; and just over this vault, between the two easternmost pillars on the south side of the chapel, stands the Duke's magnificent shrine, built (again says Clutterbuck) "under the direction of Abbot Whethamsted, and enriched with canopied niches reaching nearly to the top of the arch, which once contained figures. The central part is adorned with seventeen shields of the Duke's arms,—France and England quarterly, within a bordure; seven of which are larger than the rest, and have either been supported by two antelopes, or crowned with a large and handsome coronet like a turban. The roof of the canopy of the arch is adorned with rich pendants and much curious minute carving in stone. The back of it, looking into the south aisle, is defended by a strong iron grating or lattice-work, in compartments alternately disposed in saltire and in cross, once painted blue. Above, as on the opposite side, are seventeen canopied niches, on each of which stands a little, squat figure of a king with a crown on his head." Sandford thinks these figures are intended to represent the "Good Duke's" ancestors; but Mr. Gough inclines to believe them to be effigies of kings of Mercia. High on the wall that closes the south aisle, just by the shrine, are the Duke's arms surmounted by a coronet, and beneath them this inscription :

"Piae Memoriae V. opt.

Sacrum

Serotinum.

Hic jacet Humphredus dux ille Glocestrinus, olim
Henrici sexti protector, fraudis ineptæ
Delector, dum ficta notat miracula cœci :
Lumen erat Patriæ, columen venerabile regni,
Pacis amans, musisq : favens melioribus, unde
Gratum opus Oxonie, quæ nunc schola sacra refulget,
Invida sed mulier regno, regi, sibi nequam
Abstulit hunc, humili vix hoc dignita sepulchro :
Invidiâ rumpente tamen, post funera vivit.

Deo Gloria."

The following account of the expense of making the Duke's grand tomb and resting-place, taken from the Cotton. MSS. in the British Museum, marked Claud. A. 8, 195, will be found interesting, and may very appropriately be introduced at this portion of the paper :

“In this sedule be conteyned the charges and observances appointed by the noble Prince Humfrey, late Duke of Gloucester, to be perpetuelly boren by the Abbot and Convent of the monasterie of Seint Alban :

First, the Abbot and Convent of the seid monasterie have paid for makynge of the tumber and place of sepulture of the seid duke, within the seid monasterie above the sume of ccccxxxiii <i>l</i> . vis. viii <i>d</i> .	£433	6	8
Item. Two monks prests dayly saying messe at the Auter of Sepulture of the seid prince, everych taking by the day 6 <i>d</i> ., summa thereof by one hole yere, xviii <i>l</i> . vs.	18	5	0
Item. To the abbot ther yerly the day of the anniversary of seid prince attending his exequyes ¹	10	0	0
Item. To the priour ther yerly the same day in likewise attending	10	0	0
Item. To 40 monks not priests yerely, the said day, to everych of them the same day 6 <i>s</i> . 8 <i>d</i> . Summa therof	13	6	8
Item. To ii Ankresses at St. Peter's Church and St. Michael, the seid day, yerely, to everych	0	20	0
Item. In money to be distribut to pore people ther the seid day	0	40	0
Item. To 13 pore men beryng torches about the Sepulture the seid day	0	40	0
Item. For wax brennyng daily at his masses and his seid anniversary and of torches yerely	6	13	4
Item. To the kechen of the convent ther yerely in relief of the grete decay of the livehode of the said Monasterie, in the Marches of Scotland, which before time hath he appointed to the seid kechyn	40	0	0

Whilst on the subject of this great prince's tomb in the Abbey of St. Alban's, it would be as well to refer to the origin of the well-known saying, “to dine with Duke Humphrey,” with which his last resting-place is curiously and directly connected, and which has become a common phrase for going without any dinner at all.

The popularity of the Duke with the Commons, or people of England generally, and the citizens of London in particular, is so well-known, that many writers have reproached him as having used his power and influence over their minds for his own ends, and not for the good of the state generally ; indeed, there is very little doubt but that the secret manner of the Duke's being done to death at Bury St. Edmund's, through the instrumentality of the arrogant and haughty Cardinal Beaufort, and the cruel and aspiring

¹ Clutterbuck prints this sum at 40*s*.; but Newcome £10, which seems the most likely amount.

Richard Plantagenet, arose from the fear of a public trial exciting the people in his favour, and thereby frustrating the ambitious plans of his all-powerful enemies. It, therefore, happened that at the discovery of his murder, so great indignation and excitement prevailed amongst his friends and faithful Commons, that the weak king, who certainly loved his uncle, and deeply deplored his miserable death, to make all the reparation he could to the memory of one so dear to England, gave orders for a grand and public funeral; and, to appease the anger of the people, and the citizens of London particularly, who were the steadfast adherents of the great Duke, no doubt had his body conveyed to St. Paul's, where, in accordance with Henry's devotion to religious observances, great pomp and ceremony were used during the time the royal remains rested there, and until the magnificent shrine and tomb at St. Alban's could be made ready to receive them, where we know they were ultimately deposited. The temporary interment of the "Good Duke" in St. Paul's, if this conjectural view of Henry's action on the decease of his uncle be a correct one, gave rise to the curious mistake afterwards made by his friends and retainers, in continuing to believe that the Duke of Gloucester still remained buried in that cathedral, since we find in Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's*, edited by Sir Henry Ellis, p. 107, the following passages in connexion therewith:—

"The expression, 'to dine with Duke Humphrey,' applied to persons who, being unable either to procure a dinner by their own money or from the favour of their friends, walk about and loiter during dinner-time, had its origin in one of the aisles of St. Paul's, which was called Duke Humphrey's Walk; not that there ever was in reality a cenotaph there to the Duke's memory, who every one knows was buried at St. Alban's in Herts, but because, says Stowe, ignorant people mistook the fair monument of Sir John Beauchamp, who died in 1358, and which was in the south side of the body of the church, for that of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester."

It appears that a monument to the memory of a Sir John Beaumont, described as Constable of Dover and Warden of the Ports, K.G., and a brother to the Earl of Warwick (which should have made the name Beauchamp, if such were the case), and who was buried in a chapel of St. Paul's in the year 1358, had the honour of being mistaken for the

great Duke's tomb, since Stowe, in his *Survey of London*, vol. i, p. 165, part i, thus quaintly refers to this occurrence :

"He is by ignorant people nisnamed to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who lieth buried honourably at St. Alban's, twenty miles from London. And, therefore, such as merily profess themselves to serve Duke Humphrey are to be punished here and sent to St. Alban's to be punished again for their absence from their master as they call him.

"In idle and frivolous opinion of whom some men of late times have made a solemn meeting at his tomb, upon St. Andrew's day in the morning before Xmas and concluded on a Breakfast or Dinner as assuming themselves to be Servants and to hold diversity of offices under the Duke Humphrey."

The following extract is appended by way of a note to the above paragraph, although it does not go far to explain it, but makes what was difficult to understand before more inexplicable still :—

"Likewise on May day, Tankard Bearers, Watermen, and some other like quality beside, would use to come to the same Tomb early in the morning (according as the other) have delivered serviceable presentation at the same Monument, by strewing Herbs and sprinkling fair Water on it as in duty of Servants and according to their degrees and charges in office."

By those who may be interested enough in this curious custom and the quaint saying that evidently grew out of it, reference should be made to Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ed. 1813, p. 670, vol. ii ; Sandford's *Genealogical History*, p. 317 ; and Reed's Edition of Shakespeare, vol. xiv, pp. 458-9. Dean Milman, in his *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, also refers to the legend in question.

It is time now to turn to an episode in the life of the Duke of Gloucester, which is not only of a very interesting character, but from the ultimate effects of which, Humphrey in his silent and saddened hours, deeply overshadowing the latter years of his life, could never wholly have recovered, and which, perhaps unknown even to himself, influenced his actions and led him, to escape from the remorse attending his cruel conduct in early days, into those wild schemes of ambition and extravagance, which his enemies accused him of, and which, after the degradation of his

second wife, the Duchess Eleanor, so piteously painted by Shakspeare in the historic play of *King Henry VI*, culminated in his unhappy and untimely death. I allude to the story of Duke Humphrey's first love and subsequent marriage with that ill-used, and too often unjustly blamed, heroine of romance—Jacoba or Jacqueline, as she is most usually called—Duchess of Hainault and Holland, who seems in much of her unfortunate career to have resembled the equally ill-starred and unhappy Lady Jane Seymour, Isabella Stuart, and Mary Queen of Scots; the latter, perhaps, more nearly than the other two, in the matter of their great alliances and subsequent misfortunes—the sorrows and romantic incidents of whose lives have, “time out of mind,” furnished themes for the best writers, both in poetry and prose throughout the world, to discourse upon.

We know that Henry V on his deathbed entrusted to his elder brother, John Duke of Bedford, the Regency of France with also the superintendence of affairs in England, and that he appointed Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, his youngest brother, Protector of the future King, then but an infant, subject, however, to the governance of the Privy Council of England. This unhappily caused much annoyance and pain to Gloucester, who, being of a proud and ambitious nature, could not brook the interference of others, however great and noble; neither did he covet the possession of mere empty titles of honour, since in the stirring and eventful times of his brother's warlike life, the latter had constantly allowed him, in matters of the highest importance, to act entirely by himself, and had been well satisfied with the able conduct he had evinced on such occasions.

These feelings of disappointment and injured pride naturally produced their evil fruit, for Humphrey, finding that the Parliament was in no way disposed to listen to his protests against the control which the Lords exercised over him, and which the Bishop of Winchester, afterwards Cardinal Beaufort, as has before been referred to in this paper, was one of the chief to incite and keep up on all occasions against his nephew, threw himself into the hands of the people and courted them in every way, thus creating in the minds of an easily led and excitable populace that powerful feeling of admiration and regard, which up to the time of the Duke's death as well as long afterwards, reigned in the

hearts of the Commons and citizens of London for him, and unfortunately for twenty years of the unhappy Henry's reign, produced those quarrels and bickerings between the Duke and the Bishop Cardinal, who was, no doubt, secretly jealous of Humphrey's great ability and talents as well as of the people's regard for him (who were now beginning to feel uneasy under the intolerable yoke which, in the name of holy religion, the Church of Rome imposed upon the country), and which ultimately led to the horrors of civil war and the complete downfall of the House of Lancaster.

It was at the time of the great King Henry the Fifth's death, at the Castle of Vincennes, near Paris, and before these feelings of irritation and wounded pride could well have taken deep root in Humphrey's nature, that he met with and subsequently married the young and lovely, though then almost twice widowed, Jacqueline Countess of Hainault, of whose history to this time it is now necessary to speak.

Jacqueline was the only daughter of William, Count of Hainault, and was married at the early age of fifteen to the Duke of Touraine, the second son of Charles VI of France, and who, by the death of his elder brother, became Dauphin a few months after his marriage, thus opening to his beautiful and accomplished wife, who had already inherited from her father the sovereignty of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, the prospect of being some day Queen of France!

But, alas! for Jacqueline, these brilliant visions quickly disappeared, for in the second year of her wedded life her husband the Dauphin died suddenly, strongly suspected of being poisoned by Catherine de Medicis, whose subsequent career of crime and deeds of death-dealing, by means of secret poisons known to her family, as the name of the House so fatally in her instance would seem to indicate, leaves very little doubt of indeed.

The young and rich widow of the Dauphin, for she was still but seventeen, was, however, not long destined to wear her weeds, since her father, who died a year after, is said to have exhorted his child on his deathbed, to complete a scheme he had indulged in since her becoming a widow, to marry again, and this time with a view to strengthen the house of Hainault, he besought her to marry the Duke of Brabant, a near kinsman, but a man in every way, from his habits of life and low state of intellect, entirely unfitted to

be her husband. However, his influence, coupled by that of her mother, prevailed, and again was Jacqueline conducted to the altar, but this time by a man who, neither by personal nor mental acquirements, was suited to his high spirited and gifted bride, who was thus sacrificed to that false, though common feeling of keeping family possessions together, without the smallest reference to the chances of future happiness to the parties most concerned, which in earlier ages, as well as at the present time, so largely prevailed in matrimonial alliances.

The marriage turned out as badly as so ill-advised a one might have been expected to do, from the thorough unfitness of the contracting parties, and ere long the Duchess of Brabant, as Jacqueline had now become, found out to her sorrow, that her husband was as contemptible and cowardly in the field of battle as he had already proved himself to be, by his unmanly conduct, in married life.

Her uncle, John of Bavaria, having asserted his claims to the sovereignty of Holland and Hainault, on the death of her father, Jacqueline called together her forces and took the field against him, and, of course, relied upon her husband the Duke, with his Brabanters, for material aid. She is said to have performed prodigies of valour, armed cap-à-pie, like another Minerva, fighting gallantly for her rights ; but her husband's craven-like conduct in ordering a retreat of his followers, at a critical moment, in one of the contests they were engaged in, lost the Duchess all the advantages her prowess had hitherto gained ; and dismay having taken possession of the Brabanters, they fled from the field, and their Duke concluded an ignominious peace with his wife's enemy, John of Bavaria, after having, to hide his shame and disgrace, withdrawn his forces from Holland, and commanded his indignant and insulted Duchess to follow him to Brabant.

In strong and indignant terms is Jacqueline said to have reproached the Duke for his mean-spirited conduct, and this quickly produced on a low and narrow-minded nature like his, the evil effects which soon followed—for wholly neglecting his wife, he abandoned himself to the vilest gratifications and pursuits, and treated the Duchess with every mark of brutality he was capable of.

Conduct such as this, and from such a man, was not likely to be long submitted to by the high-spirited and out-

raged Jacqueline, and, her contempt being now changed into hatred, she withdrew entirely from her husband's society, and returned to her native country, Hainault, where, in the full lustre of her beauty and womanhood, being at the time only twenty years of age, she remained for a time in comparative privacy.

During this period she sedulously set to work to get her unfortunate marriage with the Duke of Brabant dissolved, on the plea of the closeness of her blood-relationship to him ; and through her family interest, which was still very great, she at length obtained a papal dispensation from the half-deposed Benedict XIII, which we shall see, by and by, led to fresh misfortunes for the unhappy Countess of Hainault, as she now called herself.

It was soon after her divorce from the miserable alliance that had been formed for her, with this recreant member of the great house of Burgundy, to which the Duke as well as herself belonged, that she met with the handsome and gallant Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and as it soon afterwards appeared, they were at once mutually struck with one another—for within a short time of their first introduction the Duke made Jacqueline a declaration of his love, and for the sake of his then character—let us hope it was of that pure nature of which poets so delight to paint, but which stern reality, alas ! so little permits us to believe in.

Jacqueline's great personal attractions, as well as her courage and self-command under such heavy misfortunes as hers had been, were, without doubt, the theme of general talk at the French Court, where the youthful pair first met, and naturally impelled the ardent Humphrey to offer her his hand, as soon as he found his advances by the handsome widow had not been ill-received ; if, in taking his subsequent desertion of his wife into consideration, as we are obliged to do, a thought that the rich possessions that belonged to the Countess in her own right, might possibly have influenced his action in so soon making her his Duchess, should cross the mind of the reader, we can only regret the supposition, although we may be bound to confess that there is some reason to believe it true.

The annulment of Jacqueline's marriage with her cousin of Brabant having been, as was thought at the time, legally and effectually carried out, the young Countess and the

handsome Humphrey set out for England, and despite the powerful influence of her kinsman, the Duke of Burgundy, who, being already lord of great domains in the Netherlands, looked with a greedy eye upon the large possessions of Jacqueline, and liked not her "taking the property out of the family,"—the young couple were wedded with great pomp and splendour, and received with the most flattering marks of attention by the King and the Court; while the Duke her husband, in right of his newly-acquired wife, took at once the titles of Count of Hainault, Holland, and Flanders, and Lord of Friesland.

For a time the royal pair lived in great happiness and splendour, and the star of Jacqueline appeared to be once again in the ascendant, but, alas! bitter trials were in store for her, and that malignant fortune which pursued her so persistently soon made the sunshine of her prosperity diminish, and her hope of peacefulness and love quickly to fade away.

It was during this happy period of their lives that our illustrious couple made even St. Alban's Abbey more memorable still in the hearts of its many admirers, by passing the Christmas holidays in the Monastery, and for the time being, in accordance with the old custom revived by Abbot Whet-
hamsted, as has before been referred to, becoming lay members of the establishment.

That during their stay at the Abbey great feasts and festivities were carried on, there is every reason to believe, and we know through the famous scene at St. Alban's in Shakspeare's second part of *Henry VI*, how fond the King and Humphrey were of field sports of every kind, and what great excellence his birds attained to, since Henry says to the Duke of Gloucester :

"But what a point, my Lord, your falcon made;
And what a pitch she flew above the rest!"

No doubt constant hunting and hawking parties were the order of the day, in which, as the youthful Monarch frequently resided at the palace of King's Langley (the ruins of which are yet to be seen in the immediate neighbourhood of St. Alban's), his Majesty with the ladies and gentlemen of his court were in the habit of joining.

The following extract from Sandford's History will show how grandly the royal pair kept up their state whilst at the

Abbey, and the manner of making their visits to their youthful Sovereign at King's Langley, or pleasure excursions in the neighbourhood :

“ In this year the Dutchess of Holland, and wife of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, rode through the great Court of the Abbey, attended by 24 horsemen, on her way to the royal mansion at Langley and next day the Duke followed her, accompanied by Sir John Roberts, his Master of the Horse, and 10 horsemen.”

After some time spent in England in such joyous and pleasurable proceedings (for the dark clouds gathering over the fortunes of the young King had not burst yet), the Duke and his Duchess set off for Hainault, and there Jacqueline began to experience in full the bitter resentment of the Duke of Burgundy at her marriage with Humphrey.

The former had now made common cause with Jacqueline's divorced husband, the Duke of Brabant, and joining their forces together they assailed the army which she had hastily collected on her arrival. The Duke of Gloucester fought well and bravely in his beautiful wife's cause, but, being overpowered by numbers, he was at length defeated with great slaughter at a place called Braine in Hainault. Hereupon he decided to return to England to raise fresh troops to avenge his defeat, and at first his sorrowful Duchess determined to accompany him, but unfortunately, as it afterwards proved, she at the entreaty of the people of Mons, her capital city, remained behind ; and, although the Duke despatched fresh forces to her assistance, and did all in his power to aid her, not being able to come himself, her cousin of Burgundy again defeated her in a pitched battle, and took Jacqueline herself prisoner, and had her confined in the city of Ghent, where for a long time she remained in a sad and solitary condition.

The poor Duchess never saw her husband Humphrey again, for he upon one plea or another (affairs of state being doubtless the principal ones) excused himself from even fighting in her cause, and, what was worse, once more crossing the water to see her. Thus deserted by one who ought never to have forsaken her, Jacqueline must have been despondent indeed, in her lonely hours of captivity ; but even this misfortune did not crush her courageous spirit, for, with the help of some of her still true friends, disguised in male attire, she



managed to escape one night from her prison in Ghent, and gained in safety her province of Holland, where once more assisted by her faithful followers, she essayed her fortune on the battle-field, and for a time was successful in her efforts against her relentless enemies, who, however, keeping up their combination against her, ultimately prevailed, and poor Jacqueline fell again into the power of her cruel and sordid cousin, the Duke of Burgundy.

To add to her grief and distress at this unhappy turn in her misfortunes, the Duke, through his influence with the new Pope Martin V, obtained a Bull from him, by which her former marriage with the Duke of Brabant was confirmed, and Benedict's dispensation to dissolve it set aside, thus annulling her alliance with the Duke of Gloucester altogether; and what was worse, and to show her cousin's jealousy at that connexion, a clause was introduced in the document to the effect, that even were she to become again a widow, she could not re-marry the Duke of Gloucester.

But a greater blow was yet to fall on the unfortunate lady, whose cup of sorrow was already full enough, and this was the news of her cruel and complete desertion by the Duke of Gloucester, whose fickle disposition and inconstancy were now fully proved, by his eagerly availing himself of the so-called dissolution of his marriage to the Countess of Hainault, by wedding without further loss of time, Eleanor, the daughter of Lord Cobham of Sterborough, a lady with whom it is probable enough he had been for some time on close terms of intimacy, as it is said the Duke first met with her in the suite of his now abandoned and deeply outraged Duchess; to the miseries that attended this ill-omened marriage, it is not in the province of this paper to do more than merely allude, although the details connected with it are full of the deepest interest, and may serve at some future time for a sequel to this page of historical romance.

That it brought a heavy, if not just punishment on Humphrey is at least certain, for without doubt the ambitious views of his new Duchess led not only to the ultimate downfall and disgrace of herself, as is so poetically yet painfully described in Shakspeare's *Henry VI*, part 2, act 2, scenes 3 and 4, but paved the way to the miserable fate and mysterious death of the Duke, who, after the accusations levelled and proved against his proud wife Eleanor

and her public penance, never held up his head again, and soon fell into the snares and pitfalls his cunning and triumphant enemies had prepared for him.

But we must now once again return to the unfortunate Countess of Hainault, whose wrongs at the instance of Humphrey were, in his future troubles and remorse for his cruelty to her, to be duly avenged—thus showing that a Nemesis awaits on all, either in peasant life or princely condition, however completely for a time the crimes that have been committed may have been concealed.

The poor lady was not only once more alone in the world and overcome by grief and shame at the base desertion of her treacherous royal spouse, but again in the hands of her powerful and relentless kinsman, the Duke of Burgundy, who, taking advantage of the unhappy condition of his wretched captive, compelled her to the following hard terms, on which alone would he agree to give her what she now sighed for, liberty and peace. He stipulated that he should henceforth be her Lieutenant over her fair dominions, thereby, of course, making Jacqueline wholly dependent upon him, and, as she was now a second time a widow, her former husband and cousin, the Duke of Brabant, being dead, her hard-hearted relative made her enter into a solemn engagement never to marry again without the consent of her provinces, and of himself, her guardian and nearest male kinsman.

Thus, at the age of twenty-seven, was the now almost broken-hearted Countess made the victim, not only to the greedy and rapacious nature of her imperious cousin, the Duke of Burgundy, but forced under the cruel circumstances she found herself placed in, to consent to an insulting condition which no woman of spirit could willingly accept, and which, extorted from her by violence and cunning, no wonder she in her secret thoughts resolved not to abide by, when the opportunity served.

For a time Jacqueline lived in quietude and retirement in her province of Zealand, and, although wholly depending for her comparatively modest support on the allowance her cruel cousin of Burgundy made her, she managed to divert her thoughts, oftentimes melancholy and sad enough, when she recalled her former happy hours, by joining in the village sports near her château; and in the frequent practice of archery, or of feats of arms and of horsemanship, she became

a great expert, and so won the admiration of all who beheld her ; she also gained the love of her humble villagers and retainers, and in their honest-hearted affection found a solace, temporary though it proved to be, for the broken vows and cruel disappointments she had met with in a much higher sphere of life.

But an event soon happened to disturb the serenity of her now peaceful life, and for a time overwhelmed the almost thrice widowed Princess with fresh misfortunes, and compelled her again to undergo the most cruel treatment at the hands of her implacable foe, the Duke of Burgundy.

Among the Lords of Holland who had been the most persistent in their enmity to the young Countess, was Francis Borselen, Lord of Martendyke, and a great possessor of estates in Zealand, where he constantly resided ; his continued opposition to the interests of the unfortunate lady, although so near a neighbour, had naturally kept him apart from her society and influence ; but a mightier power was now at work, by which these seeming foes were to become close friends, and ultimately to disperse much of the gloom by which the destiny of the Countess had so long been shrouded.

It happened that Margaret of Burgundy, the mother of Jacqueline, who, though still living, was not permitted to reside with her almost imprisoned daughter, sent to the Countess from her much loved Hainault, a noble horse, as a present and token of her affection, and her daughter, anxious to reward her mother's messenger in a manner becoming her rank and condition, and, to testify her appreciation of such a welcome gift, found herself, to her great annoyance and dismay, without the means of doing so ; at a loss what to do, she entertained the messenger at her chateau, and made her sorrow known to her trusty friends alone, and one of them, out of kindness and sympathy with the loved mistress of their village, contrived that the Lord of Borselen should hear of the dilemma the Countess was in. To his honour and subsequent renown, the noble-hearted Borselen, forgetting all his animosity to Jacqueline, at once despatched to her in private a large sum of money, and thus enabled her adequately to reward her mother's envoy.

Touched by the generosity as well as delicacy of the young nobleman's conduct, the Countess determined to thank

in person her generous benefactor, and so, laying aside all recollections of his past unkindness and persecution, she intimated to him her wish to see and to render him her thanks for his timely service. The meeting took place at her own castle, where the Lord of Borselen hastened to greet the still beautiful Countess, and, as the "Blind god" would have it, these two bitter enemies fell deeply in love with each other; and, although there was great disparity in their stations of life, the Countess accepted the offer of the young Knight's hand, and after a short time was secretly married to him.

Thus was Jacqueline a fourth time wedded, and at her then early age there was every reason to suppose that a brighter fortune than she had hitherto enjoyed was in store for her; but it was not to be, as the sequel will prove, and soon again was the now once more happy Princess to be made the sport of cruel fortune.

The Duke of Burgundy quickly learnt, by means of paid servants and spies, by whom he had long surrounded his cousin, of the marriage she had contracted; and, vowing vengeance for her breach of the engagement he had so wickedly wrung from her, he, by virtue of the power he held over her territories, ordered the immediate arrest of the Lord of Borselen, and had him conveyed to the Castle of Rüpelmonde, in Flanders, situated at the confluence of the rivers Rupel and Scheldt, and where, to the great grief of the forlorn Jacqueline, he kept him a close prisoner, torturing her from time to time with rumours, which he contrived should come to the poor lady's ears, that her husband's life was about to be forfeited for the presumption of which he had been guilty in marrying so far above his station, and without the permission of the Duke, his wife's cousin and protector! The reports thus so cunningly contrived produced the desired effect, for the brave Countess, believing in the danger her lord was in, and feeling that his love and devotion for her had brought the misfortune upon him, collected a small force in Zealand, and with some vessels she managed to procure, well-armed and equipped, set sail up the river Scheldt, with the intention of delivering her husband from his captivity.

The Duke of Burgundy, however, was before her, for, having heard of his cousin's proceedings, he had arranged

to meet her ships with a superior force, and, therefore, on her reaching the castle in which her husband was confined, she found the place too well guarded to enable her to carry out her plans.

Disappointed, although not yet daunted, by this sudden and unexpected failure of her scheme, Jacqueline demanded to see the Duke himself, which request being at once accorded, an interview took place on board his ship, and the unhappy lady entreated her haughty cousin to inform her whether her husband was still living, and if so to give her immediate proof of the fact.

The Duke, apparently with a view to gratify the Countess, whom he had received with great courtesy, but secretly with an intention of again getting her into his power, gave orders that his prisoner should be immediately brought on to the terrace of the castle in front of the vessel on which they stood. The Countess, being overcome with joy at again seeing her husband before her alive and well, and forgetting in the ardour of her affection the danger she ran, gave a spring from the vessel's side, and was soon locked in the embrace of her much loved Borselen. But the rapture at this unexpected meeting was not to last long, for the Duke taking advantage of Jacqueline's impulsive act, immediately imprisoned her, as well as her husband, in the very castle from which she had hoped to free him.

Here the Duke continued to keep his cousin a closely confined prisoner, and apart from her unhappy husband, and working upon her fears for the safety of the man she so loved, he at length succeeded in gaining from the miserable Countess a renunciation of her sovereign rights in his favour, the game for which he had so long and so persistently played; and on condition that she would not incite her ancient and still devoted subjects to revolt against him, he restored them both to liberty, giving his cousin back certain states in Holland and Zealand, which, out of regard and affection for the man who had sacrificed so much for her sake, Jacqueline made over as a free gift to her devoted husband, who was afterwards created Count of Ostervant, and decorated with the order of the Golden Fleece, by Philip of Spain.

Thus at length were the troubles and misfortunes of the poor Countess brought to an end, and in her comparative

humble condition she continued to live in happiness and peace with her faithful spouse, who sought in every way to make her forget the sorrows of her early days. She died at the early age of thirty-six, and was buried in the family tomb of the Counts of Holland, with all the ceremonies befitting her exalted rank, and her last resting-place is to this day sought for and shown to the traveller who desires to pay a passing tribute of respect to one of whom it may be said :—"She loved not wisely, but too well."

During the last and happy period of her life, Jacqueline, the once proud consort of the Dauphin of France, and the afterwards equally proud wife of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, uncle of and Protector to the King of England, amused and employed her leisure hours in the making of vessels and vases in earthenware and clay ; and this employment she carried on so successfully and thoroughly, that to this time the cups she made are well-known and much esteemed. Many of them were from time to time found in the lake that surrounded her castle, and religiously kept by the country people into whose hands they fell, who named them the vases of the Lady Jacoba of Hainault, and thus, by this simple act of their admiration and esteem, have perpetuated the memory of their illustrious, though truly unfortunate, friend and Princess.

As archæologists, we must all admire the devotion of Jacqueline to the study and practice of so ancient and classic an art as that of the manufacture of ceramic ware ; and, although it is the belief of some writers that the vases she made were not of any great or grand character, there can exist little doubt, I should think, that much of her work was of the highest order. Indeed, from her well-known ability and excellence in all she undertook to do, and her experience of the highest refinement that the days she lived in could produce, both in France and England, it is impossible not to suppose that such a gifted woman would attain perfection in the copying of any work of ceramic art then known, either of Chinese or of classic origin ; and, therefore, I am inclined to believe the true merit of this lady's proficiency in the production of fictile ware has not been assigned to her ; and, to carry out my views, I have entertained the daring opinion that I have solved a problem that

has set many people thinking, and discovered a derivation that, if correct, must always add additional interest to the story of Jacqueline of Hainault.

I allude to the word *porcelain*, of which word Johnson, in the 4th edition of his work, edited by Todd, giving the following different derivations and extracts :—"Porcelaine, French, said to be derived from '*pour cent années*,' because it was believed by Europeans that the materials of porcelain were matured under ground one hundred years." "Others say it is from the Portuguese *porcelana*, a cup ; Mr. Douce, from the Italian '*porcellana*,' which, as well as the French '*porcelaine*,' is the name of a shell called *Concha Veneris*, Venus's shell, to the polished exterior of which china bears resemblance." "We are not thoroughly resolved concerning *porcelain* or china dishes ; that, according to common belief, they are made of earth, which lieth in preparation about a hundred years under ground."—Brown, *Vulg. Err.* "We have burials in several earths, where we put divers cements, as the Chinese do their *porcelain*."—Bacon.

Now, since these derivations are as various as they are vague, and as the origin of the highest kind of manufacture in potter's clay, now known under the term of ceramic art, came from China and Japan, where this elegant material termed by Europeans porcelain, was first made, it is, I think, clear enough that our name for the ware in question does not represent theirs, whatever it may be,—the term "China" to this day representing to us the finest productions of works in clay, which have come direct from that country or Japan, as well as inferior manufactures also.

Thus, it appears to me we have gone out of our way to find an origin for this word *porcelain*, which is, to my mind, simply derived from the name of the Countess Jacqueline, who by her last marriage, as we have previously read, became the Lady of Borselen, and who in the happier days of that alliance employed herself in the manufacture and encouragement of fictile art ; thus the natural conclusion is, to my fancy, that the ware she so successfully modelled and produced, was known during her life, as well as after her death, as the "Borselen ware" or "Borselen vases"; and consequently, by a very slight alteration of sound and change of letters, Borselen became Porcelain. Hence we may have

received the word, by which all the finer specimens of this celebrated branch of ceramic art manufacture greatly improved in every way, no doubt, since the Countess' time, are designated, although its origin has been so little appreciated.

REMARKS UPON AN UNPUBLISHED LIST OF SCOTTISH RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

BY W. DE G. BIRCH, ESQ.

SCOTLAND still needs an Archdale or a Dodsworth to prepare her *Monasticon*, although the efforts of her various literary clubs, and the collections of Hay, Hutton, Macfarlan, Turnbull, and others, go far to make up the deficiency. The list of religious houses which I have the honour to bring before your notice, is subscribed by John Adamson, Principal of Edinburgh College in 1650; and according to his statement, correctly transcribed from an original MS. in the College. Hearne,¹ in his edition of Fordun, prints a composite list materially differing from this both in method of arrangement and quantity of information, apparently made up from two MSS. in the British Museum, Reg. 13, E. x, and Titus C. x. To the best of my belief, the list I now place before you has never been published; and was, to all appearance, unknown to the editors of Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*.²

¹ *Johannis Fordun Scoti-Chronicon sive Scotorum Historia*. Ed. Hearne, 1722, 5 vols. 8vo, p. 1555.

² Brit. Mus., MS. Sloan, 3199, f. 114. Lists of a kindred nature to this will be found in John Spotiswood's "Account of all the Religious Houses in Scotland at the Reformation," inserted in Bishop Keith's "Catalogue of Scottish Bishops," ed. Russell; Edinb., 1824, 8vo; Gough's "Topography," ii, 607; Adam de Cardonnel, "Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland" (and classified list of religious houses); London, 1788, 8vo; and the Earl of Buchan's "Catalogue of the Religious Foundations of Scotland," in the "Edinburgh Magazine" for June 1808.

NOMINA Monasteriorum, cum Prioratibus et Cellis Monialium Claustris Preposituris et aliis Monachorum Ordinibus in
Regno Scotie, una cum Provinciis ubi sita sunt eorumque Fundatoribus.

NOMEN.	PROVINCIA.	ORDO.	FUNDATOR.
Icolmkill . . .	Insula Iona . . .	Nigri Monachi	St. Columba
Sandell . . .	Kyntire . . .	Cisterciensis . . .	Darle Milwordus
Sedes Animarum, Soulseat	Gallowida . . .	" . . .	Fergus de Gallowidia, Pater Ochitardi
Dundranen . . .	Gallowidia . . .	" . . .	David Rex Scotiæ
Jedburgh . . .	Tevidale . . .	St. Augustini	Idem David
Calso . . .	" . . .	Cisterciensis . . .	Idem
Melros . . .	" . . .	" . . .	Idem, 1136
Newbotle . . .	Laudonia . . .	" . . .	Idem, 1140
S. Crucis, Holyrood House	" . . .	St. Augustini	Idem
Kinlosse . . .	Moravia . . .	Cisterciensis . . .	Idem
Cambuskenneth . . .	Stirlingschyre . . .	St. Augustini	Idem
Dunfermling . . .	Fothrikmoore . . .	St. Benedicti	Rex; Margareta Regina ejus uxor
Insula Missarum, Inchlaffery	Stratherne . . .	St. Augustini	Gilbertus, Comes de Stratherne
Culenrose . . .	Clackmanenschyre . . .	Cisterciensis . . .	Malcom Macduff, Comes de Fyffe
Insula Emona, seu S. Columbe	In Mari Scotico . . .		Alexander, cognomine Fierce, Rex Scotiæ
Scona . . .	Gourie . . .	St. Augustini	Idem Alexander
Glenluce, 1190 . . .	Gallowidia . . .	Cisterciensis . . .	Rollandus filius Ohredi, pater Alani de Gallo-
Dulcis Cordis, New Abbey	" . . .	" . . .	Donnagilla filia Alani de Gallowidia, neptis
	" . . .	Præmonstratensis	Davidis Comitis de Huntingfoun
Tungland . . .	" . . .	" . . .	Alanus de Gallowidia
Sacri Nemoris, Holywood . . .	" . . .	" . . .	Dercon gall

Grocregal Kilwinning	.	Carrieta Cunningham	.	Cluniacensis Tironensis	Duncanus Comes de Carrick Hugo Morville, Constabularius, et nepos ex sorore illius Hugonis Scotiæ, unus c 4 per- cussoribus Thomæ Becket, Archiepiscopi Can- tuariensis [qui fuit nepos, etc., ex libro Scoti- chron: Fordun]
Dryburgh	.	Tevidale	.	Præmonstratensis	Idem Hugo
Paslett	.	Clidesdale	.	Cluniacensis	Walterus Senescallus Scotiæ
Lindoris	.	In Earnesye	.	Tironensis	David, Comes de Huntingtoun, frater Wilhelmi Regis Scotiæ
Balmerinoch	.	Fyffe	.	"	Wilhelmus Rex Scotiæ
Deve, 1218	.	Buchan	.	Cisterciensis	Willielmus Cumine, Comes Buchaniae
Ferne	.	In prov. Rossia	.	Præmonstratensis	Ferchardus, Comes de Rosse
Souley	.	That Sillie Abbey	.	Nullius Ordinis	
Cuprum	.	Angus	.	Cisterciensis	Malcolmus 4, Rex Seotorum
Holme	.	Cumbria	.	Nigri Monachi	David Primus, Rex Scotiæ
Novum Castrum	.	Northumbria	.	Præmonstratensis	Idem Rex David
Crusa	.	Insula Occidentalis	.	S. Augustini	S. Columba
Ornesa	.	"	.	"	Idem S. Columba
Archattan	.	Lorne	.	Vallis Canlium	Duncanus Maccoull
Durham	.	Episcopatus Dunelm-	[sis	Nigri Monachi	Malcolm Canmore, Rex Scotiæ
Carlisle	.	Cumbria	.	Præmonstratensis	Mathildis Regina Angliæ, Hourici II uxor
Candida Casa, Whiteherne	.	Gallovidia	.	Vallis Canlium, cella de	Fergusius de Gallovidia, pater Oelhtredi
Lesmahago	.	Clidesdale	.	Cella de Dunfermline	Calso
Urchart	.	Moravia	.	[Crucis	Alexander 3, Rex Scotiæ
S. Crucis de Pebles	.	Tivedale	.	St. Augustini, cella S.	Fergus. de Gallovidia
Insula S. Mariæ	.	Gallovidia	.	Cisterciensis, cella de	Mebross
Manehline	.	Kyle	.	Monachi Nigri, cella de	Darham et Dunfermling
Coldingham	.	March	.	S. Augustini	Mordachus Comes de Menteith
Insula S. Colmoci	.	Menteith	.	"	Rex Alexander I, cognomine Fierce
S. Andrea	.	Fyffe	.	cella de S.	Andrea
May Insula	.	In ye Frith	.	"	
Pattunweyne	.	Fyffe	.	Cella S. Andrea	

NOMEN.	PROVINCIA.	ORDO.	FUNDATOR.
Restennatt .	Angus .	S. Augustini, cella de	Jedburgh
Counaby .	Eskdale .	Cella de Jedburgh .	brothock
Fyvie .	Buchan .	Tironensis, cella de Abir .	Alexander 2 Rex, et Joannes Bissett
Beaulie .	Rosse .	Vallis Caulium .	Monachi Nigri cella de Dumfermling
Pluscardin .	Moravia .	" postea .	Archiepiscopus S. Andreæ
Monimusk .	Marria .	S. Augustini .	Missarum.—Robertus Bruise
Stratflan .	Athole .	" cella Insulæ	
Lochtay .	" .	" " de Seona	
Blantyre .	Clidesdale .	Cella de Jedburge .	
Portmoag .	Insula Lacus Levini .	Cella S. Andreæ .	
Skairneche .	Insula de Lewis .	Cella Insulæ Missarum	
Charterhouse .	Perth .		Jacobus I, Rex Scotiæ

MONIALIUM CLAUSTRA.

Icolmekill .	Insula Iona .	S. Augustini .	S. Columba
Southberwick .	March .	Cisterciensis .	Comitissa de March
Northberwick .	Laudonia .	" .	Duncannus Comes de Fyffe
Hadingtoun .	" .	" .	Ada Comitissa Northumbriæ, uxor Henrici
			Comitis Huntintoniæ et Principis Scotiæ, filii
			Davidis I
Lineludan .	Gallovidia .	Moniales Nigri	Ochtredus de Gallovidia
S. Bothani .	Lammermoore .	Cella de Southberwick	Christiana Comitissa March
Elbotle .		" .	
Manwell .	Laudonia .	Cisterciensis .	Malcolmus 4, Rex Scotiæ
Elcho .	Strathern .	" .	David Lindsay
Culane .	Laudonia .	Cella de Southberwick	
Moniales ad Novum Castrum	in Northumbria .		Rex David I
Ecles .	March .		Comitissa de March

PRÆPOSITURÆ.

Abirnethie . . .	Stratherne .	Garnath, Regis Pictorum filius
S. Andreae de Hughe	Fyffe . .	Constantinus 2, Rex Scotiæ
Bothwell . . .	Clidesdale .	Archibaldus I. Comes de Douglas
Linccloudane . .	Nithsdale .	Idem Archibaldus [Yester
Bothanes . . .	Laudonia .	Willielmus de Hay, Dominus de
Mayeboill . . .	Carrieta .	Gilbertus Kennedy, Miles
Dunbar . . .	Laudonia .	Georgius Dumbar, Comes March
Carnewathe . .	Clidesdale .	Thomas Sommervell, Dominus
		ejusdem [liæ
Methven . . .	Stratherne .	Walterus Stewart, Comes Athlo-
Dalkeith . . .	Laudonia .	Dominus Jacobus Douglas
Kilmun . . .	Cowall . .	Duncanus Campbell, Miles
Fowlis . . .	Angus . .	Andreas Gray, Dominus ejusdem
Dirlatown . . .	Laudonia .	Walterus Halyburton, Miles
Roslin . . .	„ . .	Willielmus de S. Claro, Comes
		Orcadam
Collegium Regale .	Stirling . .	Jacobus 4, Rex Scotiæ
Collegium S. Trinitatis	Edinburgi .	Maria de Geldria, uxor Jacobi 2
„ Ecclesiæ Campi	Laudonia .	Magister David Vocat
Restalrig . . .	„ . .	Jacobus 3, Jacobus 4 complevit
Seatoun . . .	„ . .	Dominus de Seatoun [torfin
Corstorfin . . .	„ . .	Willielmus, Dominus de Cors-
Creichtoun . . .	„ . .	Willielmus, Dominus de Creich-
Semple . . .		..... de Semple [toun
Killmaures . . .		Dominus de Cuninghame
Dumbartoun . . .	Lennox . .	Comitissa de Lennox
Hamiltoun . . .	Clidesdale .	Dominus de Hamiltoun
Collegium Studentium		
in Abirdein . . .	Mar . . .	Willielmus Elphinstoun, Epis-
Collegium S. Salva-		copus Abirdein
toris . . .	Fyffe . . .	Jacobus Kennedy, Archiepiscopus
		S. Andreae [diue
Tullibardine . . .		Dominus Murray de Tullibar-
Tayne . . .	Rosse . . .	Jacobus 4 Rex [dreæ
S. Leonardi . . .	Fyffe . . .	Joannes Hepburn, Prior S. An-

“Notandum quod quælibet Ecclesia parochialis in magnis villis, ut Edinburgi, est Collegium.”

“All these pages before are conforme to ye originall autographic of ye College of Edinburghe, which I subscribing testifie at Edinburgh, ye 30 of September, 1650.

“Sic subscribitur Mr. Jo. Adamson, Principall of ye College.”

(Brit. Mus., MS. Sloan, 3199, f. 114-115.)

LEGENDS AND MEMORIALS OF THE WYE.

BY T. F. DILLON CROKER, F.S.A.

BEAUTIFUL for a hundred miles, the Wye is without a rival among the many well-favoured rivers of England. That there are streams which can compare with it in certain parts is true, as the Dove in the Dale, the Dart, known as the English Rhine, the Wharfe at the Strid, or the Greta when meeting with the Tees, but in general perfection of features the Wye is unapproachable. Her rocks, rapids, and windings have attracted the admiration of such judges as Thomas Whatley, Gray, and Gilpin, and an epicure as renowned as the late Duke of Beaufort has testified to the excellence of the Wye salmon. The Rev. Edward Davis, in his "*Chepstow*, a Poem," writes :

"Unlike the flabby fish in London sold,
A Chepstow salmon 's worth its weight in gold.
Few other rivers such fine salmon feed,
No Taff, nor Tay, nor Tyne, nor Trent, nor Thames, nor Tweed."

The fame of the river Wye does not depend upon its fish. From Chepstow to Plinlimmon each mile is fraught with some special beauty. Cliffs of marly blue, old elms and oaks, rich bluffs of cultivated flowers, ivy-clustered abbeys, Norman castles, with ruined keep and dungeon, succeed in ceaseless profusion. Memories of the Holy Grail and the quest by the Knights of Caerleon have not departed from the fastnesses of the Upper Wye, and the sorrows of Fair Rosamond yet linger among the ruins of Clifford. If we would gather minute particulars of the rites of the Druids we shall discover at Beachley authentic remains, not only in dead and rough hewn stone, but in the living custom of the inhabitants, the solemn Deasuil. The fisher boats are the coracles of the aboriginal Britons ; and other traces, no less distinct, remain of an age of which the knowledge we have is exceedingly scanty, and even that little barely trustworthy. Many names, illustrious alike in letters and in war, are linked with the Wye. Henry V, the "sweet wag" of Falstaff, was born at Monmouth, a circumstance on which Captain Fluellen thus enlarged before the field of Agincourt :

"I tell you, Captain, if you look in the maps of the 'orld I warrant you shall find in the comparison between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situations, look you, is both alike. There is a river in Macedon, and there is also, moreover, a river at Monmouth. It is called the Wye at Monmouth; but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river; but 'tis all one, 'tis alike as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both."

The memory of the wittiest Dean who ever ruled a Chapter is preserved at Goodrich, where the communicant may notice a graven silver chalice, used at the administration of the Holy Sacrament in Goodrich church. This cup was a gift of Swift, whose ancestor once occupied the living, and suffered severely in the royal cause during the civil war. This Thomas Swift married Elizabeth Dryden, aunt to the poet, and thus connected two illustrious names in English letters. As an interesting fact, it may be mentioned here that at Goodrich Wordsworth met the simple maiden whose remark furnished him with the poem "We are seven." The Raglan estate of the Beaufort family brings to recollection the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in the Crimea and his untimely end. Further on, we find a celebrity in Pope's *Man of Ross*, a personage, indeed, whose merits appear to be out of all proportion to the extravagant applause they have attracted. Pope's letter to Lord Bathurst immortalised an honest country squire, whose leisure and means were employed in planting elms, erecting seats, restoring churches, and hearing children their lessons; but whose principal fame arose from the success of his appeals to the charitably disposed and the wisdom with which he applied the proceeds. So far, indeed, from being a man remarkable for gentleness and self-denial, one witness, whose efforts in particularising the occupations of Mr. Kyrle are worthy of a higher theme, tells us that the unfortunate infants whose tasks he found ill-performed drew on themselves reproofs more remarkable for rough vigour than for fatherly discretion. "Ods bud, ods bud," he would roar with a voice unusually grating and loud, "but I will see you mended." To what method he had recourse for the purpose of furthering the elementary education of a refractory child does not transpire. But a memory which Pope has plastered with a coat of adulation thick even for the prince

of flatterers, and whose merits have been a second time celebrated by no less a poet than the author of *Christabel*, need not fear defamation after the lapse of a hundred and fifty years. At the time of his death Mr. Kyrle's fellow citizens were evidently unaware of the treasure they had lost, for we are expressly told that they displayed no external mark of sorrow. I shall attempt to obtain for the Wye a pre-eminence in legendary history no less conspicuous than that she has acquired in other ways. The vivid beauty of the Vaga should secure a rich treasure of ancient lore. Difficulty arises in treating the subject of the poetic legends of the Wye more from superfluity than from the paucity of material. I shall, however, select a few salient points in the upward passage of the stream. It has been remarked that the geographical features of a country affect the character of its inhabitants; a mountainous region engenders patriotism, hardihood, self-denial. In a rich alluvial plain will be found habits of self-indulgence, the spirit of commerce, and politeness of the city rather than the roughness of the camp; and the causes which affect the people living remain apparent when the people have passed away. In the legends of the Caucasus and of the Hartz Mountains, for instance, a generic likeness is seen, which is absent in the Low Countries.

The legend of the mountain is weird and indistinct, often violent and blood-thirsty as the Brocken. The legend of the plain is soft, luxurious, and tender as Undine. It speaks of loves and gentle enterprises. The genie of the mountain and the plain have no more in common than the parts of the same river which, now leaping in thunder down a precipitous ravine, then winds through the peaceful meadows with a current scarcely swift enough to keep it from stagnation; and so we find it in the Wye scenery. In that part of the river which is civilised and navigable, the legends breathe a spirit of religion and tell of good deeds by compassionate men; but the "terrible rocks," as Wheateley calls them, of the new weir near Goodrich are haunted with tales of ill-omen, of knightly prowess and virtue in distress. At the mouth of the Wye, not four miles from where the Severn receives its waters, may be seen a fragment of a ruin on the right bank which is evidently of great antiquity. This is a chapel raised to Saint Tecwyn or Tecla, the British

Hygeia, who is supposed to have come from Armorica in the sixth century for the purpose of converting the Britons. Until quite recently the memory of this compassionate saint was preserved in a curious mingling of Christian and Druidical custom. The mystic Deasuil was performed around a spring which rose two hundred yards from the chapel, whose waters were sacred to the British Æsculapius. This custom is carried out by a preliminary washing in the waters of the well, accompanied by a small offering in money. The patient then walks round the spring three times, and thrice repeats the Lord's Prayer. It must be observed that the ceremony was only carried out when the sun had gone down, in order that the sufferer might be inspired with great awe. The ceremony proceeds with the offering of a cock to St. Tecla; or if of the fair sex, a hen, which, penned in a basket, is first carried round the well, and then, after more orisons, round the church. The votary then entering the church lies down under the Communion-table, his head pillowed on the Bible, is covered with a carpet and rests thus until break of day. He leaves next morning after another offering, while the fowl remains in the church. Should the bird die, the disease is supposed to have been exorcised from the human sufferer and to have spent its force upon the animal. Cæsar seems to refer to the sacred character of fowls, hares, and geese among the Britons in *De Bello Gallico*, liber v, cap. xii.

Another characteristic of the Wye is that the tides are extreme. At Chepstow Bridge they have been known to rise over fifty feet, a height which is said to be unequalled in England, or, indeed, in Europe. At floods and times of spring-tides the rise is so rapid as to be dangerous to an inexperienced visitor, and record speaks of more than one fatal disaster from this cause. A story so faded in its outline as to render an accurate verification of details impossible, has been handed down, and which at least bears no mark of being of spurious origin. Near Chepstow, on the bank of the river where the current is rapid and the descent precipitous, a Norman baron in the days of the first Crusade maintained a castle in feudal state. He had but one child, a daughter, Ursula, whose beauty was famous through all the country side. Hard by lived a knight, whose family likewise consisted of a single member, his son, Hugh; the

report of whose attainments in feats of agility and courage was as widely spread as the stories of the beauty and grace of Ursula.

Thrown together by force of circumstances, the obvious result was a warm mutual attachment. But, though Hugh was too honourable to declare a passion he could not hope to indulge, and Ursula's course was that of every other fair lady in like circumstances, patient waiting, Hugh's temperament could not brook the torture of being near his love while he was at the same time utterly cut off from all hope of winning her. Fortunately, the Crusade then waging in the Holy Land afforded scope for the superfluous energy of a gentle-born lad, and Hugh forthwith determined that if he could not procure glory and a name under King Richard he would perish at the hand of the Moslem. The evening before he was to set out, while moodily walking on the cliff by the bank he watched the river rise with a suddenness which startled him. As the water lapped each jutting crag and filled with a hiss and a roar the numerous caves in the sides of the cliff, he heard a scream from a hole near the fast rising tide. He knew the voice. It was Ursula's. Needless to say, he forced his way down and dragged her fainting to the top. Before they parted they both exchanged vows of eternal love. Next morning, as a forlorn hope, he braved the Baron's wrath, informed him what had taken place, and was kindly told that to win Ursula he must make a name for himself. With beating heart he set out, but history is silent as to what befell him while fighting against the soldan.

Some years after, as Ursula, still a maiden, was watching the river rise, always a scene of interest, she saw a toil-worn palmer wearily mount the crest of the hill and make towards the Castle. Divining that he might bring some intelligence from the army of the Holy Sepulchre, she pressed forward to meet him. He spoke but few words, and that little was of his own exceeding want. He entered the castle, saying that he had important news from Palestine for the Baron. With the Baron was a noble and wealthy neighbour, whose suit for Ursula's hand had been the occasion of great dissension between father and daughter. Loth to be disturbed, the Baron waxed wrath at the palmer's entrance, and charged him with fabricating a tale for the purpose of gaining a night's board and lodging.

The palmer bore the jeers of the old man patiently, but persisted in the story of the success the English arms had met with in the good cause. The gaily dressed suitor, however, joined in the laugh against the holy man. Suddenly casting aside his travel-stained garments, the palmer stood before them clad as a knight in silken doublet with a blade of Damascus in his right hand. Throwing his gauntlet in the startled suitor's face, he besought him to take it up and stand on guard. Then, turning to the father of Ursula, he told him his real name, which was Sir Hugh De Capet. King Richard had dubbed him on the field of Ascalon. He had gained a name, and he claimed Ursula. The bluff Baron, not displeased at the spirit Hugh had shewn, was as good as his word. Not many days elapsed before Ursula and Hugh were married, and in a few years a large family had sprung from their union, and the fair girls and brave boys never tired to hear of the feats their sire performed against the Turk, nor how on foot and alone he walked up the Castle hill in the summer evening, and how when he walked down again he did not walk alone.

Following the course of what Drayton calls the English

“Meander, who is said so intricate to bee,

Hath not so many turnes nor crankling nookes as shee,”

we reach Tintern Abbey, one of the most perfect examples of the religious houses of the Cistercian order remaining in England. It is noteworthy that wherever the “White Monks” took up their abode it is found that good taste in the selection of a spot is never absent. On the banks of a beautiful stream, planted with rich gardens and orchards, and protected from too curious a gaze by an overhanging cliff, Tintern is a spot where the inevitable solitude of a monkish life would press less heavily than at any other house in the kingdom. The charter of the Abbey, which is still extant, shews that William Marshal of England, Earl of Pembroke, granted to the monks, in the seventh year of Henry III, lands and tenements of an extent amounting to nearly half the county of Monmouthshire. That a Baron could be found to detach so large a portion of his property for such a purpose speaks strongly of the hold the church had on men's lives six hundred and fifty years ago. Perhaps, however, filial piety partly accounted for this munificent

gift, for the charter records the fact that the grantor is moved to take action for the health of the souls of William his father, and Isabella his mother, together with regard to his own hope of mercy hereafter. Tintern is said to be derived from *din*, a fortress, and *teym*, a sovereign ; and it is probable that the present abbey was founded upon the site of a hermitage, where a certain Saxon King of Wessex who had abdicated his throne died after living a very holy life. Attempts have been made to determine this point by digging for reliques, but the explorations have been mainly unsuccessful. About the middle of the last century a stonemason, named Richard Bowen, discovered a brazen gauntlet and spear ; valuing them intrinsically, he sold them for half a guinea to a stranger, who, leaving the country, it is unknown into whose hands the precious relics fell. This act of vandalism has consigned Mr. Bowen to the eternal anathemas of every subsequent antiquary.

The tomb of a man who has lived in history must ever be interesting to the archæologist. The Anglo-Norman Irish hero, Strongbow, is buried at Tintern, and an old and mutilated statue has been discovered which has been attempted to be identified with Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow. But the evidence of identity is too slender to support a theory stronger than mere surmise. Why conjecture should not be equally correct in associating the effigy with either Gilbert, the brother, or Gilbert, the nephew of Strongbow, does not transpire. About ninety years ago a frenzied barge-builder, named Sparks, entered the abbey surreptitiously, and, after severing the head from the body, broke the face and limbs so successfully that at present the stock would stand as well for Charlemagne as for Strongbow. Unfortunately the indecency of the iconoclast Sparks was not confined to himself. The inhabitants of the village until recently enjoyed the game of quoits in the body of the church, and used the effigy of the knight as a stop to their rolling discs. But this practice is now stopped, for the abbey is carefully preserved from any injury other than

“The majesty of Time
Impersonated in the calm decay.”

Tintern by moonlight has become a sight as famous as Melrose, but the beauty of the broken mullions is never more

apparent than when traced against a chequered midnight sky. The nightingales of the surrounding woods have obtained the praise of many generations. Drayton devotes nearly a page to the beauties of Philomela and her lesser sisters in song, and the local poets, who have sung the Wye in numbers which at least reveal a hearty love for their stream, have been no less attentive in bringing forward the music of Tintern Abbey. To the neighbourhood of Tintern we owe some of Wordsworth's most delightful poetry. From the *Songs of the Wye and Poems by Wion*, a work which disappoints an inquirer who thinks he has lighted upon a treasure of legend and folklore, I have gathered the only tradition associated with Tintern which has at all a supernatural cast. In the moon's pale light an apparition is said to walk alone. It is the figure of a lady, whose lingering step and downcast head imply a deep set sorrow. Young and fair, she traces her way among the ruins, now and again bending over what was once "a praying priest and mailed knight," passing her thin white hands through the rustling ivy, as though the parasite were the hair of some loved one warm with life. And then the tears fall from her eyes. The lady is as mysterious as her grief; of neither have I obtained an authentic explanation. At Monmouth is one of the richest private endowed schools in the country. Many years since, before the age of railways, some wise man purchased one hundred and fifty acres of land at New Cross, near London, and left the property to the school. In course of time a dense population and a thick network of railways so increased the value of the gift that the trustees of the school were in the novel predicament of not knowing how to employ their glut of wealth. Near Monmouth is one of the most remarkable rocking stones in the kingdom. In one direction the Buckstone is moveable, but in others the greatest force only impels its weight against the sides of the groove in which it is poised. This fact has been put to a severe test. A party of workmen, burning with philosophic zeal, and armed with crowbars and levers, vainly attempted to overthrow the stone. What reasoning these wise men employed in connecting the wilful destruction of the cromlech with the theory they wished to rebut, is hard to understand, but it savours of irrelevant conclusion. At Penalt, too, a mile and a half below Monmouth, we once more en-

counter the traces of Druidical custom. A bleak common, bare of trees save one old oak, which overshadows a stone seat, is still the scene of a quaint custom of early British times. When a corpse is on its way to the church hard by, it is invariably deposited on the stone, and a melancholy dirge is chanted over the body. Here is "the song of bards" which rose over the dead, mentioned in Ossian's *Death of Cuthullin*, "an accompaniment of the Keltic howl." We must not linger over Goodrich, the last castle that held for Charles I, nor even stay to ponder afresh on the fragrant memory of the Man of Ross. It is at Marclay Hill, where the "lascivious Wye" embraces the tributary Lug, that one of the last vestiges of ancient story remains to be recorded. We read in Camden:—"Near the confluence of the Lug and the Wye, a hill, which they call Marclay Hill, did, in the year 1575, rouse itself out of the sleep, and for three days together, shoving its prodigious body with a horrible roaring noise, and overturning everything in its way, raised itself to the great astonishment of the beholders to a higher place."

The history of Fair Rosamond is too familiar to my hearers to need repetition, and even a short account of Llewellyn, the last of the Welsh princes, would extend this paper to undue length. Sir Thomas Mallory has made the Round Table accessible to all, and King Arthur, through Mr. Tennyson, has become a familiar friend.

Of the Wye it may be said, as of another stream sung by Wordsworth:—

"But thou that didst appear so fair to fond imagination,
Dost rival, in the light of day, her delicate creation:
Meek loveliness is round thee spread,
A softness still and holy,
The grace of forest charms decayed,
And pastoral melancholy."

Proceedings of the Association.

8TH FEBRUARY.

REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following member was announced: Mr. James Matthew, 27, York-terrace, Regent's Park.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

To the Society. Society of Antiquaries for Proceedings, vol. iv, No. IX. 2nd Series. 8vo. London, 1870.

„ „ Cambrian Archæological Association for Journal. Fourth Series, No. V. 8vo. London.

„ *Smithsonian Institution* for "Appendix to Benj. Anderson's Journey to Musadu; an exact facsimile of a Letter from the King of Musadu to the President of Liberia, written by a young Mandingo, at Musadu, in Arabic in the latter part of 1868." Edited by Rev. Edward W. Blyden, Professor in Liberia College. Small 8vo. New York, 1870.

„ *Author*, B. Makilwaine Phipson, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., for "Notes on Starston Church, in Norfolk, and a Mural Painting lately discovered there." 8vo, 1871.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, V.P., exhibited two coloured drawings, executed by Mr. Watling, of painted glass in Long Melford Church, co. Suffolk. One is from a window, and the other a fresco over a tomb. The former of these, with an illustrative description by Mr. Sparrow Simpson, will be figured in a future number of the *Journal*.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming introduced to the meeting the last forgery made and issued by William Monk, more familiarly known as "Billy." It is a jug, eight inches high, of cast pewter, with a skittle-formed body, and tall neck widening from the base to the mouth, which is about two inches and three-eighths diameter; and on the front of which is a heater-shield charged with a cross marked with diagonal lines, which would be termed *vert* in heraldry. At back is a broad annular handle. Mr. Cuming pointed out that the shield on the neck was of the type in vogue during the thirteenth century, and that the shape of the vessel was clearly derived from the earthenware jugs of the same era; and in support of the latter fact produced a specimen exhumed

in Finsbury, July 1865. This attention to propriety of forms rather indicates that there is some person in the background possessing a certain amount of knowledge, who aids Monk in producing his wares. Monk brought this jug to Mr. Baily with the assurance that it was a genuine antique discovered at Kennard's Wharf, Upper Thames-street, in the beginning of last January; but Mr. Baily told him at once that his declarations were utterly false; that he (Monk) had himself made the mould in which the thing was cast; and that the whole story of its discovery was a fabrication; nor can any one for a moment doubt the correctness of Mr. Baily's view of the matter.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited the following antiquities from recent excavations in the City,—an earthen flower-vase, Roman (?); two knives, Roman (?); a metal figure from a crucifix, five inches and a quarter long, traces of gilding and enamel remaining upon it; thirteenth century; a dagger, the blade twelve inches long, and having on the metal plate on each side of the handle an engraving of a female figure holding what looks like a tower. These plates appear to have been enamelled; fifteenth century (?). Coronet of thin metal, gilt, with slightly engraved ornamentation, having apertures which in all probability contained fictitious gems. Fourteenth century. This may have been the coronet of a figure of the Virgin Mary, or some saint. A pair of small bronze ember-tongs, the end of one of the handles forming a tobacco-stopper.

Mr. H. F. Holt exhibited the bearing-cloth, or mantle of silk, trimmed with parchment, lace, or cutwork, used at the christening of Anne Boleyn. The infant's dress is almost complete, and exhibits several curious and interesting pieces of old point lace. The whole was preserved for many generations, together with several personal relics of Queen Elizabeth, in the family of Williams of Abercamlais, South Wales, who claim direct descent from Sir Thomas Boleyn.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., read the following observations on collars of torture:—

“In the Spanish, or as it is now called, Queen Elizabeth's Armoury at the Tower of London, has long been preserved a collar of torture, which is doubtlessly a spoil and relic of the Invincible Armada, which met with such a crushing defeat in the Channel on July 19th, 1588. This most uncomfortable iron stock weighs upwards of fourteen pounds, and consists of a massive circle with spikes on its edge and inner side, which would cruelly prick and lacerate the miserable victim around whose neck it was locked. This horrid instrument has been jocosely termed the Spanish cravat, but it would be no joke to wear it.

“A collar very similar to the relic in the Tower of London is delineated in the *Mirror* (xxvii, 169), being one among a group of instruments of torture formerly employed in the prisons of St. Mark, and since deposited in the Armoury of the Arsenal at Venice.

“At an Exhibition of Ancient Arms and Armour, opened in Lower Grosvenor Street, Bond Street, in 1838, was a specimen described in the *Catalogue* (p. 20) as ‘a steel collar of torture, bearing the emblazonment of its feudal owner.’ I had an opportunity of examining this instrument several years subsequent to the dispersion of this collection, and can, therefore, state that it bore a close resemblance to the examples in the Tower of London and Arsenal at Venice. It was made to lock on the neck of the unfortunate sufferer; and on its exterior was painted a shield charged with heraldic bearings. I find that this collar was sold at the rooms of Messrs. Oxenham on May 1st, 1841, when it was ascribed to the fifteenth century, a date which I think is correct.

“A collar, which in principle is similar to those terrible ones just referred to, is worn by the fair Saint in the painted glass of the fifteenth century in Combs Church, Suffolk, of which mention is made in our *Journal* (xxiv, 394). The one now spoken of has apparently three rows of formidable spikes, one row being riveted along the centre of the collar, so that the points would go directly into the neck and throat, the other two rows pointing respectively upwards and downwards. This collar is provided with a staple and chain of round links by which the lady is being dragged through a gateway, the whole of the apparatus is tinted yellow, which may, perhaps, be indicative of brass, though steel was certainly the metal usually employed for such instruments of punishment.

“I will now introduce to your notice a collar of torture which is attributed to the seventeenth century, and stated to have been brought from Russia. It is of very peculiar construction, and, if far less ponderous than the instruments we have been considering, is scarcely inferior to them in barbarity. It is about one inch and three quarters in width, and may be described as consisting of eight joints of stout iron wire ingeniously linked together, and with the ends of each bent at right angles to the frames, both at top and bottom, so as to form eighteen tormenting cusps. Upon the uprights of each joint is a large oval bead of wood, which permits a certain amount of movement when the collar is secured on the neck by its square iron buckle and leathern straps. Most, if not all, of these eight beads appear to be tinged with red, but I will not affirm positively that they are blood-stained, as some have thought, though it is possible they may be so. On the horizontal part of the joint, opposite the fastening, is a strong circular link of iron, probably a portion of a chain, which we see from the painted glass at Combs Church, was sometimes attached to the collar of torture, just as it was to the gossips bridle and the *collare* with which the Romans secured their captives, as shown on the column of Antoninus.

These frightful collars of torture are curious instances of how brutish

human nature sometimes becomes, and man's intellect exercised in inventing torments for his fellow-creatures. The subject is indeed, to a certain degree, melancholy, but may not be regarded as altogether out of place after the display of flagella and other instruments of penance exhibited at our last meeting.

Mr. W. H. Black exhibited a small bronze figure of an Egyptian type found at Florence, but which has all the appearance of having been manufactured during the present century.

FEBRUARY 22ND, 1871.

REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. H. F. Holt exhibited two statuettes in silver, representing two strolling musicians—Dutch work, seventeenth century. The statuettes formed the handles for a knife and fork belonging to the celebrated artist Bartholomew van der Helst (1613-1670), whose initials they bear. They belong to the collection of Mr. Apostool, Director of the Musée Royal, or Trippenhuis, at Amsterdam, from 1808 to 1844.

Mr. Walter L. Holt exhibited a bronze processional crucifix—Italian work of the sixteenth century. The figure is finely proportioned, stamped, and chiselled. There is a medallion at the extremity of each arm, representing respectively the Deity, the Virgin Mary, Saint John, and Mary Magdalen. The height of the crucifix is twelve and a quarter inches, the width nine inches.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited some pilgrims' signs in pewter found in recent excavations in London; also the skull of a bear, obtained in an excavation in Bartholomew Lane, close to Capel Court. Mr. Cuming thought it a relic of that remote time when this animal was a natural denizen of that locality.

Mr. Hills read the following description of three ancient brooches exhibited by Mr. Joseph Warren, of Ixworth:—

1. A Roman fibula of bronze (Plate 12, fig. 1), of a square form. As shewn by the diagonal position of the pin or fastening behind, it was intended to be worn lozenge-wise. Its mode of decoration is uncommon. A trefoil of metal projects at each angle; one of the trefoils is broken off; and a circular projection is on the centre of each side; all the projections are stamped or engraved with concentric circles. The body of the brooch rises in three little steps, the surface of two of them chased in a cable ornament. The steps form a frame to the centre, which is a square panel slightly sunk. On the surface of the panel are remains of enamel, three colours being yet preserved, but a fourth has wholly perished. This fourth colour was arranged in four lines drawn across the field parallel to two sides of the square, and in four other lines at right angles to these. These lines are about one-sixteenth of an

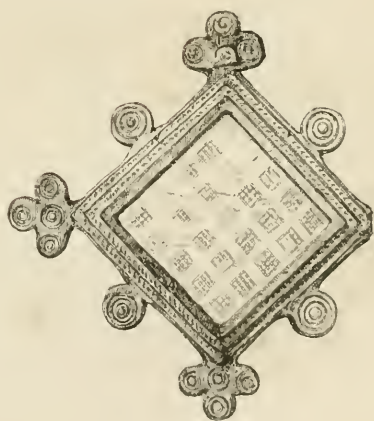
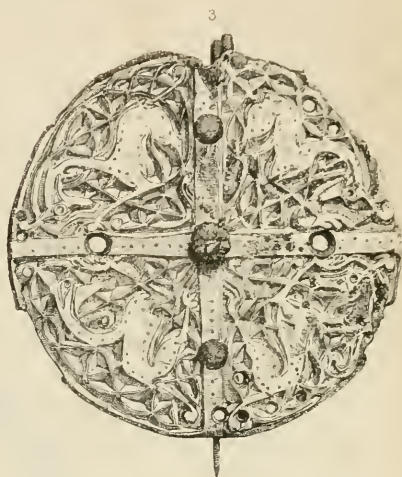
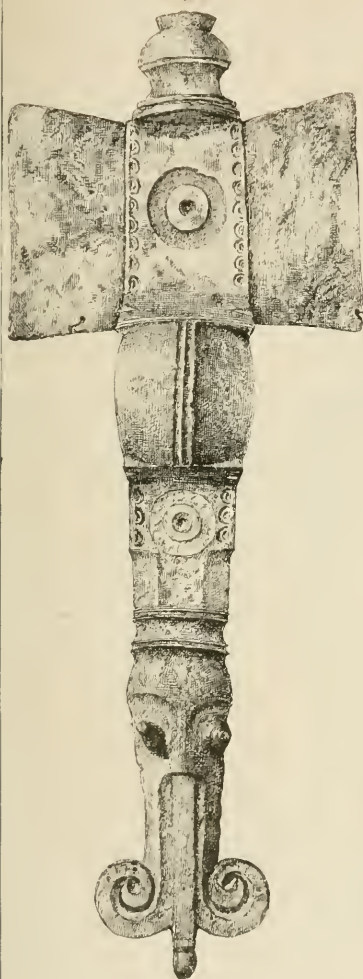


FIGURE FROM XV. (Actual Size)







inch in width; they divide the field into twenty-five squares; the composition of their enamel having failed, they are now represented by the bronze substance of the brooch. The twenty-five squares are filled with a red ground, and blue and grey enamel in chequers; the red squares measure about one-eighth of an inch on the side. This fibula was found in the parish of Bardwell, Suffolk, about one mile from Ixworth, in May, 1869.

2. Fig. 2, Plate 12, represents a brass or bronze fibula of the Saxon period, of a cruciform shape, the lower part terminated by a grotesque head of an animal with antennæ turned into volutes. In two flat spaces of the face of the brooch a circular dot is sunk in the metal, and around it a circular channel. In the lower space the dot and circle are still filled with green enamel; in the upper space the enamel is gone. This fibula was found in a meadow of Mr. Rogers's, at Ixworth, in December 1868. It was referred to in the *Journal*, vol. xxvi, p. 243. Mr. Warren there remarks on an iron rivet in the projection on the back. This supposed rivet is, in fact, the spiral spring of the pin or fastening of the brooch. This fibula and another one like it were found, each of them, on one of the shoulders of a skeleton.

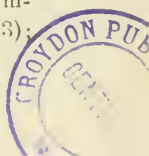
3. Fig. 3, Plate 12. This brooch was found in the same meadow as the last, described in January 1871. It is of a plate of copper, slightly convex on the face. By chasing out the surface a pattern is formed, leaving a plain cross, which divides the field into four quarters. Each quarter is occupied by a horse, or monster with tangled tail, forming an intertwined ornament. The whole face of the brooch is richly gilt. This is a beautiful specimen of workmanship of the ninth or tenth century.

In the field where the brooches Nos. 2 and 3 were found, there have since come to light the following articles,—all of iron, and very much oxidised,—a sword broken into three pieces, a spear-head, a knife, and three bosses of shields, two of them still containing the grips or handles of the shields. The sword had a wooden sheath adhering to it. Its entire length is about 2 feet 2 inches.

Mr. Hillary Davis, of Shrewsbury, exhibited, through Mr. Planché, an admirable drawing of a very remarkable tomb in the churchyard at Albrighton, Salop. Some notice of it appeared in our *Journal*, vol. xvii, p. 139, and again in vol. xviii, p. 268. Mr. Davis's drawing will be engraved in the *Collectanea Archaeologica*.

Rev. C. Alston, M.A., exhibited two fans of singular beauty from the delicacy of their painted work. Mr. H. F. Holt expressed the opinion that one of them was probably the production of the well-known artist Boucher; the other a little later.

Mr. Walter L. Holt exhibited a *manille*, Augsburg work of the commencement of the fifteenth century, representing a lion in brass (Pl. 13);



the handle being formed by its tail, and by a chimerical parasite fixed on its back. The vessel is filled with water through a square opening in the lion's head, the aperture being closed by a hinged lid. The spout, which proceeds from the animal's chest, terminates with a fanciful head; the *robinet*, or tap, being in the form of a fish.

The following remarks were made by Mr. H. F. Holt in reference to this object: "This kind of work enjoyed a great reputation in Germany and Flanders from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries. It is always cast in brass, and finished off with the chisel; and must not be confounded with those vessels of a similar character, known as 'Dinanderie,' which are *repoussée*. The *manille* formed a portion of the furniture of the altar in Catholic countries,—known as *manilla*, or pouring vessels, from the washing of the priests' hands during the ceremony of the Mass. The *manille* in the middle ages assumed various forms, such as a lion, a horse, a dove, or a bird with a Siren's head. An instance of the latter form may be seen in the church of St. John at Herford, near Minden; and one, as a lion, at Berghausen, in the Westphalian governmental district of Arnsberg.

"As is well known, at the commencement of the Liturgy the priests received the oblations of the faithful to place on the altar. In order that they should not touch the sacred bread (from the time of its consecration until the Communion) with hands soiled by contact with such offerings, whilst they were yet unconsecrated, they caused water to be poured over their hands by a minister. We have two proofs in support of this assertion. First, in the Roman order published by Mabillon (*Mus. Ital.*, ii); and secondly, in the work of Amalaire (*De Eccles. Offic.*): "Ut extersæ sint manus a contactu communium rerum atque terreno pane" (that the hands may be purified from all contact with ordinary things and earthly bread); a striking proof of the great respect in which the Holy Eucharist was then held. This custom was abolished in the Romish Church from the sixth century, and again in the ninth century, as appears by a decree of the Council of Tours. Notwithstanding this order, however, the Church continued to command these ablutions, which are frequently mentioned in ecclesiastical writings, and amongst others in St. Césaire (Serm. ccxxix, in Append. opp. Augustin, edit. Maurin): 'Omnes viri, quando communicare desiderant, lavant manus suas' (all men, when they desire to communicate, wash their hands). This is still more decidedly mentioned by St. Chrysostom (T. I, *Hom. ad Pop. Antioch.*; ed. Front, 1621): 'Non audes illotis manibus hostiam attrahere, etiamsi mille necessitatibus premereris' (do not dare to touch the host with uncleansed hands, even though under the greatest necessity). This practice ceased in the sixteenth century. The *manille* I exhibit is from the *Debruge Dumenil* collection, No. 1520, p. 758; Paris, 1847."

Mr. Cuming observed that there was a similar example now in the British Museum, and also one in the Copenhagen Museum.

Mr. H. S. Cuming, F.S.A.Scot., read a short paper on antiquities belonging to the Corporation of Dover, which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

Mr. W. Grover read a description of a remarkable Roman villa at Nennig, on the Moselle, about seven hours' journey south from Treves, which will be printed in the forthcoming Part of the *Collectanea Archaeologica*.

10 MAY.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

THE Chairman, in opening the proceedings, announced that a Dorsetshire Congress having been resolved upon for 1871, arrangements had been made for holding the meeting at Weymouth. Thus a President for the year had been sought connected with the county; and Sir William Medlicott, of Ven House, Sherborne, having been invited to accept the office by the Council, the invitation had been kindly seconded by the President of the past year, Mr. Chandos Wren Hoskyns, and Sir William Medlicott had handsomely expressed his willingness to undertake the duty. The Chairman also stated that, with the exception of one gentleman, Mr. J. H. Foley, R.A., all whose names appeared on the balloting lists had assented to serve in the respective offices. As Mr. Foley had not declined, the Council had resolved to keep his name on the list. His assent was subsequently received.

The ballot was then taken for the officers and Council for 1871-2, and the Chairman announced that the following had been unanimously elected :

President.

SIR WILLIAM COLES MEDLYCOTT, BART., D.C.L.

Vice-Presidents.

[*Ex officio*—THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G., THE EARL OF CARNARVON, THE EARL BATHURST, THE LORD LYTTON, THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L., SIR CHARLES H. ROUSE BOUTTON, BART., CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, M.P., JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A., GEORGE TOMLINE, M.P., F.S.A.]

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM
SIR J. G. WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.
H. SYER CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT.
JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., F.R.A.S.
J. R. PLANCHÉ, *Somerset Herald*
REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, M.A.
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A., F.S.A.
THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Treasurer.

GORDON M. HILLS.

Secretaries.

E. LEVIEN, M.A., F.S.A.

E. ROBERTS, F.S.A.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Palæographer.

W. H. BLACK, F.S.A.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.

Draughtsman.

G. F. TENISWOOD, F.S.A.

Council.

G. G. ADAMS, F.S.A.

GEORGE ADE

J. W. BAILY

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH

THOMAS BLASHILL

CECIL BRENT, F.S.A.

H. H. BURNELL, F.S.A.

WILLIAM HENRY COPE

JOHN H. FOLEY, R.A.

JOHN GREY, Q.C.

AUGUSTUS GOLDSMID, F.S.A.

J. W. GROVER

HENRY F. HOLT

W. CALDER MARSHALL, R.A.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., F.S.A.,

F.R.G.S.

R. N. PHILIPPS, LL.B., F.S.A.

J. W. PREVITÉ

Auditors.

W. POOLE KING

| C. H. LUXMOORE, F.S.A.

The Chairman then read the balance-sheet for 1870, and the Treasurer's Report.

It was proposed by Mr. Henry Godwin, F.S.A., seconded by Mr. W. H. Black, F.S.A., and unanimously voted, that the sincere thanks of the Association are due to Chandos Wren Hoskyns, Esq., M.P., for his important services as President during the past year; and the Secretaries were desired to communicate the vote to him.

Thanks were voted to the Auditors, and to the officers and Council, for their services; and on the motion that the Treasurer's Report be adopted, it was ordered, on the proposal of Mr. W. H. Black, seconded by Mr. G. R. Wright, that the Report be forthwith printed and circulated.

Mr. Blashill and Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., joined in proposing a special vote of thanks to the Treasurer, which was passed, and duly acknowledged by that gentleman.

A discussion was then originated by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, and supported by Mr. Planché, Somerset Herald, on the regulations respecting the time of, and the attendance at, the evening meetings, especially with reference to the attendance of ladies; which, it was shewn, had fallen into abeyance for so long a time as to give rise to the belief that it was not allowed. The Meeting passed a resolution referring it to the Council to take measures for the promotion of the attendance of lady members and visitors, and the proceedings terminated.

The Treasurer's Report, which has been circulated since the General Meeting, is given below, and the balance-sheet.

THE TREASURER'S REPORT, 1871.

THE year 1870 has been less productive in the resources which it has brought into the Treasurer's hands than any year for more than ten years. It is under the head of subscriptions that it is important to notice this deficiency. In 1870 only £252 has been received under this head. In 1869 the corresponding receipt was £357:2:9; and with the number of 340 annual subscribers in our list then, and a very slight difference now, not only is it clear that the amount ought to be the same, or nearly so, but it is also shewn that the deficiency arose solely from a want of punctuality in the payments. I would beg to impress upon associates the necessity for repairing this deficiency, and for preventing its recurrence. I trust that those who have not sent their last and present year's subscriptions will not hesitate to do so forthwith. The total receipts amount to £330:11:2, which, with the handsome balance from last year of £371:16:5, gives a total on the credit side of £702:7:7.

The expenses have been moderate, as it was desirable they should be under these circumstances. They amount to £411:15:10, about £31 less than they were last year. The expense is in excess of the receipts by about £72, and is justifiable on the ground that the deficiency of receipts is, as I fully believe, only temporary. It is satisfactory to know that the husbanding of our resources from former years enables us to bear this temporary inconvenience without serious effects, and yet to announce a balance at the bank of £290:11:9.

In the course of 1870 thirteen annual associates were elected, and twenty-five members joined for the year at the Hereford Congress, according to the usual terms on those occasions. The Association lost by death, so far as I have been informed, seven members; fourteen associates withdrew; and the terms of a considerable number of the St. Alban's Congress members expired. So that the entire number of our lists has sustained a slight decrease.

The names of the deceased associates are E. J. Powell, Esq., a member from 1851. Richard Cuming, Esq., the founder of the collection of antiquities now belonging to his son, one of our Vice-Presidents. He was elected in 1858, and at a venerable age, exceeding ninety years, continued to attend our meetings to the last. J. Hodgson Hinde, Esq., formerly M.P. for Newcastle, who joined the Association at the Durham Congress, and by his kindly influence and aid, as well as by his own learning and research, contributed greatly to the success of that

meeting. George Lawton, Esq., who joined in 1859, a Yorkshire archæologist. Sir E. Antrobus, Bart., who became a life-member at the Salisbury Congress in 1858. Henry Lawes Long, Esq., whose membership dates as far back as 1845. And lastly the learned James Copland, M.D., whose membership dates also from 1845,—a name memorable for pre-eminent knowledge in his profession, and as having produced the most copious, laborious, and important work on medicine that has appeared in this country during the century. He studied “the ills that flesh is heir to,” and their remedies, not only in Great Britain; but with deep ardour and persevering research he followed the track of war on the Continent, to note the features of those fell diseases waiting upon the course of hostile armies like an atmosphere of poison (of which, happily, in this country, no student has experience), and to note the curative needs, and the causes of their failure, with respect to the wounded. Previously his zeal and courage had led him to the West African coast to study the causes which create so great a peril to Europeans in the contagion of fevers there. After his return he laboured assiduously in the more usual paths of study; and when a long and patient application had perfected his observations, he produced the monument to himself now famous amongst physicians,—Copland’s *Dictionary of Medicine*. The interest he took in our pursuits is still fresh in our minds. He was for many years frequent at the evening meetings. In 1860 he was elected a Vice-President, and often giving us the benefit of his services, he retained the office till his death, though failing health and the weight of years had prevented his attendance for two seasons. He did not use his pen on archæological subjects, and was not often an exhibitor. I remember that in April 1861 he produced a Latin MS. Missal from Ely, believed to be of the end of the fourteenth century. In it was written a distich, in the fifteenth century, containing a curious evidence as to Londoners not to be expected in such a book; but shewing that the citizens were then contemptuously called “Cokneys,” and had a reputation amongst their rural compatriots for luxurious idleness. Nor would Dr. Copland miss the opportunity of listening if a subject connected with Scotland (he was a native of Orkney) was to be discussed. It was, in truth, as a listener, and for association, that he preferred to be known with us, regarding our pursuits as an agreeable relief to the studies which he imposed as a duty on himself.

The contributions to our books, made in 1870, are already partly in print; and of them I think it may fairly be said they have not often been exceeded in interest or importance. Two of our oldest, most valued, and most constant contributors, Mr. J. R. Planché and Mr. H. S. Cuning, if we did not see all we could wish of them, yet allowed their pens to remind us that we were still to benefit by the peculiar

and rare knowledge which they command. And if we are thus gratified to think how well we are served by old and well tried friends, let us not fail to congratulate ourselves, too, on the access of new help so heartily and kindly given, and so valuable in its nature, as it has been from our newer associates. I will only particularise two names, Mr. Grover and Mr. Birch. It is of the utmost importance that we should continue to receive the aid of those whose long labour has made the back-bone of our work, and whose long experience gives authority to it; but we should, nevertheless, be approaching failure if we did not continually enrol new blood, fresh instruments of aid and instruction, yielding fresh lines of thought and research.

The contributions from Hereford Congress have, of course, only commenced in print as yet; but it is impossible to pass from this subject without acknowledging the important effect which the great ability and kindness of the President exercised on their undoubted success. I cannot avoid allusion to the importance of the examination of the archives made by Mr. Black, our palæographer, and to the interest which it excited at Hereford. The subject is so extensive that at the present moment it is still difficult to determine how to deal satisfactorily with it. A marked feature of the Congress was the ability and usefulness of the papers and subjects contributed by archæologists of the neighbourhood, and to such an extent that it was impossible to dispose of the whole of them in the time at command.

A peculiar feature of our publication of 1870 is the appearance of a paper on Gallic antiquities by M. Charles Rössler. We owe this to the unhappy social state of France; but let us hope, too, as happier times return, that our associate, M. Rössler, may find occasion (as, indeed, he has promised to do) to renew his communications, that we may often be able to compare continental antiquities with our own; for although we designate ourselves the *British* Archæological Association, and although I think we do wisely to regard the title as imposing certain restrictions on the field of our labour, yet it can never be out of place to illustrate our own history and antiquities by reference to authentic facts and objects from abroad. Whilst this thought is on my mind I cannot forbear reminding you of the loss we have most recently had to lament, because it particularly affects us in this quarter. Our lately deceased friend, Mr. H. F. Holt, had an extensive acquaintance with the Continent, and was continually able to enlighten us by knowledge gathered abroad,—knowledge always communicated freely, and with a courtesy towards a different opinion which never failed him, but gained for his goodness a warm appreciation amongst us.

To conclude the subject of our publications. It is with much satisfaction that I am able to announce that the paper which has so long “stopped the way” in the production of our *Collectanea Archæologica*

is now in type, and the concluding manuscripts of the Part are now in the hands of the printer. Its appearance may, therefore, be shortly looked for; and it may be as well to explain the terms on which it is to be had by members. Only two hundred copies are printed. These are supplied to members at ten shillings each. Several members have paid for the Part in advance. A list exists of those to whom former Parts have been supplied; and if the demand makes the copies scarce, those on the list will, if they desire it, have the first preference; but all members who desire to have copies will do well to send me their names forthwith, and their payments as soon as practicable. The payment for the printing and illustration will dip deeply into our available balance. The book is supplied at less than cost price, and therefore the payments should come in as rapidly as possible.

Lastly, looking to the future on two points,—I take the liberty to urge upon the associates whose punctuality of payment has failed, that they will kindly take this notice, and amend the practice,—upon all the associates I beg to urge the wisdom of continued activity, not only in the contribution of subjects, and of their valuable personal interest, but in the enlisting of fresh aid by the introduction of fresh members. We must admit this year a falling off in our numbers, though it be less than a dozen. But whether it be owing to the vast events that have engaged public attention, and absorbed it, that such calm pursuits as ours have been forgotten; or whatever may be the cause to which we ought to attribute it, the fact is that in numbers the new members proposed during the year have been unusually few. The repairing of this is the second point to which I would beg to direct the personal attention of our associates.

The Council has arranged the Congress for 1871 to be held at Weymouth, in the week of August 21 to 26 inclusive. SIR WILLIAM C. MEDLYCOTT, BART., of Ven House, Sherborne, Dorset, has handsomely undertaken the office of President. The Mayor of Weymouth and a Local Committee are in concert with the Council, and there is every promise of an agreeable week in a district rich in antiquities, yet comparatively unexplored. The aid of the associates is invited to make the meeting as numerous as possible, and to add to its interest by every means in their power.

GORDON M. HILLS,
Hon. Treasurer.

37, Thistle Grove, Brompton,
London.

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31st DEC. 1870.

1870				RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE.					
Balance due to the Association at the audit of 1870				£	s.	d.	Printing and publishing the <i>Journal</i>				£	s.	d.
Annual and Life-Subscriptions				371	16	5	Illustrations to the same				193	17	0
Balance of the Hereford Congress, a sum of £9 9s. still outstanding, not included				252	0	0	Miscellaneous printing				120	2	10
Sale of publications				45	17	9	Rent, for 1870, of rooms at Sackville-street, and clerk's salary				10	9	0
				32	13	5	Delivery of <i>Journals</i>				58	1	3
				£702	7	7	Petty expenses, carriage of antiquities, gratuities, postages, stamps, advertisements, and notices				16	15	11
							Stationery				10	5	5
											2	4	5
							Total expenditure				£411	15	10
							" Balance in hands of Treasurer				290	11	9
											£702	7	7

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct.

(Signed) T. F. DILLON CROKER, F.S.A. }
J. O. HALLIWELL, F.R.S., F.S.A. } *Auditors.*

2nd May, 1871.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 178.)

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6TH, 1870.

AT the evening meeting, which was held in the Assembly Room of the Green Dragon Hotel, George Godwin, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., in the chair, Mr. H. W. Black, F.S.A., was called upon by the Chairman to explain the foundation of the theories he had enunciated on that day, respecting Roman geometrical landmarks and their connexion with the earth-works on Creden Hill and other large and small mounds, cromlechs, and barrows, throughout the country.

Mr. Black said: It is commonly believed that the principles which governed the work of the Roman engineers or geometers are involved in extreme obscurity. We have some of the remains of the writings of these old practical geometricians, called *mensores* or *agrimensores*, collected and published with diagrams. The early edition of 1544 is the one which is most deserving of attention. In that little quarto volume containing the principal ancient remains of the *agrimensores*, found on the Continent in the sixteenth century, the diagrams seem to be drawn in fac-simile from the original MSS.; but in later editions the fac-simile has been neglected, sometimes entirely, inverted and corrupted so vilely that the diagrams are unintelligible and useless. It has been said that we learn little from the Roman *agrimensores*; but the fact is that subsequent authors by their own ignorance have obscured what had come down to the sixteenth century, each subsequent handling of the subject leading to deeper perplexity and vast discrepancies. In consequence of this, the greatest uncertainty has prevailed respecting both the general system of the Roman geometers and their standards of measure, the Roman foot, for instance. These discrepancies amount often to very frightful differences in the determination of the localities designated by the ancients. So much so that out of a hundred and twenty names in Britain, contained in the Roman imperial itinerary called the *Itinerary of Antoninus*, there is not more than one in ten which has been determined with accuracy. Most of our antiquaries have thought that they were at liberty to alter the figures,

and to make them something more or something less, *ad libitum*, in order to agree with the system which each writer had falsely conceived. But the measures have come to light,—measures which can be practically used in measuring from a given point to another given point. The principles used by the ancient measurers are rediscovered also, and will be shown in the work which I am printing at the Queen's printers for the Government. There was necessity for this; for whether we take the standards which are cut upon some monuments, or those of the various rules that are found in our museums (the bronze or iron measures), we find them so different, though the differences be small in degree, that the uncertainty becomes great; for, if the difference from a true standard were only the hundredth part of an inch in a foot, if you multiply that by five thousand, to get the Roman mile, you multiply it to an error of fifty feet in a mile. It has been a great delusion to produce the mile by the multiplication of the Roman foot. I have found that from greater measures you must get the Roman mile; and I got the true quantity of the Roman foot by dividing the Roman mile into five thousand parts. I then found that the minute differences between the different standards could easily be harmonised. In pursuing this subject I endeavoured to utilise the remains of the ancient writers; and I found an explanation of the disappointment which we, both in this Association and elsewhere, have experienced in our researches into barrows, in not finding those sepulchral remains we had expected. Thus with respect to the treasures expected to be found in the largest barrows, I found why our researches rewarded us at Silbury and other places by most contemptible discoveries; that is, if you measure their worth by the material value, the art, beauty, or variety of the objects. We merely get the section of a barrow, and nothing but the flooring, cut in the chalk or other rock, then covered with ashes or rather broken charcoal, stones, and earth, and nothing else. Now, when we consider the principles which are laid down in the writings of these ancient Roman officers, we find that they put in every terminus, as a mark of boundary, certain tokens. One of these was charcoal, because charcoal was indestructible by time; and thus we find charcoal in the barrows unproductive of sepulchral remains. This is the explanation of that which was so tantalising. It is laid down that there must be under every terminus *signa*. What are they? charcoal and fragments of pottery. And do we not find them both? the pottery all broken and scattered: not one piece will join with another. But why? To show that these are not fragments from accident, not the fragments of a vessel broken on the spot; but that these fragments were collected and purposely put there. Nothing of value was thus used, but only what was indestructible by time, and could not be worth taking away. You may read this concerning the remarkable

conical tumuli on the northern border of Essex, which are described in the *Archæologia*. I dare say my friends in Hereford will recollect that there is in existence a little book, *The Diary of a Dean*, written by your Dean Merewether, which refers to the opening of the Silbury barrow. No treasure or anything of a pecuniary value was found, but a semicircle of rude stone. But sometimes an interment was made, and it was most likely to be in the exterior part of such a mound. If there were a death in the company of ancient surveyors, an aperture was made in the mound, or they made another mound for the burial, because by a law made by Tiberius places of sepulchre were made points of mensuration. The *agrimensores* constituted a college amongst the Romans. They were an organised and corporate body; they were not merely men of special profession, but men of authority; they determined questions of boundary absolutely. Witnesses were sometimes called in, if testimony were required about a stone or monument which had been destroyed. But in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred there was no need of testimony to prove an ancient boundary. No man was custos of his own boundary, because the boundary of an estate or province, or township, or boundary of a manor, colony, jurisdiction of a city, borough, wards, allotment of land, all were fixed by means of the science of the *agrimensores*. A man's estate depended for its boundary, not upon what was within his own power, but upon marks which might be in the possession of his neighbours twenty miles off. Monuments exist marking grand geometrical lines, lines which cover the whole of the west of Europe, extending beyond Britain to Ireland, the Hebrides, the Shetlands, the Orkneys, right up to the Arctic circle. These lines are all carried out upon a principle which I have had the happiness of detecting. Some of those great lines I had the pleasure of exhibiting upon Credenhill for the purpose of explaining the use made of that hill. In or about the time of the Emperor Maximus, Roman Britain was subdivided into a number of smaller provinces. This part of the country was made one small province. It was requisite that there should be a central point of observation from which the lines of measure should pass to the adjoining provinces. That centre is Credenhill. But this system is more ancient than the Roman empire, and it goes far wider. It exists in India, China, and in the provinces of the east, which are all laid out in the same way. As far as monuments are discovered, the oldest boundaries which exist are exactly analogous to those in this country. Why all this care to mark out geometrical figures in this way? For this reason. There are still statutes in force in this country for rewarding those who discover the means of ascertaining longitude. Those who are acquainted with the history of our maps well know that, before the improvements were made which have given us the exquisite chronometers of our time, measuring time accurately, all maps were

more or less wrong in longitude. But the ancients made no mistakes in longitude, because their method was this: they covered their land with monuments, having a strict geometrical relation to each other. Their maps, which were kept in the Tabularium at Rome until it was burnt by the Goths, must have been as exact as any maps made in our time; for the more exactly maps are made in modern times the more exquisitely the ancient system comes out upon them. We talk of Druidical monuments, or ascribe a superstitious origin to the monuments of this country, whereas they are the result of the utmost skill of ancient times. There are thousands of these marks, recording observations so exquisitely made, that there is rarely an error of a second in latitude or longitude. When I detected these observations, my astronomical friends allowed me any amount of margin for aberrations. But I say that you will rarely find the ancients a second out of their latitude. A minute out is impossible. Our earliest ordnance maps had no marks of latitude, but of late years they have been marked; yet with the utmost skill, and instruments that we can use for marking them, they only confirm the accuracy of the ancients. I come now to a very important result of the detection and examination of the work of these ancient *agrimensores*, and that is that the boundaries of all our cities and ancient boroughs in this country, as they were ascertained in 1832, may all be tested by the Roman measures. I have tested by actual measurements every survey made in 1831, 1834, and 1837, for maps and plans which were prepared for the Municipal Boundary Commission and the Parliamentary Boundary Commission; and I can say that they are, with the exception of those which have been altered pursuant to these Commissions, to the present day proofs of the amazing skill and accuracy of ancient Roman officers. In boroughs, manors, and parishes their work has been so permanent, that the perambulations of the boundaries fixed by them have in most instances been kept up as they were in the Roman time; so that there is scarcely a deviation, except where some Act of Parliament or some interchange of property has been made by people who knew not what harm they were doing. But wherever there has been an unbroken succession, where we don't know anything to the contrary; there it turns out that every point is preserved exactly as the Romans laid these things out. In boundaries of the extremest intricacy, it may often at sight seem impossible to comprehend the scheme. And yet I assert there is not one single line, not one single angle, but may be demonstrated with the utmost certainty (with as much certainty as any proposition in Euclid), to be laid down according to the Roman rules. Now see how this illustrates another subject, the peopling of this island. What must we think of the tradition which has been preserved respecting these boundaries? It must have come through an unbroken succession of



people disturbed, indeed, to this extent, that it has been forced to receive the language of the conqueror; but still a continuous people, having from generation to generation a knowledge and intimacy with these things, and a zeal to preserve them, and that zeal extended through the length and breadth of the land. But, to return to our intricate boundaries, you will ask why is it that there are apparently such strange boundaries of counties, cities, and parishes? Why are there these strange angles and curves? Why is it that one county boundary intersects the boundary of another county? Why is there that extraordinary dip of Devonshire into Cornwall? Why is that tail dropped out of Hampshire into Sussex? Why is there that bit which lies upon the south-western side of this county, among the mountains, why is Ffwddwg laid out of the county? Why are there pieces of Kent in the county of Essex, giving a variety of salient angles? Because from each angle there are important measures into the next counties. It is a subject fraught with extreme interest; and when I discovered the principle I alternately burst into tears and laughter; finding as I did that things which appeared so singular and strange, and which had been so unintelligible, were all the result of rule, method, order, law, and science; and all this so closely related to a vast number of monuments of antiquity existing amongst us, often strange things with strange tales attached attributing them to fairies, to demons, and to devils, as something picked up by the devil in one place and dropped by him in another, and yet all were really to be attributed to science. Thus Credenhill, if we take it as the centre of the county with reference to the boundary lines, is of inestimable value. We must not look upon it merely as a camp or fortress, but rather, as I rejoice to think, that it was a place where men of extreme science and intellect took up their station and abode. As we saw, who were present to-day, the distant mountains, peaks, and points, not only of this county, but the surrounding counties, so did they; and took their angles and measures and planned and planted their works—yes, and laid out Hereford itself, for the measures of its boundaries show that this city had a Roman origin. I say this notwithstanding the received notion of its Saxon origin. See the little sharp tongue of land running its boundary out so strangely in one part. Why was that little sharp point formed on the south-eastern side of the river, including a narrow wedge of land within the jurisdiction of this city? Because the exigency of the measures required the line to terminate there. So again of crosses, often rebuilt in medieval times, the White Cross for example: it does not matter who rebuilt it; a cross has been there from the time of the Roman emperors. There are many of them. We know from history that crosses were erected by the Emperor Constantine and other emperors, in various parts of the empire; and my measures show that a

boundary mark must have stood there. I have now endeavoured to communicate what is passing through my own mind upon this difficult and intricate subject. I hope I have been intelligible, but I trust you will bear in mind how difficult it is properly to demonstrate such a subject, to the minds of those who have previously been unacquainted with it. There was an old motto which I might translate—"Let no one that is unskilled in geometry come into this school."

The Chairman said: The theory Mr. Black has thrown out is too important and momentous to be admitted or rejected at once. To pronounce off-hand on such a subject, the result of long years of thought on the part of Mr. Black, is impossible; yet I hope that Mr. Scarth and other gentlemen present will offer some remarks.

The Rev. Prebendary Scarth: I think, if Mr. Black should be able to distinctly and clearly prove his theory, he will be the author of a very great discovery. It is perfectly possible he may be right; but the demonstration yet requires much time and care to make it clear. Undoubted Roman works, their roads extending from the bounds of India to the extremes of these islands (a network over vast provinces), testify that the Romans must have had a complete system of surveying, and that their surveyors must have been men of very high education and very great skill. But I am not prepared to attribute all our county boundaries, our parochial boundaries, and our different crosses and their positions, to their labours and calculations. Mr. Black has not spoken definitely about the length of the Roman mile; but I dare say he will explain what his view is. A great deal depends upon that. If he has really ascertained that it is always of one length, he has made a great discovery.

Mr. Black: I say it was always of one length.

Mr. Flavell Edmunds: Having some local knowledge, I may, perhaps, suggest some points for Mr. Black's consideration, which may be of importance in connexion with the views he entertains. First, I may say that I am exceedingly glad to find that he has, from his point of view, demonstrated the continuity of race upon the soil. In the book I recently published, to which so kind references were made by the President in his opening address, I took some pains to demonstrate the same principle from a different point of view, and by a different chain of reasoning; but I am glad to find myself corroborated, and so far strengthened in the theory I had previously formed. I do not believe that either the Saxons, or the Angles, or the Danes, exterminated the Britons from the soil, for I am sure there are traces of their language in the nomenclature of places all over the country. I believe that there were many large groups of British communities still existing in England in Saxon times, and that they continued until their language was altered, partly by force and partly by their complete isolation from

the great body of Britons who remained in Cornwall and Wales. I entirely reject the theory of the banishment of the Britons into Cornwall and Wales, which had their own inhabitants at the time, who were not always on good terms with the people of midland and eastern Britain. There are other points upon which, however, I would suggest that there is considerable difficulty in the way of the acceptance of Mr. Black's theory,—a theory which is so beautiful, so consistent in itself, and appeals so strongly to one's innermost love for the beautiful, as well as to one's admiration for the useful, that we must desire to find it correct. But when we come to test that theory by topography and history, I must confess that in my opinion it breaks down. For instance, the boundaries of the county of Herefordshire at the present time are not the boundaries which existed even so late as *Domesday Book*. At the time of the Domesday Survey, Monmouth was part of the county of Hereford; while the north-west part of the present county was not in the county, but was included in the county of Salop. And still further westwards there were portions which were included in this county, such as Radnor and Evan's Hope, or Evanjobb as it is now called, which are now in Radnorshire. Ludlow, too, was then in the county of Hereford. Now I think that all this would go far to remove the county of Hereford from the category of counties, the boundaries of which were fixed by the Romans, and which have been preserved until this time. But further than that, we know that the boundaries continually varied in the middle ages, according to the power of enforcing the laws of the marches in the adjoining counties. The jurisdiction of the lords marchers sometimes extended into Wales, and according to the vicissitudes of the struggles which were carried on for ages in this district, so the boundaries varied. I think if there had been any such fixing of boundaries by the Romans, and preserved by people on the spot, I believe there was a continuity of race to still further preserve them, if they had ever existed. As they are not preserved I am driven to the conclusion that they never existed; and therefore I think that the reasoning of Mr. Black goes against his own theory when that theory is tested by history and by topography.

Mr. Black replied that all this he had thought over before, and it would be found that his theory was not at all shaken by anything which he had heard advanced this evening. He was of opinion that, whatsoever temporary usurpations and changes may have been made, the ancient boundaries of shires were never forgotten, and were restored to the sheriffs when the disturbances or anomalies of the lords marchers ceased.

ST. THOMAS DE CANTILUPE'S SHRINE.

Rev. F. T. Havergal said: I am given to understand that we were told to-day that the so-called Cantilupe shrine has nothing to do with St. Thomas de Cantilupe. I was extremely sorry that I had to leave the Cathedral, and so lost what was actually said. I should like to know whether I have been rightly informed that Mr. Hills' argument was to the effect that the shrine in question is not the shrine of St. Thomas de Cantilupe.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills: I suggested a question for Mr. Boutell's consideration. I stated that the shrine had gone through many vicissitudes in its various removals; that it had been placed originally in the Lady Chapel; that it had thence been removed into St. John's Chapel; that it was again returned to the Lady Chapel, and there remained down to the Reformation, when Leland saw it, and that this is the latest record of the Cantilupe shrine. Fifty years after the Reformation a certain monument standing in the north transept was considered to be the shrine. If it be the Cantilupe shrine, it is unknown when or by whom it was placed there. Then, seeing the singular nature of this monument still standing there; that it was evidently a monument which had been taken to pieces and put together again at different times, that it was rather difficult to harmonise some parts with other parts, and that it had on it a series of armed lay figures, and, except the matrix of an episcopal brass bust, not a symbol of an ecclesiastical nature about it, I asked Mr. Boutell if he could clear up the difficulty, and shew us decidedly that it was St. Thomas de Cantilupe's shrine. What I said was suggestive of a strong doubt which I do entertain, rather than any pronounced opinion.

Rev. F. T. Havergal: I must admit the vicissitudes through which the shrine has gone, in connexion with the various removals, through these six centuries. I am glad to hear that Mr. Hills does not go so far as to say that it is not his shrine. But if we have been so long in the dark, in supposing that his name has clung to this monument for these six centuries, it is only reasonable that we should have some clue to the right solution. If not really connected with Bishop Cantilupe, we may very properly ask to whose honour and memory was it placed there? There is, I think, one other little point which Mr. Hills touched upon. It may be but of trifling importance, but it has reference to the north transept. Mr. Hills, as I understood him, said that this transept was called "the Cantilupe Aisle." Now I don't think any writer has called this transept "the Cantilupe Aisle." It has only recently been called the Cantilupe Aisle by the vergers and visitors for convenience sake, the shrine being now in that transept.

Mr. Hills: No competent authority, perhaps, has called it "Cantilupe's Aisle," *totidem verbis*; but Professor Willis, in writing of it, says that "it was built in honour of Cantilupe."

Rev. F. T. Havergal: He must be the only individual, then, who does say so, for I do not know of any one else who thus describes it.

Mr. Roberts: You would not so describe it yourself, then?

Rev. F. T. Havergal: Most certainly not; we do not here believe that it was ever built in honour of Bishop Cantilupe, or called by his name.

Mr. E. Roberts: It is perfectly clear that the transept could not have been built in his honour.

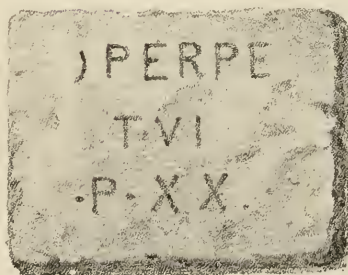
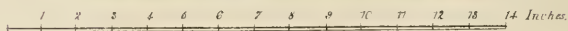
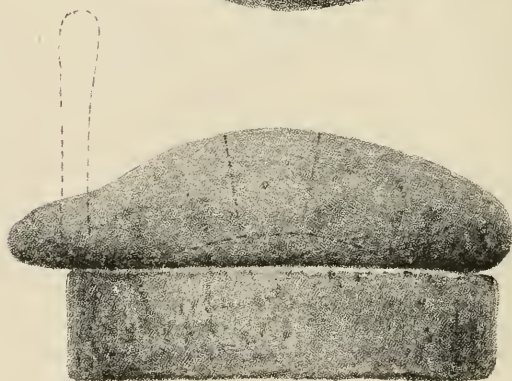
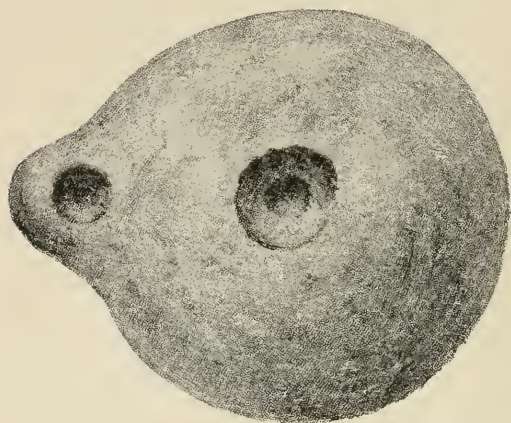
Rev. F. T. Havergal: When I heard that Mr. Hills had said that it was not "Cantilupe's shrine,"—though, from what has just passed, I now understand that he did not positively assert such a proposition,—I thought that his statement would be received with much disappointment in this city; but I am glad to find that he has only suggested a matter for future consideration and investigation.

At the conclusion of the meeting it was stated by Mr. Gordon Hills that an account of some Roman medicine stamps and other antiquities formerly found at Kenchester had been given by Mr. C. Roach Smith in vol. iv, pp. 201-206 of the *Journal*.



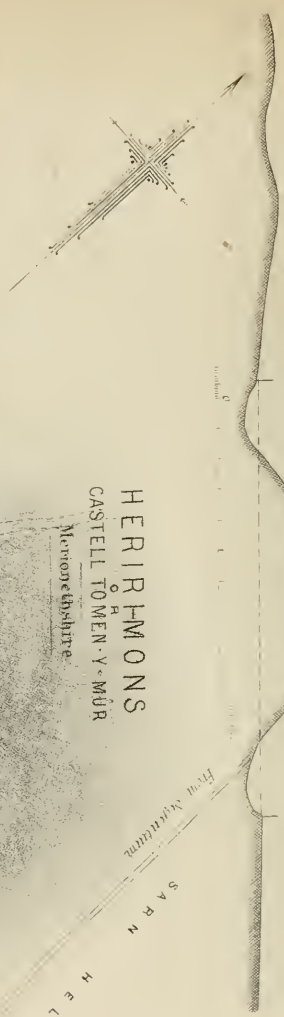
FROM HERIRI-MONS.

HAND MILL.





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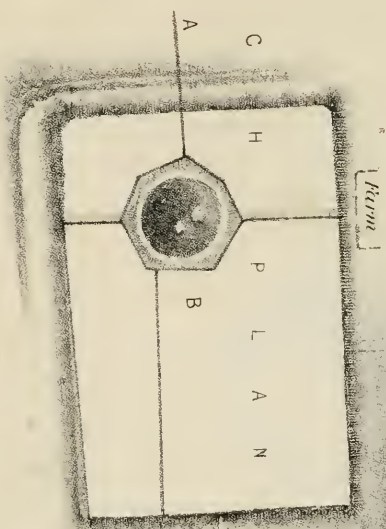


HERIRIMONS
CASTELL TOMEN-Y-MŪR

Merionethshire

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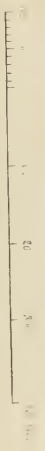
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HERIRIMONS, OR CASTELL TOMEN-Y-MUR.

BY J. W. GROVER, ESQ.

ON the southern border of the region of Snowdonia lies the beautiful valley of Festiniog. The village itself, like an eagle's nest, occupies the ledge of a mountain rising about seven hundred feet above the vale, which on its northern and eastern extremities is walled in by the still more extensive mountains of Moel Wyn and Manod Mawr, which attain the respectable elevations of two thousand five hundred and twenty-nine, and two thousand one hundred and seventy-one feet above the sea. It is a region of great natural beauty. The valley below is full of grassy meadows, among which the Dwyryd river winds its devious way, with many turns and bends, as if unwilling to quit so fair a scene, and lose its individual existence in the salt water at Portmadoc. Verdant vegetation, so richly rank and luxuriant below, gradually disappears at a height of about a thousand feet, and is succeeded by the bare mountains, sometimes heather clad; and ending in sharp, bare edges and peaks, which at the time of the writer's visit presented quite an Alpine scene, the snow covering their crests.

It is a land also of great mineral wealth. Every here and there, perched high up the steep rocks, can be seen the various slate-quarries, from which the dull thunder of the miner's blast tells that the industry of man is busily engaged in riving the mountain's side, and seeking the treasures of nature. To the geologist no less than to the artist the spot

presents singular features of interest; and whilst one may be investigating the mysterious convulsions of nature which have led to the formation of these mountains and valleys, the other may be equally profitably employed in delineating the results as they stand in their weird majesty and grandeur, and endeavouring to transfer to his canvas those varied and brilliant colours which they are ever presenting.

Yet there is another source of interest, alone to be appreciated by the antiquary,—he who lingers in the long forgotten past. The great Roman military road, called now the “Sarn Helen” by the Welsh, passes across the mountains near Festiniog, in a north-westerly direction, on its way to Carnarvon, the ancient Segontium.¹ This great road is well known in South Wales, from Maridunum (Caermarthen), whence it comes in a very straight course, to the extreme north of the Principality. Sometimes it is little better than a cart-track; more frequently it still forms the substratum of the turnpike-road. The Welsh ascribe its construction, as of many other Roman roads, to Helena, the mother of Constantine, or the Empress consort of the Emperor Maximus: hence its name. The Saxons often ascribed the Roman roads to the Devil. However, the road must, in all probability, have been one of the earlier constructions of the Roman armies on their occupation of the Principality.

Wherever these great lines of intercourse still linger, it is certain that other remains of the conquerors who made them are not far off. On the main road between Dolgelly and Festiniog, at about three miles from the latter place, a large tumulus surmounts a hill to the left. The way to this from Festiniog lies across a deep ravine; along a footpath not easy to find by day, and even dangerous in the evening. The gorge has been excavated to a considerable depth by a torrent which boils and foams amidst the perpendicular, fern-clad cliffs, and which is traversed by a small structure known as the “Black Bridge.” In broad daylight it is a dark, gloomy, though romantic spot; but at night the darkness and roaring of the water make it a worthy site for superstitious legends. I was told, about two hundred years ago a very wise man named Hugh Lloyd, who lived in the neighbouring farm of Cynfael, was wont to visit this mystic

¹ At Tomen-y-Mur the road divides, one part going due north to Conovium (Conway), the other as described.

spot, and ascending a tall pillar of rock which stands in the middle of the boiling torrent, invoked the numerous sprites and water-demons who dwelt in the crannies of the precipice, and preached to them with such effect that they obeyed him, and went forth to do his bidding. The fragment from which he held forth is now known as "Hugh Lloyd's Pulpit."

On reaching the Tomen-y-Mur, or mound within the wall, a magnificent view of the valley of Dolgelly and the vale of Festiniog is obtained. The Sarn Helen is about two hundred yards off; and on examination I found that the tumulus was not only surrounded by a circular fosse at its foot, but also stood within the rectangular enclosure of a rampart which on the north-west front (which was weakest) had evidently been supported by several outer lines of works (Pl. 15). The fields in North Wales are principally bounded by stone walls; and these exist here, and are carried along the lines of the ramparts. My first impression was that this enclosure was one of the early square Roman earthworks described by Polybius, which might have been thrown up for the temporary purposes of a camp during the early campaigns against the Ordovices; and that a desperate assault had destroyed its defenders, whose bones lay buried under the tumulus. But a little closer inspection shewed me the fallacy of this theory. The loose walls of the fields were composed, in great part, of hewn stones,—many of them very carefully wrought, and chisel dressed; and at the southern extremity an excavation in the ground shewed the remains of a strong fortress-wall and gateway. Below this a little scratching with an umbrella brought to light foundations of houses in Roman brick; and on the northern side of the quadrangle, over the entire slope of the hill, the ground presented all sorts of inequalities, which examination shewed to be caused by subjacent foundations. The streets and plans of the houses could be clearly traced. On the opposite hill a hollow space indicated the site of the amphitheatre. The conclusion came irresistibly upon me that this was the site of a Roman city, and one of the posting and military stations on the great Welsh iter. I have subsequently been informed by Mr. Holland, M.P. of Maentwrog, that he instituted excavations on the site, and came upon foundations at no great depth; and also found a quantity

of pottery, coins, and other vestiges. In his garden he has several stone hand-mills found on the same site. One is quite unique in its way,—at least I have never seen anything like it. The upper stone (Plate 14) has a projecting boss, in which there is a hole, evidently for a handle with which to turn it round when grinding. Mr. Holland has also some inscribed stones bearing the following legends,

) PERPE
TVI
. P. XX

OIVI
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. P. XXI

(Plate 14). The reading of these inscriptions, according to Professor Hübner of Berlin, who is, without doubt, the best authority on such matters, is as follows,“() [*centuria*] *Perpetui p[edes] xx*”; *i. e.*, the number of feet of wall in the *castra* which the *centuria* of Perpetuus (probably of the second legion) had constructed; and the second inscription records the number of feet made by the *centuria* IVI PERPETVI, *i. e.* of Julius Perpetuus. There are several of these inscribed stones, and the numbers vary up to thirty-two feet. There is also a very well cut fragment of a large inscription with the letters P R, evidently very early work. The most precious treasure which the spot has yielded consists of a beautifully engraved cameo. This I have not been able to see. Mr. Holland informs me that it represents Jupiter, and was found in the fields within the fortress.

It will be seen that the tumulus occupies a position on the centre line, but at the upper extremity of the *prætorium*; and a very little examination will, I think, persuade the antiquary that it is not a mere sepulchral mound thrown up hastily over the bones of the massacred defenders of the camp, or even of those of the later inhabitants of a city taken by assault; but that it really does form an integral portion of the fortress itself, and probably served as a base of a tower or temple. A few judicious excavations in its interior would probably ascertain its origin and purpose. About ten years ago a Mr. Lloyd of Maentwrog actually did commence such explorations; but he fell a victim to his zeal, and died of a cold caught in superintending the work. I happened, however, to be driven to take shelter in a hospitable cottage, from a pitiless snow-storm, and whilst restoring suspended animation over a cheerful peat-fire, heard

that subterranean, small passages were known to run up to this mound, and that below it was supposed to be a castle. I give this for what it is worth. It, however, points to the conclusions to which my own observations had already led me.

The name "Heririmons" I give on the authority of the Ordnance Map. The Welsh name, "Castell Tomen-y-Mur," is the common name by which this curious site is known in the country.

There are many vestiges of the Roman occupation still to be found in Wales. In the churchyard of Maentwrog there stands a very curious stone. It is oval in section, and carefully wrought, but the top is much battered away. Tradition says that an immense giant named Twrog, who lived in these parts, and gave his name to the village, threw this stone, which cannot weigh less than three tons, from the top of Moel Wyn mountain, two miles off, and that it fell where it now stands. I should be sorry to throw doubts upon this fact. Twrog's strength requires corresponding powers of faith on our part. As far as I could judge, the stone is a Roman milestone, a *miliarium*, *in situ*, of which the numerals have been effaced. If this supposition is correct, the road which follows the valley past Plas Tan-y-bwlch, through the Beddgelert Pass to Segontium, crossed the river where the bridge of Maentwrog now stands. Not a very unreasonable supposition, as it now branches from the Sarn Helen, some short distance above the Tomen-y-Mur, near Plas fynydd, the main Roman way running across the mountains, north-easterly, to Conway.

NOTE.—It may be interesting to refer to a very excellent paper in the *British Archaeological Journal* (June 30th, 1868, p. 117), by the Rev. Preb. Scarth, M.A., which throws some light upon the subject. The writer says: "There are remains of the Roman road at a place called 'Pen-y-Street,' on the road leading from Dolgelly to Trawsfynydd. The station, Heriri Mons, called 'Castell Tomen-y-Mur,' according to Sir R. C. Hoare, is 540 feet east and west by 400 feet north and south; and at the north-west corner is a tumulus, from whence it derives its name. The station was enclosed by a wall, in which a centurial inscription had been placed, which is still preserved in the hall of Tan-y-Bwlch. An engraving is given in the *Archæologia*, vol. xiii. It is as follows: C. ANDASI, F. P. XXXIX. From the station of Heriri Mons, the road went to Segontium (Caernarvon), passing through Maentwrog, a village in the Vale of Festiniog, where a centurial inscription has been found with the letters MARC. . . A Roman inscription

is stated by Sir R. C. Hoare to have been found by the side of the Roman road as it traversed the mountains to Caernarvon; but this appears to have been now destroyed. The road which is thus traced from Luentium, is known as the Sarn Helen, may be a corruption of Sarn-y-Lleng, or the road of the legions."

In *Arch. Journal*, No. 93, 1867, an engraving of an urn is given, which was found within a mile of Tomen-y-Mur.

ON THE FORMS OF PRAYER RECITED "AT THE HEALING" OR TOUCHING FOR THE KING'S EVIL.

BY THE REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A., F.S.A., V.P.

THE curious and interesting subject of the healing of scrofulous diseases by the royal touch, has received a good deal of attention not only during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but also in our own time. In 1849 Dr. Pettigrew published his volume, *On Superstitions connected with the History and Practice of Medicine and Surgery*, in which will be found a careful essay, extending from p. 117 to p. 154, upon the "royal gift of healing," illustrated by a plate on which are figured four specimens of the medals known as "touch-pieces." In 1853 Mr. Edward Law Hussey, Surgeon to the Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxford, printed in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute* (pp. 186-211), a very able and almost exhaustive memoir, *On the Cure of Scrofulous Diseases attributed to the Royal Touch*. These papers deal with the general subject so fully that it will suffice, once for all, to refer those who desire information upon it to these excellent essays. The latter paper is illustrated by figures of the "touch-pieces" used by Charles II, gold; James II, gold and silver; Queen Anne, gold; the Pretender as James III, silver; and the Cardinal of York as Henry IX, silver; from the originals in the possession of Edw. Hawkins, Esq., F.S.A.

No apology will be needed for once more drawing the attention of a learned Society to a subject so extraordinary. The bare facts that no less than 90,798 persons were touched by one sovereign alone, Charles II; that on one occasion Bishop Cartwright was present when James II touched 350 persons; and if last, not least in interest, that on 30 March,

1714, Dr. Johnson, then a child between four and five years old, was, with 200 others, touched by Queen Anne;¹ suffice to show how widely spread was the popular belief in the efficacy of the royal touch, and to give historical importance to any researches into the origin, progress, and decay of that belief. The history is so well and carefully handled in the two essays to which reference has been already made, as to leave but scanty gleanings for those that come after. One subject, however, still remains on which a good deal may be said with advantage, and that is the variations of the liturgical forms used on occasion of the public touchings. The matter is dealt with by Dr. Pettigrew (pp. 128 and 142), and at greater length by Mr. Hussey (pp. 190-4); but there is still room for fuller details, and for a more complete investigation of the subject. I propose now to submit to the Association a few notes which I have gathered together, and to reprint, in all cases from the originals, a series of the actual offices in their entirety. I gladly acknowledge the aid received from the essays of Dr. Pettigrew and Mr. Hussey, and from the numerous references gathered from the general indices to *Notes and Queries*. I have rarely, however, taken my information at second hand; but whenever it was possible to do so, have referred to the originals in the British Museum, the Lambeth Library, or in my own small collection.

It is, perhaps, impossible now to ascertain when a religious service was first introduced into the ceremony of touching for the "King's Evil," though it is probable that some form of prayer may have been used from the earliest period. We cannot, I think, with certainty refer to any ritual now in existence of earlier date than the reign of Henry VII, of which more will presently be said; but even this office itself seems to have been compiled from more ancient forms. One William Beckett, "surgeon and F.R.S.," published in 1722² *A Free and Impartial Enquiry into the Antiquity and Efficacy of Touching for the Cure of the King's Evil to which is added a Collection of Records*. Amongst these Records he places³ "a very old manuscript exorcism made use of for the dispossessing of evil spirits, which," he adds, "I find was

¹ Mr. Hussey's Paper, pp. 201, 2.

² 8vo, London, 1722. British Museum (1187, h. 1).

³ Records, No. VI, p. 52.



printed very early, and since that in the *Thesaurus Exorcismorum atque Conjuratumum Terribilium*." It is somewhat unfortunate that Beckett does not supply any further details as to the date of the MS. in which the exorcism was discovered, nor as to the "very early" book in which it was first printed. Vague as the information is, I venture to reprint the form of exorcism, as it seems to carry with it internal evidence of its own antiquity, and certainly contains the germs of the future ritual. (Appendix I.) It comprises the two Gospels found in the form used in the time of Henry VII, and bears a close resemblance to that office.

I have observed also, in the *Rituale Sacramentorum Romanum Gregorii Papæ XIII, Pont. Max., jussu editum* (4to, Romæ, 1584), certain forms of exorcism evidently more ancient than the date of the volume in which they are found, from which also materials may have been gathered. Thus in a form entitled "*Alius exorcismus qui legitur Romæ in Sancto Petro ante Columnam Domini*" (p. 691), the Gospel is, "*Initium Sancti Evangelii secundum Ioannem*, In principio erat Verbum," etc.; whilst some of the versicles and responses are also similar to those found in the ritual of Henry VII.

HENRY VII.—The form used in this reign can be ascertained with tolerable certainty; for although I cannot point to a single contemporaneous copy of the ritual, yet in the year 1686 there was printed a little volume, to be fully described by and by (see Appendix VI), which purports to contain the office used by this monarch. That it does contain that ritual may be safely inferred from its identity with the earlier office used by Queen Mary herself.

HENRY VIII.—We have not, indeed, any copy written or printed in this reign, of the "prayers at the healing," but we are able to determine the form. The ritual used by Queen Mary, which is here for the first time printed, although transcribed for her especial use, was copied by a scribe who, in his extreme care to provide an exact transcript of his original, omitted to modify the rubrics. Thus the office commences: "First, the *King*, kneeling vpon *his* knees, shall begin and saie"; and this peculiarity continues to the end of the book. Although, therefore, the office is here printed as Queen Mary's, because the manuscript in which it is found was transcribed for herself, yet, as the internal evidence of

the volume indicates, the form is actually that of the earlier reign. It was evidently copied from a ritual of Henry VIII or Edward VI, and I think we may conclude that it belongs to the former of these reigns.

EDWARD VI.—L'Estrange observes¹ that "all along King Edward the Sixth's and Queen Elizabeth's reign, when the *strumosi*, such as had the King's Evil, came to be touched, the manner was then for her to apply the sign of the cross to the tumour; which raising cause of jealousies, as if some mysterious operation were imputed to it, that wise and learned King [James I] not only (with his son, the late King) practically discontinued it, but ordered it to be expunged out of the prayers relating to that cure."

QUEEN MARY.—Through the great kindness of Archbishop Manning² I am able to present a copy of the office in use during this reign, which, so far as I am aware, has never before been printed. It is contained in a small quarto volume, eight and a half inches in height by six and three eighths in width. On the fly-leaf, in the handwriting of Cardinal Wiseman, is written, "Queen Mary's manual for blessing cramp-rings and touching for the Evil. Bound 1850." The binding referred to is very suitable to the volume, being semée of roses and fleurs-de-lis, together with the monogram MR. An autograph note³ from Sir Henry Ellis, bound up with the volume, acknowledges his Eminence's kindness in having allowed the MS. to be exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries,⁴ and adds that "the MS. itself is of great rarity,—such an one as Sir H. Ellis would gladly see join the numerous royal MSS. already in the British Museum." The volume consists of nineteen leaves of vellum, each surrounded with a rich border, and filled either with miniatures or with the two offices which it comprises. Then follow four ruled leaves and fifteen plain leaves without manuscript. As the volume is of the very highest rarity, if indeed it be not unique, I shall enter into a rather detailed account of it. On the recto of leaf 1 the royal arms of Philip and Mary are emblazoned, surrounded by a garter and sur-

¹ *Alliance of Divine Offices*, p. 373, edit. Lib. of Anglo-Cath. Theol.

² To whom and to the Rev. Dr. W. A. Johnson I must express my obligations for the facilities so courteously allowed me for making a transcript of this interesting and important office.

³ Dated 7 February, 1853.

⁴ See *Proceedings*, Soc. Antiqu., Series I, vol. ii, p. 292.

mounted by a crown. A rich border containing the rose, the fleur-de-lis, and the pomegranate, together with a shield bearing the cross of St. George, completes the decorations of the page. On the verso of this leaf is an illumination representing the interior of a chapel with an altar furnished with curtains, candlesticks, and crucifix. At a prayer-desk before the altar kneels the Queen; before her is an open book, and on either side two golden basins containing cramp-rings. Leaves 2 to 10 contain "certayn prayo's to be vsed by the quenes heighnes in the consecration of the crampe ryngs." I must not, however, diverge into an account of this very curious office.¹ I will only transcribe the English rubrics, the rest of the service being in Latin: "The ryngs lyeng in one bason or moo, this prayor to be said ouer them."² "Theise prayors being saide, the Quenes heighnes rubbeth the rings betwene hir handes sayinge."³ "Thanne must hally water be caste on ye rings sayeng."⁴ I cite the rubrics because they suffice to show the essentials for the consecration of the rings; the prayers, the royal touch, the holy water.

And now we arrive at that portion of the volume which more immediately concerns our present purpose. The recto of folio 11 is filled with an illumination of the crucifixion, with St. Mary and St. John. In the border are the instruments of the passion,—the spear, the reed and sponge, the hammer and pincers, three nails, two scourges, and (a very unusual addition) a centre-bit of the same form as that now in use. On the verso of this leaf is a very interesting full-page illumination. At a prayer-desk, on which is an open book, kneels the Queen, turning to the right (the dexter side of the picture), wearing the headdress familiar to us in all her portraits. Before her kneels a sufferer, apparently a young man, whose bare and swollen neck the Queen holds between her two hands. Behind him, holding open the collar of the patient's coat, kneels "the clarke of the closett" in a cassock and gown, and with a tonsured head. On the left of the prayer-desk stands "the chaplen," a bald-headed, venerable man in a long cassock, a somewhat short surplice with full sleeves, and the "stole abowte his neck" ordered in the rubric, reading the appointed office. The Queen

¹ It has been printed in the *Arch. Journal*, 1864. See pp. 103-113, 188, 189.

² MS., fo. 3b.

³ MS., fo. 8b

⁴ MS., fo. 9a.

wears a brown dress cut square at the neck, white sleeves, and a lace ruff and wristbands. The office for the healing, now printed (see Appendix II), follows, commencing on folio 12a, and ending on folio 19a.

The rubrics are in red ink, bright and fresh; and each page has a rich border of scrolls, leaves, flowers, and fruit, with occasional figures of children, etc. I enumerate the most important subjects. Folio 1b, David with head of Goliath, St. George and the dragon, and a child with a skull; fo. 2b, arms of the city of London; fo. 3a, VERITAS TEMPORIS FILIA (the Queen's favourite motto¹), with a sword and sceptre; fos. 3b and 4a, large terminal figures with grapes; fo. 4a, arms of France and England quarterly; fo. 4b, DÑS. MIHI. ADIVTOR; fos. 5a and b, portcullis and rose; fos. 6a and b, PACIENTIA and PRVDĒTIA, with allegorical figures; fos. 7a and b, CHARITAS and IVSTICIA; fos. 8a and b, FIDES and SPES; fos. 9a and b, FORTITVDO and TEMPERANCIA.

The office for consecrating cramp-rings in this MS. has been printed by Bishop Burnet in the appendix to his *History of the Reformation* (Part II, book ii, No. 25): "The MS. is described as then (about 1680) 'in biblioth. R. Smith, London.' The possessor of the MS. thus designated by Bishop Burnet was, it is believed, the titular Bishop of Calcedon *in partibus*."² "The office of consecrating cramp-rings accompanies a reprint of the English version of the ritual for the healing as late as 1789."³ Mr. Maskell has also printed this form, though from another MS.:⁴ but it is a little singular that the office for the healing, from Queen Mary's own copy, has not till now appeared in print. In the office printed by Mr. Maskell, the psalms and prayers as well as the rubrics are in English; in Queen Mary's office the rubrics are in English, but the rest of the form is in Latin.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.—For our knowledge of this office, which differs in some of its particulars from that of Queen Mary, we are indebted to one of her majesty's chaplains, William Tooker, who was installed Dean of Lichfield, 16 Feb. 1604-5.⁵ Although the office is essentially the same with that of the previous reign, yet it will be observed to differ

¹ *Proceedings, Soc. Antiquaries, loco citato*, p. 293.

² *Archæol. Journal*, 1864, p. 188, note 9.

³ *Ibid.*, note 8.

⁴ *Monumenta Ritualia*, iii, pp. 335-340, and preliminary dissertation, p. clviii. See also Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, p. 103.

⁵ Le Neve, *Fæsti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, edit. T. D. Hardy, vol. i, p. 563.

in the versicles and responses. The collect commencing "Omnipotens Deus," although it is common to both offices, appears in a slightly different version. Dr. Tooker's work is comprised within one hundred and twenty-four pages, to which is added "*Oratio omnibus horis dicenda pro Elizabetha serenissima Angliæ Regina*," occupying five pages more. The title is: "*Charisma sive Donum Sanationis, seu Explicatio totius questionis de mirabilium sanitatum Gratia, in qua precipuè agitur de solenni et sacra curatione Strumæ, cui Reges Angliæ ritè inaugurati, divinitus medicati sunt, & quam serenissima Elizabetha, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regina, ex cælesti gratia sibi concessa, Applicatione manuum suarum, & contactu morbidarum partium, non sine religiosis ceremoniis, & precibus, cum admirabili et felici successu indies sanat auctore Guil. Tookero S. Theol. Doctore.*"¹ (See Appendix III.) Tooker's testimony will be all the more valuable because it is that of an eye-witness: of one, indeed, who had probably read many a time the office which he here records.

CHARLES I.—For the ritual of this King we must refer once more to Beckett's *Free and Impartial Enquiry* already cited.² It will be observed that he speaks of the form given below (Appendix No. IV) as containing "the ceremonies used in the reigns of King Charles the First and Second." The form is essentially the same with that in use in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and would hardly be worth reprinting here were it not for the somewhat extended rubrics which it contains.

CHARLES II. Hamon L'Estrange, at the end of his *Alliance of Divine Offices*,³ prints "a form of prayer used in King Charles the Second's Chapel, upon Tuesdays,⁴ in the time of his trouble and distress. Hague: printed anno MDCL." At the end of this form will be found certain occasional prayers, and after these the office to be used "At the Healing." The office itself is remarkable. It contains, indeed, the two Gospels which appear in the ritual of Henry VII, but is almost entirely destitute of rubrics. The Gospels ended, certain prayers and versicles follow; the concluding

¹ 8vo, London, 1597. Brit. Mus. [1187, h. 1.]

² Records, No. VIII.

³ See edition in Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, pp. 559-561.

⁴ "King Charles the First was barbarously murdered by his rebellious subjects on Tuesday the 30th of January, 1648." (Note, *ibid.*, p. 549.)

portion of the order being very similar to that in use in the reign of Queen Anne. (See Appendix No. V.)

This form will also be found in Bishop Sparrow's *Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons, etc.*,¹ and in Bishop White Kennet's *Register and Chronicle Ecclesiastical and Civil*,² who says in the margin, "This, I think, was the only office changed by K. James II, and performed by his own popish priests. Restored by Queen Anne with very little variation. Mr. Tho. Fuller, in his *Appeal of Injured Innocence*, hath recited from Dr. Heylin the form of the service at the healing of the King's Evil by Charles I, with no difference from this form but in the collect, which there runs thus: 'Almighty God, the eternal health of all such as put their trust in thee, hear us, we beseech thee, in the behalf of these thy servants, for whom we call for thy merciful help, that they receiving health may give thanks unto thee in thy holy church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.'"

JAMES II.—In 1686 Henry Hills, "printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty, for his household and chappel," published two very interesting volumes which I now proceed to describe.

The first is entitled "The Ceremonies for the Healing of them that be Diseased with the King's Evil, used in the Time of King Henry VII. Published by His Majesties command." Of this work I have seen four copies. The first is preserved in the Archbishop of Canterbury's Library at Lambeth. It is a duodecimo, about 4.8 inches in height by 2.8 in width, neatly printed, with the rubrics in red.³ Another copy is in the British Museum,⁴ and is a duplicate of the Lambeth volume. It belonged to "Andrew Coltee Ducarel, LL.D., Doctor's Commons," and afterwards to the Rev. W. Maskell, and contains in manuscript "the office of consecrating cramp-rings, 1694." This is, no doubt, the copy from which Mr. Maskell printed the latter office in his *Monumenta Ritualia*, as already stated. In this volume the office for the healing is entirely in English.

The second volume contains the same office; but whilst

¹ Second edition, enlarged; 4to, London, 1671; pp. 165, 6. 4to, London, 1661, p. 223; 4to, London, 1684, p. 165.

² Folio, London, 1728, i, p. 731.

³ Press-mark, Lambeth [49, C. 18, art. 1].

⁴ Press-mark, Brit. Mus. [3406b.] See also duplicates. [1037a, 18, 1.] and [T. 2038, 1.]

the rubrics are still in English, the prayers and Gospels are in Latin: and this also is reprinted by Mr. Maskell (*Monumenta Ritualia*, iii, 330-34).¹ Of this work I have consulted two copies, both in the British Museum.² The first named has been much cut down; but the second is a small quarto, 9 inches high by 6.75 wide, with pure white margins. It was George the Third's copy. It is further interesting from the insertion of a plate inscribed "The royal Gift of Healing," in which is represented the King wearing a flowing wig, seated under a canopy. Before him kneels a sufferer whose head is held in the King's hands. Two or three chaplains in surplices and stoles, with broad, falling collars or bands, attend the King. One of the chaplains places a ribbon, to which a coin is attached, round the neck of a second client. On the dexter side is a table with a basin and ewer; on the sinister are ladies and gentlemen of the court; in the foreground persons waiting to be touched, with attendant yeomen of the guard. It is said³ that this office was reprinted in 1789, but whether as a separate publication, or as a part of some other work, I cannot tell. The ritual here printed (Appendix VI) is a transcript from the Lambeth copy. The variations between this office and that of Queen Mary are not very numerous.

QUEEN ANNE.—In this reign the office was materially shortened. One Gospel only remains, that from St. John being entirely omitted. The versicles and responses are altered, and certain collects added. I have not reprinted the office itself, preferring to exhibit the order used in the next reign, with which the use of Queen Anne is identical, *mutatis mutandis*. The copies of Queen Anne's ritual which I have collated are five in number:

1. 4to, London, 1707, "By Chas. Bill and the executrix of Thomas Newcomb decess'd." In the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.⁴ The office is placed immediately after the Accession service. It is rarely noted in the table of contents: to which general rule, however, the Latin Prayer Book of 1727 affords an exception. Lathbury⁵ says that the

¹ And in Wilkins' *Concilia*, iv, 476, together with a proclamation dated 6 April, 1630, "for the better ordering of those who repair to the court for the cure of the disease called the King's Evil."

² Press-marks, 3407c, and 6b, 10.

³ *Arch. Journal*, 1853, p. 194.

⁴ Press-mark, Lambeth, 69 A, 19.

⁵ Lathbury's *Convocation*, p. 361.

form first appeared in a Book of Common Prayer, in an edition of 1709. The present copy is, however, two years prior to that date.

2. 4to, London, 1708. Bound up at the end of a Bible printed in 1708 by "Charles Bill and the executors of Thomas Newcomb deceas'd, printer to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty."¹ In this case the Prayer Book does not accompany the office.

3. 4to, London, 1709. "Printed by Charles Bill and the executrix of Thomas Newcomb deceas'd, printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty." (British Museum.)² This volume is illustrated by several plates, the portrait of Queen Anne, the murder of Charles I, the return of Charles II, etc.; and this particular copy has upon the title the autograph of Whit. Bulstrode. The office is identical with that printed in the Appendix, No. VIII, if for "King" we read "Queen," for *his*, *her*, etc.

4. 8vo, London, 1709, with the same imprint; also in the British Museum.³

Another copy of this reign is, according to *Notes and Queries*,⁴ annexed to an edition of the Prayer Book printed at the University Press; folio, Oxford, 1712. But I have not met with this edition.

5. 8vo, London, 1713. *Liturgia seu Liber Precum Communium (penes me)*. Reprinted in the Appendix, No. VII.

I have already referred to the well known fact that Dr. Johnson was himself touched by Queen Anne. Boswell⁵ thus relates the incident: "Young Johnson had the misfortune to be much afflicted with the scrofula, or King's Evil, which disfigured a countenance naturally well formed, and hurt his visual nerves so much that he did not see at all with one of his eyes, though its appearance was little different from that of the other..... His mother, yielding to the superstitious notion which, it is wonderful to think, prevailed so long in this country, as to the virtue of the regal touch,—a notion which our kings encouraged, and to which a man of such inquiry and of such judgment as Carte could give credit,—carried him to London, where he was actually touched by

¹ In the possession of H. Syer Cuming, Esq.

² Press-mark, 3052 e e c.

³ Press-mark, 3405 b b.

⁴ Series III, vol. i, p. 496.

⁵ Boswell's *Life of Dr. Johnson*, edit. London, 1824, vol. i, pp. 17, 18.

Queen Anne. Mrs. Johnson, indeed, as Mr. Hector informed me, acted by the advice of the celebrated Sir John Floyer, then a physician in Lichfield. Johnson used to talk of this very frankly; and Mrs. Piozzi has preserved his very picturesque description of the scene, as it remained upon his fancy. Being asked if he could remember Queen Anne,—‘he had (he said) a confused but somehow a sort of solemn, recollection of a lady in diamonds and a long black hood.’ This touch, however, was without any effect.” That Johnson’s memory of the scene was indistinct, can scarcely be a matter of surprise, since we are told in a note by Malone that “he was only thirty months old when he was taken to London to be touched for the Evil”; though this does not quite agree with the date given above, 30 March, 1714; which, as Johnson was born 18 September, 1709, would indicate that he was four years and about six months old.

Of the Latin editions of the ritual here printed (see Appendix VII), it may suffice to say that each contains a dedicatory epistle to Sir William Dawes, Bishop of Chester, and afterwards Archbishop of York, signed Tho. Parsel, and dated from Merchant Taylors’ School, to whom we are indebted for the translation.

GEORGE I.—Although we have no evidence that the ritual for the healing was ever actually in use in this reign, I have met with no less than four editions of the Prayer Book published during that period, in which the office still holds its place. It is identical, in the English version at least, with that of Queen Anne, *mutatis mutandis*. I have carefully collated these copies, and the office now presented (see Appendix VIII) is taken from a folio Prayer Book printed at Oxford in 1715. The following is a detailed list of the editions consulted:

1. Folio, Oxford, 1715. “Printed by John Baskett, printer to the King’s most Excellent Majesty and to the University.”¹ As usual, the office follows immediately after the Accession service, but is not noticed in the table of contents.

2. 4to, Oxford, 1721, with the same imprint.²

3. Folio, Oxford, 1721. “Printed by John Baskett, printer to the University.”³

4. 8vo, London, 1727. *Liturgia seu Liber Precum Com-*

¹ British Museum. Press-mark, 1273, h. 3.

² Ibid., 3051 e e e.

³ Ibid., 1272, f. 4.

munium.¹ Reproduced in the Appendix No. VII. It will be observed that George I died 11 June, 1727: the book, however, belongs to this reign, and not to that of George II, as we gather from internal evidence. The office is noted in the table of contents.

5. A reprint of the English version of the ritual will be found in the appendix to the edition of L'Estrange's *Alliance of Divine Offices*, published in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology.² An edition published in 1724 is mentioned in the *Arch. Journal* for 1853,³ but I have not happened to meet with a copy.

Lord Macaulay observes,⁴ "it was not till some time after the accession of George I that the University of Oxford ceased to reprint the office of Healing together with the Liturgy." I wish I could share the historian's opinion when he says, "it is incredible that so large a proportion of the population should have been really scrofulous,"⁵ as I fear that medical statistics would hardly encourage that incredulity.

GEORGE II.—It is stated in *Notes and Queries*⁶ that the "Forma Strumosos Attrectandi" is to be found in a Latin Prayer Book published in 1744, which also contains the form for the 2nd of September, the anniversary of the dreadful fire. The latter form is also found in a Prayer Book printed at Oxford in 1681,⁷ and in another edition, which was also printed at Oxford in 1682.⁸ It was, besides, printed separately; 4to, London, 1696.⁹

Dean Stanley¹⁰ draws for us a very graphic picture of Edward the Confessor, and tells us that "there was a kind of magical charm in his thin, white hands, and his long, transparent fingers, which not unnaturally led to the belief that there resided in them a healing power of stroking away the diseases of his subjects." And he adds¹¹ that this belief survived the sainted monarch's death, and that beneath his shrine, placed in the very holy of holies of the Abbey, "the arches underneath were ready for the patients, who came

¹ Penes me.

² Note D, p. 566.

³ P. 194.

⁴ *History of England*, ch. xiv, vol. v, p. 105, edit. 1863.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 107, note.

⁶ *Notes and Queries*, Series III, vol. i, p. 388.

⁷ Penes me.

⁸ *Notes and Queries*, Series I, vol. v, p. 78.

⁹ British Museum. Press-mark, 472, a 3.

¹⁰ *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, 3rd edit., p. 13.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

to ensconce themselves there for the sake of receiving from the sacred corpse within the deliverance from the King's Evil, which the living sovereign was believed to communicate by his touch"; and he quotes the one remark made on the shrine by Addison,¹—"We were then shown Edward the Confessor's tomb, upon which Sir Roger acquainted us that he was the first who touched for the Evil."

We have traced this strange and curious practice, in the present paper, by documentary evidence to the reign of Queen Anne, and have even shown that for some little time after the office continued to hold a place in the Book of Common Prayer. By what authority it was ever introduced into that volume I cannot tell. Nor is it easy to account for a belief which for so many centuries lingered in the popular mind; and not amongst the uneducated only, for men of all orders and degrees are to be found affirming the efficacy of the royal touch, and recording cures which had come under their own knowledge. One could readily understand the belief if the disorder had been of a nervous or emotional character; but that such faith should exist in the case of a disease like scrofula, is, it must be admitted, a matter of no small difficulty and perplexity.

APPENDIX NO. I.

EXORCISMUS ADVERSUS SPIRITUS IMMUNDOS.

Exorcista indutus vestibus sacris, pergat ad altare vel aliquam imaginem: et præmissa (ut sæpius dictum est) sacramentali confessione, corde humiliato et firmo, flexis genibus, seipsum signando, dicat:

In Nomine Sanctissimæ et Individuæ Trinitatis, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

V. Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

R. Qui fecit cælum et terram.

V. Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam Tuam.

R. Et salutare Tuum da nobis.

V. Adjuva nos, Deus salutaris noster.

R. Et propter gloriam Nominis Tui, Domine, libera nos.

V. Nihil proficiat inimicus in nobis.

R. Et filius iniquitatis non apponat nocere nobis.

V. Fiat misericordia Tua, Domine, super nos.

R. Quemadmodum speravimus in Te.

V. Exurge, Christe, adjuva nos.

R. Et libera nos propter Nomen Tuum.

¹ Ibid., quoting *The Spectator*, No. 321.

V. Dominus vobiscum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Hic exorcista surgens, dicat sequentia Evangelia :

In illo tempore : Recumbentibus undecim discipulis apparuit illis Jesus : et exprobat sequentibus signis.

V. Dominus vobiscum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

In principio erat Verbum plenum gratiæ et veritatis.

V. Domine exaudi orationem meam.

R. Et clamor meus ad Te veniat.

Oratio.

Domine Jesu Christe, Qui dedisti Apostolis Tuis virtutem et potestatem super infirmos et languores, ut infirmos curarent ; mortuos suscitarent ; leprosos mundarent ; Dæmones ejicerent ; confirma in me hanc gratiam, quamvis indignus, et miser peccator sim ; et non respicias ad innumerabilia peccata mea : sed sicut consuevisti peccatorum misereri, et preces humilium exaudire, propter magnam misericordiam Tuam, ita me nunc exaudire digneris : et sicut exaudisti Latronem in Cruce ; ita me nunc exaudire digneris clamantem ad Te contra istum spiritum vexantem hunc famulum Tuum N. ut in Nomine Sancto Tuo terribili, ipsam expellere valeam : Qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

APPENDIX II.—QUEEN MARY'S OFFICE.

THE CEREMONY¹ FOR Y^E HEALING OF THEM THAT BE DISEASED
WITH THE KYNGS EVILL.

First the King, kneeling vpon his knees, shall begin and saie,
In nomine p'ris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amē.

And so sone as he hathe suide that he shall saie
Benedicite.

*The chaplen, kneeling before the King, hany'g a stole aboute
his neck, shall answer and saye*

Domin' sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis ad confitendum oīa peccata tua.² In nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti. Amen.

Or ells to saye

Xpūs nos exaudiet. In nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti. Amen.

Than by and by the King shall saie

Confiteor Deo beate Marie virgini omnibus sanctis et vobis quia peccavi nimis in cogitaciōe, locutione, et opera mea culpa. Precor sanctam Mariam et omnes sanctos dei et vos orare pro me.

The chaplen³ shall answer and saye

Misereatur vestri omnipotens deus et dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra, liberet vos ab omni malo, saluet et confirmet in bono, et ad vitam perducet eternā. Amen. Absolutionem et remissionē omniū pec-

¹ Fo. 12a.

² Fo. 12b.

³ Fo. 13a.



cator' vestrorum spacium vere penitencie et emendacionem vite gratiam et consolationem sãcti spiritus tribuat vobis omnipotens et misericors dominus. Amen.

This done, the chaplen shall saie

Dominus vobiscum.

The King shall answer,

Et¹ cum spiritu tuo.

The chaplen,

Sequentia sancti euangelii secundum Marcum.

The Kinge shall answer :

Gloria tibi domine.

*The chaplen shall then begin this Gospell following, and saie
it forth the vutill he come vnto this clause,*

Super egros manus imponent et bene habebunt.

*Which clause the chaplẽ shall so oft repete and saie as the
King is in hauing of y^e sicke person. The Gospell.²*

In illo tempore Recumbentibus undecim discipulis apparuit illis Jesus et exprobrauit incredulitatem illorum et duriciam cordis, q³ his qui viderant cum resurrexisse non crediderant. Et dixit eis, Euntes in mundum vniuersum predicate euãgelium omni creature, q¹ crediderit et baptizatus fuerit : saluus erit. Qui vero non crediderit : condẽnabitur. Signa autem eos qui crediderint⁴ hæc sequentur. In nomine meo demonia eiicient linguis loquentur nouis : serpentes tollent. Et si mortiferum quid biberint non eis nocebit. [Super egros manus imponent : et bene habebunt.] Et dominus quidem Jesus postquam locutus est eis assumptus est in celũ : et sedet a dextris dei. Illi autẽ profecti predicauerũt vbiq⁵ domino cooperante : et sermonem confirman- te sequentibus signis.

And in the tyme of repeting those aforesaide wordes,

Super egros manus imponent et bene habebunt.⁵

The clarke of the closett shall knele before the King hauing the sicke person vpon his right hande. And y^e sicke person shall likewise knele before the King. And than the Kinge shall laye his handes vpon the sore of y^e sick p'son.

This done the chaplen shall make an ende of the gospell. And in the meane tyme the clarke of y^e closett shall leade awaye the sicke person from the King. And than⁶ the chaplen shall begin to saie agayne,

Dominus vobiscum.

The King shall answer,

Et cum spiritu tuo.

The chaplen,

Initium sancti euangelii⁷ secundũ Johẽm.

The Kinge,

Gloria tibi domine.

The chaplen than shall saie this gospell folowing,

In principio erat verbũ.

¹ Fo. 13 b.

² Fo. 14 a.

³ I. e. quia.

⁴ Fo. 14 b.

⁵ Fo. 15 a.

⁶ Fo. 15 b.

⁷ Sic.

Untill he shall come vnto this clause,

Erat lux vera que illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hūc mundum.

Which¹ clause shall be still repeted so long as the King shall be crossing y^e sore of the sicke person with an angell noble, and y^e sicke person to haue the same angell hanged abovte his neck, and he to weare it untill he be full hoole. The Gospell.

In principio erat verbum; et verbū erat apud deū: et deus erat verbū. Hoc erat in principio apud deū. Oīa p' ipsū facta sūt: & sine ipso factū est nichil. Qd' factū est ī ipso vita erat: & vita erat lux hōim. Et lux² in tenebris lucet et tenebre eam nō comprehenderunt. Fuit homo missus a deo cui nomen erat iohannes. Hic venit in testimonium vt testimonium perhiberet de lumine, vt omnes crederent per illum. Non erat ille lux: sed vt testimonium perhiberet de lumine. [Erat lux vera: q' illuminat omnem hominē venientē in hunc mundū] In mūdo erat et mundus per ipsum factus est et mundus eū non cognouit. In propria venit: et sui eum non receperūt. Quotquot autem receperunt eū: dedit³ eis potestatem filios dei fieri: his qui credunt in nomine eius. Qui non ex sanguinibus: neq' ex voluntate carnis, neq' ex voluntate viri: sed ex deo nati sunt. Et verbum caro factum est: et habitauit in nobis. Et vidimus gloriam eius: gloriā quasi vnigeniti a patre. Plē gratie: et veritatis.

This done, the clarke of the closett shall leade awaie the sick p'son as he did before, & than the chaplen shall make an ende of the gospell, as it is said in the ending of y^e masse, concluding with this saying,

Sit⁴ nomen domini benedictū.

The Kinge shall answer,

Ex hoc nunc et vsq' in seculum.

Than shall the chaplē saie this collet following, praying for y^e sicke p'son or p'sons.

Domine exaudi orationē meam.

The King shall answer,

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Oremus.

Omnipotens sempiterne deus salus eterna credentium exaudi nos pro famulis tuis pro quibus misericordie tue imploramus auxilium: vt red-dita⁵ sibi sanitate: gratiarū tibi in ecclesia tua referant actioēs. Per xp'm dñm nostrū. Amen.

This prayor is to be said secretly, after y^e poore folkes be departed from the King, at his pleasure.

Dominator domine deus omnipotens, cuius benignitate ceci vidēt, surdi audiunt, muti loquuntur, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur, omnes infirmorum curantur languores, et a quo solo donum sanationis humano generi⁶ etiam tribuitur, et tanta gratia pro incredibili tua erga hoc regnum bonitate regibus eiusdem concessa est, vt sola manuum illorum impositione morbus grauissimus fcedissimusq' depellatur: concede propitius vt tibi propterea gratias agam' et pro isto singulari beneficio

¹ Fo. 16 a.

² Fo. 16 b.

³ Fo. 17 a.

⁴ Fo. 17 b.

⁵ Fo. 18 a.

⁶ Fo. 18 b.

in nos collato non nobis ipsis, sed nomini tuo assidue gloriam demus, nosq' sic ad pietatem semper exorceamus vt tuam nobis donatam gratiam non solum diligentur conseruare, sed indies magis magisq' adaugere laboremus : et p'sta vt quorumcunq'¹ corporibus in nomine tuo manus imposuerimus, hi tua virtute in illis operante, et nobis ministrantibus, ad pristinam sanitatem restituantur eam conseruent, et pro eadem tibi vt summo medico et omniũ morborum depulsori perpetuo nobiscum gratias agant, sicq' deinceps vitam instituunt, vt nō corpus solum ab infirmitate, sed anima etiam a peccato omnino sanata videatur. Per dominum nostrũ Jhesum xp'm filiũ tuũ q' tecũ vivit & regnat in vnitae Sancti Spūs. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

FINIS.

APPENDIX NO. III.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S OFFICE.²

Cap. 7.—De modo & forma sanandi, vel de operatione ipsa, ubi de simplicitate, castitate cæremoniarum ac rituum in sanandis strumosis, ac de pietate eleemosyna & humilitate principis.

Unum hoc reticeri non debet, tempore quidem precationum communium ac in Liturgiæ recitatione semper transigi hoc curationis negotium. Publicæ igitur concipiuntur preces a ministris regiæ majestatis capellanis, majestate ejus ad illas preces regio cum apparatu procedente, comitantibus nobilibus, stipantibus catervis, inspectantibus hominibus & Angelis: ordinariis precibus cum Epistolæ et Evangelii lectione peractis, sistuntur omnes a chirurgis regiis in præsentia Reginae, ad cujus genua advoluti fide & oratione ferventes opem & auxilium præstolantur.

Tum exordiantur Evangelii lectionem ex illo ultimo capite Sancti Marci versu 14. Novissime autem recumbentibus illis undecim apparuit supra ægros manus imponent & bene habebunt.

Ad illa verba cum ventum est, serenissima ejus Majestas ægris, & strumam patientibus utrinque manus imponit, sive maxillis, sive gutturi, sive loco affecto, & nudis manibus tangit morbidas partes, quas deinceps sanat: quibus partibus sanatissimis ejus manibus tactis illi strumosi paulum recedunt, tantisper dum aliæ cæremoniæ complendæ sunt; & tum quod reliquum est Evangelii legitur:

Et Dominus Jesus postquam loquutus est eis sequentibus signis. Isto autem Evangelio recensito, recitatur alterum Joannis primo:

In principio erat verbum venientum in hunc mundum.

Ad quæ verba assurgit Majestas regia, et singulis rursus advocatis & reductis, acceptoque aureo numo solidorum decem, perforato, ac tæna revincto numismate, crucis signum, qua parte morbus est facit, itaque singulis fausta ac felicia precando ac benedicendo, jussisque at aliquid tantulum secedant, reliqua pars scripturæ absolvitur:

In mundo erat plenum gratiæ & veritatis.

¹ Fo. 19 a.

² Dean Tooker's *Charisma sive Donum Sanationis*, chap. vii.

Quibus finitis Majestas regia cum toto cœtu ecclesiæ humiliter inclinata in genua, sic orat :

Kyrie eleyson.

Christe eleyson.

Pater noster, etc.

M. Salvos Domine fac famulos tuos.

R. *Qui sperant in te.*

M. Mitte auxilium illis de alto.

R. *In omni tempore potenter eos defende.*

M. Adjuva nos Deus salutaris noster.

R. *Et propter gloriam nominis libera nos, propitius esto nobis peccatoribus propter nomen tuum.*

M. Domine exaudi preces nostras.

R. *Et clamor noster ad te veniat.*

Illis communibus precibus absolutis sequitur specialis quædam precatio, quæ in Liturgia quotidiana non invenitur, apprimis tamen necessaria est.

Omnipotens Deus, æterna salus omnium in te sperantium exaudi nos, te precamur nomine famulorum tuorum hic præsentium, pro quibus misericors auxilium tuum imploramus ut salute accepta tibi gratias agant in sancta ecclesia Tua per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Qua oratione devotè et piè dicta usitata formula clauduntur preces ; itaque singuli discedunt, & Deo agentes gratias, et Principi, et sibi de mutua sanitate congratulantes.

APPENDIX NO. IV.

CHARLES I. OFFICE.

The Ceremonies used in the Reigns of King Charles the First and Second, at the Times of 'Touching for the Cure of the King's Evil.

The chaplain thus begins :

The Gospel written in the 16 chapter of St. Mark, at ver. the 14.

Jesus appeared unto the eleven.....They shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall recover.

The which saying is continued between every healing of his Sacred Majesty, till all the sick be Touched by him ; the which being finished, the chaplain goes on :

So when the Lord had spoken unto them.....confirming the word with miracles following.

[When the infirm persons are presented to the King on their knees, the King lays his hands upon them.]

The which done, he begins the Gospel, written in the First Chapter of St. John, verse the first :

In the beginning was the Word.....to bear witness of that light.

Here the chirurgions come up the second time, making their three obeisances as formerly, where the clerk of the closet on his knees doth deliver to the King his gold ready strung upon a white silk riband ; and when these following words come to be read, the King puts over the gold :

That light was the true light which lightneth every man which cometh into the world.

[*Here the diseased are presented unto the King, and the King puts the gold about their necks.*]

This running through the whole course of the ceremony, which words are continually repeated between every one which receives the gold. This being finished, these following words are read :

He was in the world.....full of grace and truth.

This being finished, the chaplains, with the rest of the people, on their knees, do pronounce the following prayers :

Vers. Lord have mercy upon us.

Resp. Lord have mercy upon us.

Vers. Christ have mercy upon us.

Resp. Christ have mercy upon us.

Vers. Lord have mercy upon us.

Resp. Lord have mercy upon us.

Then the chaplains read the Lord's Prayer, viz.,

Our Father which art in heaven, etc.

Vers. O Lord, save thy servants.

Resp. Which put their trust in thee.

[*These answers are made by them that come to be healed.*]

Vers. Send help unto them from above.

Resp. And evermore mightily defend them.

Vers. Help us, O God our Saviour.

Resp. And for the glory of thy name deliver us and be merciful to us sinners, for thy name's sake.

Vers. O Lord, hear our prayers.

Resp. And let our cry come unto thee.

Then the chaplain reads the prayer following :

O Almighty God, who art the giver of all health, and the aid of them that seek to thee for succour. We call upon thee for thy help and goodness, mercifully to be shewed to these thy servants, that they being healed of their infirmities, may give thanks to thee in thy holy church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Here he concludes.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. Amen.

APPENDIX NO. V.

1650. CHARLES II.

AT THE HEALING.

The Holy Gospel written in the sixteenth chapter of St. Mark, beginning at the 14th verse.

Jesus appeared unto the eleven.....they¹ shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall recover. So when the Lord.....confirming the word with miracles following.

¹ Here the infirm persons are presented to the King upon their knees, and the King lays his hands upon them.

*The Holy Gospel written in the first chapter of St. John,
beginning at the first verse.*

In the beginning.....That¹ Light was the true light.....full of grace and truth.

¹ [Here they are again presented to the King upon their knees, and the King puts his gold about their necks.]

The prayers.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us, etc.

Our Father, etc. O Lord, save thy servants.

(And so on with the versicles, as in Queen Anne's office.)

O Almighty God, who art the giver of all health, etc. (Queen Anne's office.)

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc.

APPENDIX NO. VI.

JAMES II.

The *Ceremonies* for the *Healing* of them that be diseased with the *King's Evil*, used in the time of King Henry VII. Published by His Majesty's command. London: printed by *Henry Hills*, printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty, for his Houshold and Chappel. 1686.

*The Ceremonies for Healing them that be diseased with
the King's Evil.*

First, the King kneeling shall say,

In the name of the Father, and of the son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

And so soon as he hath said that, he shall say,
Give the Blessing.

*The chaplain kneeling before the King, and having a stole
about his neck, shall answer and say,*

The Lord be in your heart and in your lips, to confess all your sins. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

Or else he shall say

Christ hear us. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

Then by and by the King shall say

I confess to God, to the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, to all Saints, and to you, that I have sinned in thought, word, and deed, through my fault. I pray Holy *Mary* and all the Saints of God, and you, to pray for me.

The chaplain shall answer and say

Almighty God have mercy upon you, and pardon you all your sins; deliver you from all evil, and confirm you in good, and bring you to everlasting life. Amen.

The Almighty and Merciful Lord grant you absolution and remission of all your sins, time for true repentance and amendment of life with the grace and comfort of His Holy Spirit. Amen.

This done, the chaplain shall say,

The Lord be with you.

The King shall answer,

And with thy spirit.

The chaplain,

Part of the Gospel according to St. Mark.

The King shall answer,

Glory to Thee, O Lord.

The chaplain reads the Gospel,

Last he appeared to those eleven as they sat at the table ; and he exprobrated their incredulity and hardness of heart, because they did not believe them that had seen him risen again. And he said to them : Going into the whole world, preach the Gospel to all creatures. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved : but he that believeth not shall be condemned. And them that believe, these signs shall follow : In my name shall they cast out Devils. They shall speak with new tongues. Serpents shall they take up ; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them. They shall impose hands upon the sick, and they shall be whole.

Which last clause (They shall impose, etc.) the chaplain repeats as long as the King is handling the sick person. And in the time of repeating the aforesaid words (They shall impose, etc.) the clerk of the closet shall kneel before the King, having the sick person upon the right hand ; and the sick person shall likewise kneel before the King : and then the King shall lay his hand upon the sore of the sick person. This done, the chaplain shall make an end of the Gospel.

And so our Lord Jesus, after he spake unto them, was assumed up into heaven, and sate on the right hand of God. But they going forth preached everywhere ; our Lord working withal, and confirming the Word with signs which followed.

Whilst this is reading, the chirurgion shall lead away the sick person from the King. And after the Gospel the chaplain shall say,

The Lord be with you.

The King shall answer,

And with thy spirit.

The chaplain,

The beginning of the Gospel according to St. John.

The King,

Glory to thee, O Lord.

The chaplain then shall say this Gospel following,

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word. This was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was made nothing, that which was made. In him was Life, and the Life was the Light of Men. And the Light shineth in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. This man came for testimony : to give testimony of the Light, that all might believe through him. He was not the Light, but to give testimony of the Light. It was the true Light which lightneth every man that cometh into this world.

Which last clause (It was the true Light, etc.) shall still be repeated so

long as the King shall be crossing the sore of the sick person with an angel of gold noble; and the sick person to have the same angel hang'd about his neck, and to wear it until he be full whole. This done, the chirurgion shall lead away the sick person as he did before, and then the chaplain shall make an end of the Gospel.

He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. He came into his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, he gave them power to be made the sons of God, to those that believe in his name. Who not of blood, nor of will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God are born. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us, and we saw the glory of him; glory as it were of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and verity.

Then the chaplain shall say,

The Lord's name be praised.

The King shall answer,

Now and for ever.

Then shall the chaplain say this Collect following, praying for the sick person or persons,

O Lord, hear my prayer.

The King shall answer,

And let my cry come unto thee.

The chaplain,

Let us pray.

Almighty and Everlasting God, the Eternal Health of them that believe; graciously hear us for thy servants, for whom we implore the aid of thy mercy, that their health being restored to them, they may give thee thanks in thy church, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

This prayer following is to be said secretly, after the sick persons be departed from the King, at his pleasure.

Almighty God, Ruler and Lord, by whose goodness the blind see, the deaf hear, the dumb speak, the lepers are cleansed, and all sick persons are healed of their infirmities; by whom also alone the gift of healing is given to mankind, and so great a grace, through thine unspeakable goodness toward this realm, is granted unto the kings thereof, that by the sole imposition of their hands a most grievous and filthy disease should be cured: mercifully grant that we may give thee thanks therefore, and for this thy singular benefit conferr'd on us, not to ourselves, but to thy name let us daily give glory; and let us always so exercise ourselves in piety, that we may labour not only diligently to conserve, but every day more and more to encrease thy grace bestowed upon us. And grant that on whose bodies soever we have imposed hands in thy name, through this thy virtue working in them, and through our ministry, may be restored to their former health, and being confirmed therein, may perpetually with us give thanks unto thee, the Chief Physician and Healer of all diseases; and that henceforwards they may so lead their lives, as not their bodies only from sickness, but their souls also from sin, may be perfectly purged and cured. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, thy Son, who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God, world without end. Amen.

APPENDIX NO. VII.

LATIN VERSIONS OF THE PRAYERS AT THE HEALING ISSUED IN THE
REIGNS OF QUEEN ANNE AND GEORGE I.

1713.¹1727.²

FORMA STRUMOSOS ATTRECTANDI.

Singulas nostras actiones, Domine, pro singulari tua clementia præveni, & nos assiduè adjuvando proseguere, ut, in omnibus nostris actionibus, inceptis, continuatis, & in Te perfectis, sacrosanctum Nomen Tuum illustremus, & tandem benignitate Tua sempiternam vitam consequamur, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

In omnibus nostris actionibus, clementissimo Tuo, Domine, favore nos præveni, & perpetuo Tuo auxilio nos proseguere, ut in omnibus operibus nostris, inceptis, continuatis, & in Te perfectis, sacrosanctum Nomen Tuum illustremus, & tandem pro clementiâ Tuâ sempiternam vitam consequamur, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

*Evangelii D. Marci capite 16. Commate 14³ § deinceps
sic scriptum habemus :*

Discumbentibus undecim apparuit Jesus, & eis incredulitatem & per-
vacitiam exprobat, quòd eis, qui Se resurrexisse viderant, non credi-
dissent; eisque dixit, Ite in totum orbem, prædicate Evangelium omni
creaturæ: Qui crediderit, & baptizatus fuerit, servabitur; qui vero non
crediderit, condemnabitur. Signa autem eos, qui crediderint, hæc
sequentur: In Nomine Meo Dæmonia ejicient: linguis loquentur novis:
serpentes tollent: et si quid mortiferum biberint, non iis nocebit:
Quum ægrotis manus imponent, illi bene habebunt. Igitur Dominus, post-
quam eos alloquutus est, sublatus est in cælum, et ad Dei dexteram
sedit. Illi vero digressi ubique prædicarunt, Domino adjuvante, & ora-
tionem sequentibus signis confirmante.

OREMUS.

Misereri nostri, Domine.

Misereri nostri, Christe.

Misereri nostri, Domine.

Pater noster, Qui es in cœlis, sanctè colatur Nomen Tuum. Veniat
regnum Tuum. Fiat voluntas Tua, ut in cœlo, sic & in terrâ. Victum
nostrum alimentarium da nobis hodiè. Et remitte nobis debita nostra,
ut & nos remittimus debitoribus nostris. Nève nos in tentationem
inducito, sed à malo tuere: Quoniam Tuum est regnum, & potentia, &
gloria in sempiternum. Amen.

¹ Annexed to "Liturgia seu Liber Precum Communium," etc., 8vo, London, 1713; where it follows immediately after the "Formula Precum cum Gratiarum Actione," to be used 29 May. (Penes me.)

² Annexed to "Liturgia seu Liber Precum Communium," etc., 8vo, London, 1727; where it follows immediately after the form for the Accession, which is itself preceded by "Formula Precum secundo Die Septembris propter diram Londini conflagrationem quotannis usurpanda (penes me.)"

³ 1713. This rubric stands in Roman letters, 1727. "*D. Marci, xvi, 14.*"

⁴ The Gospel is here cited in full, because it is not, as in the earlier versions, taken from the Vulgate translation.

¶ *Tum strumosi sigillatim Regi¹ sistuntur, in genua provoluti; atque ut singulus sistitur, & dum Rex² iis manus imponit, auroque colla circumdat, capellanus, qui officium prestat, ad Regiam Majestatem conversus ita dicit:*

Deus huic operi propitius adsit; & det ut hi strumosi, quibus Rex³ manus imponit, ex morbo convalescant, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

¶ *Cum omnes sistantur, ita dicit capellanus,*

Salvos fac, Domine, hos famulos tuos.

RESPONSIO.

Qui⁴ sibi fiduciam in Te collocant.

CAPELLANUS.

Mitte eis auxilium ex fano Tuo.

RESPONSIO.

Et potens eos semper protege.

CAPELLANUS.

Succurre nobis, Deus salutis nostræ.

RESPONSIO.

Et Tui Nominis gloriæ causâ libera nos; & Tui Nominis gratiâ peccatis nostris veniam da.

CAPELLANUS.

Nos, Domine, invocantes exaudi.

RESPONSIO.

Et ad Te perlata sit querela nostra.

OREMUS.

Omnipotens Deus, cui omnis valetudo prorsus debetur, quique iis Te defensorem præbes, qui ad Te perfugiunt ad auxilium; pro misericordiâ Tuâ, quæsumus, his tuis famulis auxilium ferto, tuâque in eos clementiâ utere, ut hoc morbo levati, Tibi gratias in ecclesiâ sanctâ Tuâ agant, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Tum capellanus, ad sanandos conversus, dicit,⁵

Omnipotens Dominus, omnibus qui sibi in eo fiduciam collocant Turris firmissima; Cui omne se genua flectit & paret, cœlestium, & terrestrium, & subterraneorum, & nunc & in perpetua secula Vobis sit munimento: & sciatis faxit, & pro certissimo habeatis, nullum aliud esse Nomen sub cœlo apud homines datum, in quo, & per quod à morbo Vobis confirmetur valetudo, & conservandi sitis, nisi solum Nomen Jesu Christi, Domini nostri. Amen. (II Cor. xiii, 14.)⁶

Omnipotens Deus, omnibus ei confidentibus turris firmissima, cui omne se genua flectit, cœlestium & terrestrium, & subterraneorum, & nunc & in perpetua secula tibi sit munimento; & faxit cognoscas, & certior factus sis, nullum aliud esse nomen sub cœlo apud homines datum, in quo & per quod à morbo tibi confirmetur valetudo, & servandus sis, nisi nomen unum Jesu Christi, Domini nostri.

Domini Jesu Christi gratia, & Dei amor, & Sancti Spiritûs communio, nobis adsit omnibus in perpetua secula. Amen.⁶

¹ 1713. Regiæ.

² 1713. Regiæ.

³ Ibid.

⁴ "Hæ responsiones a strumosis dicendæ sunt."

⁵ 1713. This rubric does not appear.

⁶ Omitted 1727.

APPENDIX NO. VIII.

1715. GEORGE I.

AT THE HEALING.

Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings, with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help, that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorify thy holy name, and finally by thy mercy obtain everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Holy Gospel is written in the 16th chapter of St. Mark, beginning at the 14th verse :

Jesus appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed¹ not them which had seen him after he was risen. And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned. And these signs shall follow them that believe : In my name they shall cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues, they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them ; *they shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall recover.* So then, after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God. And they went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following.

Let us pray.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation ; but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

¶ *Then shall the infirm persons, one by one, be presented to the King upon their knees ; and as every one is presented, and while the King is laying his hands upon them, and putting the gold about their necks, the chaplain that officiates, turning himself to His Majesty, shall say these words following :*

God give a blessing to this work ; and grant that *these sick persons*, on whom the King *lays* his hands, may recover, through² Jesus Christ our Lord.

¶ *After all have been presented, the chaplain shall say,*

Vers. O Lord, save thy servants.

[These answers are to be made by them that come to be healed.]

Resp. Who put their trust in thee.

¹ The edition of 1715 (4to) reads "belived"; the other editions correctly, "believed."

² The edition (4to), 1707, reads "thro'."

Vers. Send them help from thy holy place.

Resp. And evermore mightily defend them.

Vers. Help us, O God of our salvation.

Resp. And for the glory of thy name deliver us, and be merciful to us sinners, for thy name's sake.

Vers. O Lord, hear our prayers.

Resp. And let our cry come unto thee.

Let us pray.

O Almighty God, who art the giver of all health, and the aid of them that seek to thee for succour, we call upon thee for thy help and goodness mercifully to be shewed upon these thy servants, that they being healed of their infirmities, may give thanks unto thee in thy holy church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ *Then the chaplain, standing with his face towards them that come to be healed, shall say,*

The Almighty Lord, who is a most strong tower to all them that put their trust in him, to whom all things in heaven, in earth, and under the earth, do bow and obey, be now and evermore your defence, and make you know and feel that there is none other name under heaven given to man, in whom and through whom you may receive health and salvation, but only the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. Amen.

ON THE TAU, OR EMBLEM OF LIFE.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

WHATEVER may have given rise to the mystic sign which, from its similitude to the nineteenth letter of the Greek alphabet, has received the name of *tau*, certain it is that it has been regarded with profound reverence from a period of the most remote antiquity, and accepted as a sacred symbol by the most diverse creeds. Jew and Gentile, heathen and Christian, alike acknowledge its potency and holiness; but each seems bewildered as to the country, era, and reason of its invention, so universal is it in reception. Go to the realm of the Pharaohs, and you see it sculptured on its stupendous monuments, depicted on its sepulchral walls, borne in the hands of its mightiest divinities, pendent on the bosoms of its confined dead. Search the ruined palaces of Nineveh, and there, as in Egypt, chisel and graver have wrought the

¹ "Unto," 1767, 4to; 1708, 1to.

tau in many a place, on many an object. Examine the works of the Israelites, and you detect it in a way which shows how it was venerated by them. Turn to the Druidic faith, and it again confronts you. You behold it on the amulets of the devotees of mysticism in every age. Christian iconography renders it conspicuous. Gnostics, Knights Templars, Fraternity of St. Anthony, adopt it as a badge; the herald blazons it in the escutcheon, the merchant and moneyer take it as their mark, the trader as his sign.¹ And yet, with all this wide-spread display, with all the countless examples of the *tau* scattered throughout the world, the question remains unanswered, what is its origin? Whence springs the power which commands an almost boundless sway, and bids the millions recognise it as a type and sign of high and awful import?

Fancy has discovered in the shaft and traverse of the *tau* typifications of the active and passive principles of Nature, identifying the two portions with the *Linga* and *Yoni*; thus making it one and the same with the Hindu *Argha*, a symbol which may justly be denominated the emblem of life.² But if this really be the signification of the *tau* among certain sects and votaries, it is surely in a different sense that it has been admitted into Christian iconography, where it possibly stands as a type of the Triune Godhead,—the fount of all existence.

On a former occasion I presumed to offer a few remarks on the cross-*tau* of St. Anthony,³ and it is now proposed to supplement what has already been done, by inviting attention to some extremely interesting examples of the *tau* chiefly, though not solely, connected with the martyrdom of our Lord.

As it was the discovery, in London, of a badge of the order of St. Anthony that drew forth the paper just alluded to, it will be well to begin the present communication by describing an effigy of the Egyptian hermit in the north window of a chapel in Blithburgh Church, near Southwold,

¹ Reynold Wolfe, the famous printer, of St. Paul's Churchyard (*temp.* Henry VIII), had for his sign the brazen serpent coiled about a cross-*tau*, held by two hands issuing from clouds.

² For remarks on the supposed phallic character of the *tau*, see *Recherches sur l'Origine et les Progrès des Arts de la Grèce*, tom. i, p. 183; Londres, 1785. Also a paper on *Symbolism in Reference to Art*, read by Dr. Barlow at the Royal Institute of British Architects, March 19, 1860.

³ See *Journal*, xxiii, 109.





Suffolk, painted apparently late in the fourteenth century. The good man is here exhibited with a long oval face and short, flowing beard. He wears a hooded garment of a blue colour, fastened at the throat; and holds a rather thick book in his right hand, and bears a *tau*-topped staff in his left, which at first sight might be taken for an ancient *bipennis*.¹ (See Pl. 16, fig. 1.)

It has already been pointed out that the sign of St. Anthony was formerly employed as an architectural decoration; and as an additional and eminent instance of the practice, mention may be made of the chimney-piece in the episcopal Palace at Exeter, erected by Bishop Peter Courtenay (1477-1486), and on which both the *tau* and the bell are conspicuous. Courtenay was once Master of the Hospital of St. Anthony in London, and hence his fondness for its badge.²

The rules of heraldry make a marked distinction between the ordinary *tau* and that assigned to St. Anthony of Egypt, which, according to Guillim, "must be always broad in its extremities";³ and the same author tells us that "Morgan says, that of old it was the hieroglyphic of security; for which I suppose he alludes to, 'Kill not them upon whom ye shall see the letter *tau*.'"⁴

The *tau* of St. Anthony is well shown in the examples given in this *Journal* (xxiii, 109), and its difference from the simple form of the sign will be readily understood by comparing those examples with a cross held by an effigy of St. Philip, carved in chestnut wood, in Blithburgh Church, of late fourteenth or early fifteenth century work. The Apostle stands erect, with the base of the *tau* resting on the ground before him; his right hand placed on the dexter end of the traverse, and his left touching the upper part of the shaft. (See Pl. 16, fig. 2.) Tradition asserts that St. Philip destroyed a great dragon or serpent worshipped by the Phrygians as a god, by holding up before it a cross; and it is noteworthy that the *cruz* in the Blithburgh sculpture is of

¹ The effigy holds a tau-staff and book on the fifteenth century seal of the Hospital of St. Anthony in London. The legend on this seal is + SIGILL' MAG'RI & FRATERNITATIS D'VI SC'I ANTONI LONDON. See *Gent. Mag.*, Dec. 1784, p. 911.

² See *Vetusta Monumenta*, iii, pl. 38.

³ *Dictionary explaining the several Terms used by Heraldry*, p. 24.

⁴ *Display of Heraldry*, ed. 1724, p. 57. The arms of Lupton bear the *tau* of St. Anthony in a very marked manner. It is displayed on a chief *gules* between two escallops *or*, and therefore seems to be connected with a pilgrimage.

the exact form frequently given to the pole which supports the brazen serpent set up by Moses in the wilderness. The "emblem of life" is thus made to overcome spiritual and corporal death, to conquer sin, and "death which came by sin."¹

Didron (*Christian Iconography*, ed. 1851, i, 374), when speaking of the *tau*, describes it as "the anticipatory cross, the typical cross, the cross of the Old Testament," and says "that with four branches is the true cross, the cross of Christ, the cross of the Gospel." But it will be evident, from the examples now to be adduced, that the early artists thoroughly identified the mystic sign of life with the Lord and Giver of life. The *tau* was with them as much the cross of Christ as if the shaft rose above the transverse bar. It was at once typical of martyrdom and resurrection, of the Victim and the Victor, and Him who died and triumphed over death, and led the way to life eternal.

Mention has previously been made in these pages (xxiii, 112), that the Egyptian Christians of old were wont to commence inscriptions with a *tau*, in the manner that the four-limbed cross was employed by western nations.

Hope, in his *History of Architecture*, has well said that, "Among the first Christians, the instrument of God's suffering and man's redemption, the cross, was made the chief emblem of their faith, the chief mark of their community, their standard, and their watchword"; and Didron (i, 367) declares that "the cross is more than a mere figure of Christ. It is in iconography either Christ himself or his symbol." On ancient Christian or Gnostic gems the Redeemer is at times typified under the sign of the *tau*, a *chi* being placed just beneath the traverse, and the stem serving for the perpendicular line of a *rho*, round the base of which a serpent is coiled.

A highly curious instance of the associating the *tau* with the effigy of the Redeemer occurs in a mosaic in the baptistery of St. John at Florence, the work of Andrea Tafi, who died in the year 1294. Our Lord is there seated on a globe, and has his head surrounded by a nimbus charged with a cross composed of *taus*. (See Pl. 16, fig. 3.)²

¹ St. John Gualbert, abbot of Vallombrosa, who flourished in the second half of the eleventh century, is represented planting the base of a *tau*-staff on the head of the Devil.

² D'Agincourt's *History of Art by its Monuments*, iii, pl. 18, fig. 12.

Though we gather from various sources that the *tau* was an ancient Christian symbol, it is yet to be ascertained when and where the idea came into the mind of the artist, of displaying the martyred Saviour *upon* the emblem of life. The earliest positive instance of a *tau*-crucifix that I can at present refer to, occurs on a font of the fourteenth century at Snape, near Saxmundham, Suffolk. On one of its panels is sculptured the effigy of God the Father crowned, robed, and enthroned like an earthly monarch, and supporting before him a *tau* on which the Redeemer is extended; and it may be well to observe that the feet are not crossed, but placed side by side. (See Pl. 16, fig. 4.) On the right of the group kneels St. John, on the left stands the Virgin Mary, whilst above are angels with thuribles. Round the base of this font are figures of dragons, their low position being indicative of the victory of the cross over the Prince of Darkness.

Another example of a *tau*-crucifix may be seen on the panel of a font at Little Stonham, Suffolk, wrought towards the end of the fourteenth century. In the scantiness of drapery and arrangement of the feet of the Saviour, the motive may be compared to that on the Snape font; but here the resemblance between the two carvings ceases, for the image of the Almighty is omitted, and the accompanying figures of St. John and the Holy Mother are both standing, and occupy places immediately beneath the traverse of the *tau*. (See Pl. 16, fig. 5.) This interesting panel forms a good illustration of Fuller's description of the rood, which, he says, "when perfectly made, and with all the appurtenances thereof, had not only the image of our Saviour extended upon it, but the figures of the Virgin Mary and St. John, one on each side; in allusion to John xix, 26,—“Christ on the cross saw his mother and the disciple whom he loved standing by.”¹

Seroux d'Agincourt, in his *History of Art by its Monuments* (iii, pl. 134), gives a triptychon painted in distemper, on wood, at the commencement of the fifteenth century, in which the central compartment is occupied by the Crucifixion, the rood being of the *tau* form, on the traverse of which sits the Holy Spirit; whilst behind, and within a vesica-shaped aureola upheld by cherubim, appears God the Father. At the sides of the cross stand St. John and the

¹ See Fuller's *History of Waltham Abbey*, p. 16.

Virgin, and before it kneels Mary Magdalen fervently embracing the lower part of the shaft. This beautiful triptychon was bequeathed to the cathedral at Naples by Cardinal Enrico Minutola, Archbishop of Naples, who died in 1412.

Mr. J. Cato has kindly drawn my attention to a sixteenth century example of a *tau*-crucifix in a curious group of the Holy Trinity graven on a brass fixed in the south aisle of Cheam Church, Surrey. The tablet is to the memory of Thomas Fromound, Esq., 1542, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Yerde, Esq., and exhibits their six sons and four daughters. In this sacred triad the Almighty appears as a portly, enthroned sovereign, aged and dignified in aspect; giving the benediction with his right hand, and with his left supports the crucifix. On the traverse of the *tau* sits the Dove with outstretched wings.

The Empress Helena, the reputed discoverer of the three Calvary crosses, is generally delineated with a *crux*, which in a beautiful brass of the fourteenth century, at Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire, takes the form of the *tau*. She is there shown standing with her left arm round its stem, one end of the traverse passing over her left shoulder, and her crowned and nimbed head inclining affectionately towards the beam.

Constantine the Great and St. Helena are frequently represented holding the holy rood between them; but among the painted glass in Blithburgh Church the emperor appears as the sole supporter of a *tau*. In this instance he is depicted young, clothed in a purple robe, with golden crown, nimbus, and sceptre; and holds with his left hand the stem of the cross, the traverse of which intersects the apex of the arched diadem. (See Pl. 16, fig. 6.) This rare example is a late fifteenth or early sixteenth century production, of good design and excellent execution, and belongs to the era when the *tau* seems to have been in high favour with artists. It is a rood of this form which our Saviour bears in the famous Fairford glass; and at our Cirencester Congress Mr. Holt stated that the *tau* is frequent in the works of Albert Durer.

A most striking example of the *tau* may be seen painted on the roof above the rood-loft of Southwold Church, Suffolk, wrought, no doubt, by some foreign artist *circa* 1500. (See pl. 16, fig. 7.) This *tau* is held by an angel (one of a series of eighteen) bearing the emblems of the Passion.

The field on which the figure is drawn is of a blue colour; but the celestial being appears to rise from, or float on, red flames of fire. A golden crown is on its head, its expanded wings are green above, red below; its tunic pink; and the great *tau*, the shaft of which rests on the left hand, and passes beneath the right arm, is red throughout, and brings to mind the words of a distich addressed by St. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, to his friend Sulpicius Severus, in which he says, "The cross blushes, and is dyed in the blood of the Lord."¹

Heraldic iconography has established two varieties of the holy rood, denominated respectively the "Cross Passion" and the "Cross Calvary," the only real difference between them being that the latter is elevated on three steps. But we meet with an escutcheon blazoned with a *crux*, which to my mind is not merely a representation of the "rood of grace," but is so disposed as to typify the Lord bearing it to Golgotha. This remarkable charge is given in Guillim's *Dictionary Explaining the several Terms used by Herald*s (ed. 1724, p. 23), accompanied by the following note: "A cross *portate*, as in Leigh; so call'd because lying in bend, as over a man's shoulder. We may term it, saith Gibbon, '*Crucem longam T portatam*, or rather *obliquè positam*; or else we may say, '*Crucem longam (cujus trabs transversa ad ipsissimum ejus fastigium affigitur obliquè positam.*' In English we should say, a long cross T *portate* or *oblique* dispos'd."

There is another charge in heraldry which we may fairly regard as allusive to the holy rood, namely the *Jerusalem cross*, which is evidently composed of four *taus* united at their bases, and known as a *cross potent*, "by reason of the resemblance its extremities bear to the head of a crutch," as Guillim tells us in his Dictionary (p. 20). This form of cross is displayed on the coins of the Spanish monarchs, Charles I and Philip II, surrounded by the motto, "*In hoc signo vinces*," which is conclusive as to the light in which it was held in the sixteenth century.

The old proverb, that "there is no rule without an exception, holds good with respect to the sacred *tau*; for though we have overwhelming evidence that it is the cross of Christ, yet artists have been found who, forgetful of its sublime character, have assigned it to the thieves, whilst stretching the Redeemer on a four-branched rood. Such is the case in

¹ See Didron, i. 413.

a fifteenth century fresco above the altar in the Chapel della Passione, in the church of St. Clement at Rome, painted by Masanio, who died in the year 1443; and also in a mosaic of wood, of the sixteenth century, believed to be the work of either Giuliano or Benedetto da Majano. Both of these pictures are engraved in D'Agincourt's *History of Art by its Monuments* (iii, 154, 168), and are deserving of careful study from the curious details which they furnish, as well as for the singular differences which exist in the sacrificial crosses.

Lengthy as this paper is, the subject on which it so imperfectly treats is far from exhausted, and is ever inviting renewed research and observation; for in the whole cycle of sacred symbols there is not one surpassing in interest the mystic *tau*, which, as I have stated, descends to us from the gloom of an unfathomable past, to puzzle and confound us by its presence in widely separated lands, and among races whose thoughts and feelings seem to have naught in common, but who, with one accord, hail it as an ensign of their faith, a type of superhuman power, an emblem of the Life-Giver and of life.

ON THE SUCCESSION OF THE ABBOTS OF MALMESBURY.

BY W. DE G. BIRCH, ESQ.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, the monk, librarian, and historian of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Aldhelm, at Malmesbury in Wiltshire, in his *Gesta Pontificum*, or ecclesiastical history of England (edited last year by N. E. Hamilton, Esq., from the autograph MS.), has given us a series of abbots ranging from the foundation of the Abbey to his own days, which has been followed by all the monastic historians of later times, without any endeavour to fill up the gaps which occur in the list. Browne Willis, in his *History of Mitred Abbeyes*, carried on the sequence to the Dissolution, chiefly by means of entries in the Patent Rolls, and not in all cases correctly transcribed; but there exist in a volume of miscellaneous matter, belonging to the Cotton collection in the British Museum (Vitellius, A. x, folios 158-160), four quarto pages of vellum, written by a monk of Malmesbury about the latter part of the twelfth century, the substance of which is

made up of short extracts from the fifth book of the *Gesta Pontificum*, detailing the circumstances of the acquirement of the abbey lands from the various royal grantors, and carried on by the writer, in his own words, from A.D. 1125 to his own time (probably about A.D. 1230), finishing with a much fuller list of the abbots than any yet known. This fragment probably formed part of a larger work, although complete in itself as a chapter, and is especially interesting as a brief chronicle of the chief events in the history of a religious house which played a prominent part in the monastic affairs of England in the middle ages. The new list contains the names of all the abbots, in order of chronology, from St. Aldhelm to John surnamed "Walensis," or "the Welshman"; and by its assistance many of the defects in the list originating from William of Malmesbury are made good. One remarkable circumstance connected with it is, that although the compiler borrowed nearly all his sentences, word for word, out of the *Gesta Pontificum*, and therefore must have been aware of the list as arranged by the author of that work, yet he gives a list varying considerably from that which was ready to his hand in the pages of the MS. he was using; and even where the same abbot finds a place in each list, the name given in this new MS. approaches, in many cases, more nearly to the received Saxon orthography: a fact which would seem to indicate to us that the compiler gleaned their names in a direct manner from the original archives of the abbey, whereas William of Malmesbury had been content either to modernise their names, in order to make them more acceptable to the hearers and readers of his history (as he acknowledges he did with the uncouth names of English saints), or to receive them from an intermediate authority.

As this list has never yet been used by writers of monastic history, and is so preeminently deserving of being brought to bear upon the old list, I have by its help constructed a new roll of the names of the abbots; and supplementing the latter part with additional information derived from numerous manuscript and printed sources respecting the dates of the more modern rulers of the abbey, as well as with some account of the existing chartularies and registers thereto belonging, venture to lay before the Association the result of my researches into the subject.

Meildulfus, or *Meldum* (*circ.* A.D. 673-675), according to William of Malmesbury virtually originated the monastery by collecting around him a band of scholars in or about A.D. 673.¹ St. Aldhelm, his successor, was one of his pupils.² The same author, quoting a Bull of Pope Sergius I, A.D. 701, indicates that Meldum founded the monastery in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul. His relics were cast out of the church of St. Michael at Malmesbury by Abbot Warinus.³ Willis,⁴ from a passage in Leland,⁵ calls this holy person Maidulf, and states that he lived until A.D. 676. Although the foundation is, without doubt, to be ascribed to Meildulfus, it is most probable that no regular monastic establishment existed before the time of his successor; and this is corroborated by the Cottonian list, which omits his name. Dugdale⁶ calls him Maidulph.

Aldhelm I, or Adelm (as he is sometimes, but incorrectly, called), succeeded his teacher, *circ.* A.D. 675. William of Malmesbury transcribes his epitaph bearing the date of his death, 25 May, A.D. 709. In A.D. 705 he was raised to the bishopric of Sherborne; and canonised during the life of Lanfranc, in consequence of a miracle performed by the agency of his remains. The autograph *Gesta Pontif.* states that he was abbot for thirty-four years, which would make his rule to have commenced in A.D. 675. His life has been so completely discussed by the above author, that it is unnecessary to give any details of it here. He did not relinquish the abbacy until his death, in accordance with the often expressed desire of his monks. Bradford and Frome, two neighbouring abbeys of his foundation, acknowledged him as their chief. Willis, Dugdale, and all others, testify to his name. The Cotton MS. places him at the head of the list; and we have abundant proof that the Malmesbury monks considered him the practical founder of the abbey, the duties performed by Meldum having been most likely confined to a secular rather than religious nature. Aldhelm's name occurs as abbot in several charters in the *Gesta Pontif.*, lib. v, and in the various chartularies of the abbey, dated A.D. 670, 675, 680, 681, 685, 688, 692, 699,

¹ *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Hamilton, pp. 334, 345, 368.

² *Ibid.*, p. 334.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 335, 421.

⁴ *History of the Mitred Parliamentary Abbeys*, 2 vols., 8vo, 1718, p. 136.

⁵ *Itinerary*, vol. ii, p. 21.

⁶ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. i, p. 255.

701, and 704.¹ In a charter dated A.D. 680 (*Codex Diplom.*, No. 18*) Aldhelm signs himself, "Ego Aldhelmus Scholasticus Archiepiscopi Theodori hanc cartulam dictitans prout regis maiorumque inperia statuerunt scribere iussi."

Daniel.—Willis, quoting Wharton's Collections, says that Daniel succeeded St. Aldhelm in his episcopate in A.D. 705, and was in his turn succeeded in A.D. 746 by Aldhelm II, but we know from William of Malmesbury that St. Aldhelm remained abbot until 709. The Cotton MS. contains the name of Daniel after Aldhelm. Malmesbury states that Daniel, or Danihel, Bishop of Winchester, succeeded Hedda A.D. 705; and after forty-three years of service resigned the see, retiring as a monk (*"Melduni, quantum vixit, monachum exercens"*) to Malmesbury, where he was afterwards buried. Now as Daniel had been raised to the see of Winchester at the same time that the see of Sherborne was divided from it for St. Aldhelm, he is not likely to have held the abbey against his co-bishop. It is possible that the monks having been used to episcopal rule (that of St. Aldhelm, from A.D. 705 to 709) may have desired also to continue so ruled by another bishop, Daniel, from A.D. 709; perhaps in hopes of ultimately establishing a cathedral see at Malmesbury, though they were actuated by exactly opposite feelings at a later period. But William of Malmesbury in no place calls him abbot. The difficulty arises from his retirement into private life to the abbey, where, as a *quasi* bishop, he may have enjoyed some religious preeminence over the less notable monks; but he exercised his episcopal powers between A.D. 705 and 745, for we find him in royal charters thus dated.² Stubbs³ indicates his latest signature in A.D. 737, his successor's consecration in 744, and his death in 745.

Aldhelm II, according to William of Malmesbury, succeeds, occurring in A.D. 745.⁴ The same authority calls him *nepos*, presumably nephew, of the saint whose name he bore. Willis, who calls him Adelm, or Aldelm, places his succession in A.D. 746. Tanner, according to Willis, doubts the existence of this abbot. The Cottonian MS. omits his name.

¹ Cf. MS. Chartul. in Record Office, fol. 122b-124, etc., and Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, Nos. 7*, 11*, 18*, 20*, 22*, 23*, 26*, 28*, 29*, 46*, 48, 50*, 51*, 994*, 995, 997*. The numbers marked thus (*) are considered of doubtful origin by the editor.

² *Gesta Pontif.*, pp. 380, 387.

³ Stubbs' *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, p. 161.

⁴ *Gesta Pontif.*, p. 387. MS. in Record Office, fol. 125, etc.

Megildulfus.—Named in all probability after the originator of the abbey, occurs only in the Cottonian MS. The position of this name indicates that it is not to be confounded with that of Meildulf or Meldum.

Forthere follows, but only in the Cottonian MS. This abbot may be identical with, or derive his name from, Forthere, who was Bishop of Sherborne on the death of St. Aldhelm, A.D. 709-737.¹

Æambriht next succeeds, according to the Cottonian MS. An abbot Eanberhtta occurs in a Mercian charter dated by Kemble between 755 and 757. (*Cod. Dipl.*, 100.) His name recalls that of Eanberht, Bishop of Hexham A.D. 800-806; and may, perhaps, relate to the same individual, as we know by a passage in William of Malmesbury that many of the abbots were raised to bishoprics. Abbot Warinus casts out of the church the "*ossa sanctæ memoriæ Meildulfi et ceterorum qui olim ibi abbates posteaque in pluribus locis antistites...*"²

Sigibriht succeeded, according to the testimony of the Cottonian MS. I do not find any bishop of this name in the received lists, but it is sufficiently common among the personages of this period to have been the name of an abbot.

Athelardus, Ethelardus, or Adelardus of William of Malmesbury; called Oththelard by the Cottonian MS.; Ethelard by Willis, who quotes a passage in the *Anglia Sacra* (vol. i, p. 95) to shew that he left the abbey in A.D. 754; and Æthelheard by the Saxon Chronicle. "*Æthilheardus, œconomus atque abbas,*" occurs in a Wessex charter (749) printed by Kemble (*Cod. Dipl.*, 1006). This abbot was made Bishop of Winchester at some period between A.D. 766 and 778, and Archbishop of Canterbury at Hearrahaleh, 21 July, 793. His death took place on the 12th of May, 805.³

Cuthbertus.—Appointed, as William of Malmesbury records,⁴ by Ethelard on his accession to the see of Winchester, A.D. 766-778. He occurs in a charter of King Ecgferth,⁵ granting a quantity of land at Purton, in Wiltshire, to the abbey, dated A.D. 796.⁶ It is much to be deplored that

¹ Stubbs' *Reg. Sac. Anglic.*, p. 165.

² *Gesta Pontif.*, pp. 420-21.

³ Stubbs, p. 8, who does not seem to admit the identity of the Bishop of Winchester with the Archbishop of Canterbury.

⁴ *Gesta Pontif.*, p. 389.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 380, and Rec. Office MS., fol. 125 b.

⁶ Cf. Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. 174, and Cuthberht, abbot in the diocese of Winchester, 12th Oct., A.D. 803; *ibid.*, No. 1024.

William of Malmesbury erased in his autograph some lines¹ probably containing a stricture upon the character of this abbot. Willis and the other writers acknowledge Cuthbert, but the Cottonian MS. omits his name, and passes on to

Wlfredus, who is not noticed by any other authority. This name, with the subsequent ones, helps to fill up the large *hiatus* of one hundred and seventy-eight years between Cuthbert, A.D. 796, and Ælfrie, A.D. 974, that occurs in William of Malmesbury and all writers after him. A Bishop Wlferd, Wlfeard, or Wulfhard, occupied the see of Hereford from A.D. 800-822; but there is more probability that this abbot became Archbishop of Canterbury on the death of Ethelard,² and held that dignity between A.D. 805 and 832, as from Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* we find Wulfred was consecrated in August 805, and from the Saxon Chronicle his occurrence between A.D. 803 and 829; while his subscriptions are found until the 28th of August, 831. He died on the 24th of March, 832. Ethelard, the archbishop, whose former position as abbot of Malmesbury is unquestionable, most likely laid the foundation of his successor's exaltation both to the abbacy and the archiepiscopate.

Æthelmodus is the next in sequence, but only on the authority of the Cottonian MS., and helps to reduce the long vacancy in the hitherto received accounts. This Saxon name occurs among the Bishops of Sherborne, where we find Ethelmod, or Æthelmod, holding the see from 778 to 782. It is a fact that the Abbey of Malmesbury was contained in this diocese; and the name of a bishop, if respected for his virtues, may have been adopted by the parents of this abbot, whom from the first it is possible they dedicated to the service of God.

Hetheredus.—Another new abbot added by the Cottonian MS. He also finds a patronymic in Hethered or Hedered, Bishop of Worcester from 781-798; and in Heardred, or Herdred, Bishop of Hexham, 797. From the actual date of Cuthbert's notice, 796, to that of Ælfrie's appointment, 974, a period of one hundred and seventy-eight years, we have thus the names of five abbots; which gives an average of nearly thirty-six years for each one to have ruled the abbey. We may therefore safely conclude that the list is still defective, and requires the addition of several names at this

¹ *Gesta Pontif.*, pp. 389, 390.

² Stubbs, p. 10.



part; and it is to be hoped that future research may be rewarded with their discovery.

Ælfricus.—About this abbot much has been written, and many conflicting statements made.¹ William of Malmesbury, speaking in round numbers, says that he was not elevated to the post until thirty years after the death (940) of King Athelstan, which would be 970. But the same historian recites at length King Eadgar's charter containing his appointment to the abbey in 974,² which is borne out in a remarkable manner by the anonymous author of the *Eulogium Historiarum*³ (written in 1366 by a monk of Malmesbury), who states that Elfric was appointed in 974.⁴ The Cottonian MS. calls him *Ælfricus*. William of Malmesbury calls him *Alfricus* and *Elfricus*, and makes him succeed to the bishopric of Crediton. Willis calls him Elfric or Elfred, and considers his abbacy to have terminated in 977, and his burial to have been solemnised on the 9th of January, 988. A doubtful charter,⁵ dated 993, in the *Codex Diplomaticus* of Kemble, No. 684*, contains the signature of "Ælfric meal' abb'." Godwin, evidently in error, mentions his promotion in 982, and death in 999; whereas Dugdale says he succeeded in 977, and became Bishop of Crediton about 982. Stubbs' collation of the signatures shews that Elfric was bishop from 979-985. The *Codex* contains signatures of various abbots of this name, ranging between 931 and 1058.

Æthelwerdus I, of the list in the Cottonian MS., is also called Athelwerd and Ethelwerd by William of Malmesbury, Willis, and Dugdale. He succeeded Ælfric in the time of King Æthelred, who reigned from 978 to 1019; and he occurs in this king's charter to the abbey, 972, in the *Gesta Pontif.* (p. 410), by a slip of the pen for 982, as in the Malmesbury chartulary (Lansdowne MS. 417). The duplicate chartulary in the Record Office has the date 982 also correctly entered at folio 134.

Cynnewerdlus, of the Cottonian MS., next occurs. He is styled Kineward by William of Malmesbury, Willis, and Dugdale. Willis states that Godwin has erroneously entered

¹ Sir Thomas D. Hardy's *Catalogue of British History*, vol. i, Part II, p. 586; Sir Frederic Madden's edition of Matthew Paris' *Historia Minor.*, vol. iii, p. ix; Rev. Oswald Cockayne's *Saxon Leechdoms*, vol. iii, pp. xiv-xxix.

² *Gesta Pontif.*, p. 404, and Record Office MS., f. 133.

³ Edited by F. S. Haydon, Esq., for the Master of the Rolls, 1858-63, 3 vols.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 17.

⁵ Cf. also No. 698, A.D. 997.

his name as Adulf. Malmesbury groups this abbot with ten others (or eight, if we adopt a different and perhaps better punctuation of his text), and says they occupied the abbey during the eighty-six years that elapsed from the accession of Æthelred II in 980 (978) to the death of Edward the Confessor in 1066. Mention of an abbot of this name constantly occurs in the *Codex Diplomaticus*, between 964 and 978; but in some cases the abbot of Middleton, in Dorsetshire, is indicated.

Brihtelmus of William of Malmesbury, Brihelmus of the Cottonian MS., or Brechtelm of Willis and Dugdale, is also to be referred to this period, 980-1040. Signatures of an abbot of this name, some of which must be referred to Exeter, are contained in the *Codex Diplomaticus* between 993-999.

Brihtwoldus, of William of Malmesbury, who does not give him a very good character, and of the Cottonian MS. He is called Britchwold by Willis and Dugdale. Signatures of an abbot of this name will be found in the *Codex*, 984-1012.

Cynebertus is inserted next to Brihtwoldus only in the new Cottonian list. No other mention of his name has yet been found.

Æthericus of the Cottonian MS., Edericus of William of Malmesbury, or Edric of Willis and Dugdale, is next in order, and belongs to the same period.

Wulfsinus of the Cottonian MS., is the Wlsinus of William of Malmesbury, and Wulsin of Willis and Dugdale.¹ William, writing in 1125, says that in his time there were monks who had seen this abbot, and venerated the remembrance of his good deeds. I confess these words upset the hitherto received dates of William of Malmesbury's life. At the latest computation Wulsinus died in 1040. The old date of William's birth is 1095. Could the author, say at ten years of age (*i. e.*, 1105), converse with a man who had been a monk before 1040; *i. e.*, seventy years a monk, and consequently between eighty and ninety years old? I am more inclined to reduce these long periods, and agree with Mr. Hamilton in throwing back the date of Malmesbury's birth to about 1075.

[*Brihtwoldus*] should not have a place among the abbots, and does not occur in the Cottonian MS. An erroneous

¹ Cf. signatures of Wulfsie, or Wulfsige, between 988 and 1045 in the *Cod. Dipl.*, Nos. 664, 684*, 712, 713, 762*, 764, 777, 778, 858, 1327.

reading of a comma for a full point in the early printed editions of the *Gesta Pontif.* has led Willis and the editors of Dugdale, who followed him, to interpolate another Britchwold in this place; whereas the original author, after enumerating the names of the abbots, merely goes back to expatiate upon the characteristic qualities of two he had already disposed of,¹ viz. Brihtwold, and

[*Wlsinus*], who is spoken of by him in his next sentence, but is, in my opinion, not to be ranked as a different individual, being identical with the above Wulfsinus. A second abbot of this name does not occur in the Cottonian MS.

Ægelwardus, of the Cottonian list, held the abbacy for ten years (1040-50),² according to William of Malmesbury. Willis and Dugdale call him Egelward.

Ælwinus of the Cottonian list, called Elwinus by William of Malmesbury, who states that he was abbot for a year and a half, is the Edwin of Willis and Dugdale. Though Dugdale pronounces his death to have occurred in 1052, he does not give any authority for the date; but the calculation of the period during which these eight abbots had their rule, favours the assumption. Next in order comes

Brihtwoldus II, whom William of Malmesbury indicates as head of the abbey for seven years (1052-59).³ He is the second of that name in the Cottonian list also. Willis calls him Brihtwold, and dates him from 1052-57. Dugdale makes him Britchwold III, and considers him alive until 1059.

Brihtricus, of the Cottonian MS., is mentioned with praise by William of Malmesbury, having been originally the *præpositus*, or provost, of the abbey, and promoted to the abbacy on the failure of Herman, Bishop of Salisbury, to remove his see (which was in a ruinous condition) to Malmesbury directly the post fell vacant by the death of Brihtwold II. He ruled the abbey for seven years, and improved its condition, but was deposed by William the Conqueror to make room for a Norman favourite. Willis and Dugdale call him Brithric. This abbot's name will be found in Edward the Confessor's charter of liberties to Malmesbury Abbey, dated 1065, a copy of which exists in the chartulary, MS. Lansdowne 417, fol. 28; *Cartæ Antiquæ* in the Tower (now in the Record Office), a transcript of which occurs in MS. Harl.

¹ *Gesta Pontif.*, p. 411.

² For reason of this date, see further on, under *Brihtric*. Cf. *Cod. Dipl.*, Nos. 762-796.

³ For this date, see account of the following abbot.

84, fol. 185; *Cod. Dipl.*, No. 817; and the chartulary from the Remembrancer's office (now Record Office), fol. 134b.

Tuoldus is the next abbot. William of Malmesbury, who gives some interesting anecdotes of his time, states that he was a monk of Fécamp, a Benedictine abbey on the northern sea-board of France, and appointed by William the Conqueror shortly after his accession to the throne. In 1070 he was transferred to Peterborough Abbey, then vacant; the king considering his naturally warlike character, which may originally have brought him under royal notice, would find full employment in counteracting the ravages of Hereward the Dane, at that time ravaging the eastern parts of the island. Tuoldus remained at Peterborough until his death, which took place in 1098. Willis and the Cottonian MS. enter his name in this place. Dugdale's *Monasticon*¹ calls him Tuoldus or Thorold, and gives a summary account of his life, quoting the history² of Hugo Candidus and the Saxon Chronicle³ to show that he enjoyed this post for twenty-eight years. An additional proof of the date of his entry into Peterborough lies in the fact that his predecessor, Brand, or Brando, died on the 5th of the kalends of December (*i. e.* 27th November) 1069.

Warinus,⁴ and Gurinus, of the Cottonian MS., is called by William of Malmesbury Warinus and Guarinus. He was, we are told, a monk of Lira, or Lire Abbey, in Normandy. Willis and Dugdale consider De Lira as his surname, by a misconception of the phrase, "Warinus de Lira monachus." This Norman abbot, in all probability, owed his promotion to his king and fellow countrymen. His life is depicted in graphic terms by William of Malmesbury, who states that he assisted at the second translation of St. Aldhelm's remains by Osmund Bishop of Salisbury, in 1078. His name also occurs as a witness to a charter⁵ dated at London, 15 William I (1081),

¹ Vol. i, pp. 348-349.

² P. 64.

³ *Sub annis* 1070, 1098.

⁴ At fol. 203 of the Malmesbury chartulary (Lansdowne MS. 417) in the British Museum, we have a charter of a private person granting land to PETER, abbot, and to the convent of Malmesbury, wherein the gift is made "pro salute animæ Regis Willelmi et antecessorum suorum." I find this abbot mentioned nowhere else. It is, perhaps, possible that Stephen was considered an usurper; but if this Peter is the one mentioned further on, it is difficult to see why the "anima" of Henry I is passed over in silence.

⁵ Sir Thomas Phillipps' privately printed chartulary of Malmesbury, p. 23; MS. Lansdowne, 417, fol. 29; *Gesta Pontif.*, p. 428, l. 14; MS. Harl. 84, fol. 186 (from *Carte Antiquæ Turris Lond.*, Q. 2); *ibid.*, fol. 247b (from *Cart. Antiq. Turr. Lond.*, W. 2); Malm. Chartul. in Rec. Off., fol. 135b.

consisting of a royal grant of liberties to the abbey. At that time this abbot was paying his respects at the royal court. He is also mentioned both in the text and among the subscriptions to Queen Matilda's charter¹ of similar liberties, dated February, 1081, and again in another charter² dated 1084. Willis and Dugdale consider him dead in 1081; but he lived at least until 1088,³ when he was succeeded by

Godefridus of the Cottonian MS., Willis, and Dugdale. By the latter authorities he is called a monk and procurator of Ely Abbey, and his death fixed in 1105. William of Malmesbury relates his life with all the detail to be expected from a contemporary, mentioning the interesting fact that he himself assisted the abbot to form the conventual library, whereby the condition of the monks was much benefited. His name occurs in a charter⁴ of William II, as well as in one⁵ of Henry I. He succeeded within a fortnight of the death of Warinus, according to the *Gesta Pontif.*,⁶ and the text of the Cottonian MS. states that this took place in the time of William II.⁷

Ædulfus or *Eduulfus* of the Cottonian MS., is the *Edulf* of Willis and of Dugdale, who consider him to have been a monk of Winchester, from passages in the *Annales Wintonienses*, wherein his appointment is dated 1106,⁸ and his deposition 1118,⁹ by Roger Bishop of Salisbury, who succeeded in carrying out for a while the oppressive policy attempted fifty-nine years previously by his predecessor, Bishop Hermannus, when it was signally resisted. Though William of Malmesbury carried on his history of the monastery to 1125, it is a curious fact that he never mentions this abbot by name; and makes but one obscure allusion, elsewhere in his book, to the unjust measures of Bishop Roger, which had banished the abbot, and diverted the monastic revenues for upwards of six years, at the moment he was putting the finishing stroke to his *Gesta Pontificum*. The

¹ MS. Lansdowne, 417, fol. 29b; Malm. Chartul. in Rec. Off., fol. 136.

² Malm. Chartul. in Rec. Off., fol. 136b; MS. Lansdowne, 417, fol. 30.

³ "Defuncto abbate Gurino in tempore Villelmi junioris." See text at the end of this notice.

⁴ MS. Lansdowne, 417, fol. 30b; Malm. Chartul. in Rec. Off., fol. 137.

⁵ Ibid., 31b; Malm. Chartul. in Rec. Off., fol. 138.

⁶ P. 431.

⁷ See text at end.

⁸ *Ann. Winton.*, in Rev. J. Luard's edition (for the Master of the Rolls), *Annales Monastici*, vol. ii, p. 42.

⁹ Ibid., p. 45. Cf. MS. Harl. 7520, f. 12.

text of the Cottonian MS., however, states that Bishop Roger did not usurp the command of the abbey until the death of Eduulfus.

Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, who removed his see to this abbey from Salisbury, and retained it from 1118 until his death, which took place on the 4th of December, 1139,¹ or rather until shortly after the accession of King Stephen, who, according to the Cottonian MS., imprisoned the Bishop for the rest of his life, and confirmed the election of Abbot John, must be considered to have exercised the rights and duties of abbot during this period, although I find

Robert, abbot of Malmesbury, in a charter² bearing date the octaves of Epiphany (January 14) 1122. Whether this date has been accidentally altered by the transcriber of the charter, or whether Robert was set up by Bishop Roger as a titular abbot, for form's sake, to avoid any difficulties with Rome (in which the monks, smarting under the oppressor, might find opportunity to involve him), I do not pretend to determine. His name, at any rate, is entitled to a place here.

Johannes, of the Cottonian MS. Though this abbot³ is not mentioned in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* (which, though originally written in 1125, contains occasional additions as late as 1140), we gather from other works of this author that Johannes was a contemporary monk with him. Willis states that John, a monk of this convent, was appointed by King Stephen soon after Bishop Roger's death. During his abbacy, or perhaps before it, he made a journey to Rome,⁴ and his friend William drew up an account of his adventures as they were recounted to him. This work, entitled *Itinerarium Johannis Abbatis Malmesburiensis versus Romam*, is now unfortunately no longer extant. His death, which was very premature, is placed by Willis on the 14th of the calends of September (19 August), 1140. Matthew of Westminster states⁵ that he died in 1139, the first year of his appointment.

¹ Stubbs, p. 24; and Le Neve's *Fusti*, ed. Hardy, vol. ii, p. 594.

² MS. Lansdowne, 417, fol. 80b. Cf. Malm. Chartul. in Rec. Off., fol. 138, *temp.* Henrici Regis.

³ MS. Harl. 7520, fol. 12, "A.D. 1139 Johannes factus, Matth. Westmonast. obit eodem anno, p. 673."

⁴ This would be during the papacy of Innocent II.

⁵ Ed. Frankf., 1601. p. 673.

The vacant abbacy was now offered to William of Malmesbury, as he himself states; but he declined the honour in favour of his friend¹

Petrus, who is mentioned in the Cottonian MS. and by Willis, Dugdale, and the other historians. This abbot is probably identical with the "*Petrus sodalis meus*" of William of Malmesbury, who has quoted, in the *Gesta Pontif.*, a fair specimen of his friend's skill in Latin poetry. Hearne says he wrote much poetry, but none of it remains to us at this day. Leland² says he was a native of Bourges (*Biturix*), and accompanied Abbot John as a monk in his journey to Rome. Moffatt,³ in his account of the abbey, calls him Peter Baldwin, but does not give any authority for the surname. He adds that he flourished as a monk about 1130. He was appointed by Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, in 1141;⁴ and the following dates, referring to charters executed in his time, are to be found in the chartularies :

10 kal. Jun. (23 May), 12th of Pope Innocent II, 1142. MS. Lansdowne, 417, fol. 36b. Malm. Chartul. in Rec. Off., fol. 141b.

3 kal. Apr. (30 March), 7th of Pope Eugenius III, 1151. MS. Lansd. 417, fol. 37b. Malm. Ch. in R. O., fol. 142b.

3 kal. Apr. (30 March) *temp. ejusd.* MS. Lansd. 417, fol. 50.

10 kal. Aug. (23 July), 1st of Pope Anastasius IV, 1153. MS. Lansd. 417, fol. 43. Malm. Ch. in R. O., fol. 147b.

11 kal. Jan. (22 Dec.), 3rd of Pope Adrian IV, 1156. MS. Lansd. 417, fol. 40.

The Cottonian MS. says that Peter was originally a monk of Cluny, and restored to the abbey the ancient dignity acquired by St. Aldhelm from Pope Sergius, by obtaining the favourable notice of Popes Innocent, Eugenius, and Anastasius, whose bulls granting various liberties to the abbey will be found in the chartularies mentioned above.

The name of Eusebius, the cantor (*i. e.*, præcentor of the abbey), occurs during the rule of this abbot.⁵

¹ Leland, *Collectanea*, iii, p. 272, quoting the Prologue of the *Itinerarium*, ".....ut socio nostro cederemus in abbatia suscipiendâ, quâ levi negotio plus quam semel potiri potuissemus."

² Ibid.

³ Rev. J. Moffatt, *History of the Town of Malmesbury and of its ancient Abbey*. Tetbury, 1805.

⁴ MS. Harl. 7520, fol. 12, *sub anno*. "*Petrus factus.*" Matth. Westmonast., p. 676.

⁵ Malmes. Chartul. in Record Office, fol. 298.

Gregorius is the next on the lists of the Cottonian MS., Willis, and Dugdale. Willis finds him¹ occurring in 1159. I find him in the *Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliæ*, by Ricardus de Cirencestria,² under the year 1163; and again, in March of the same year, in the *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani*.³ The MS. Lansdowne, 417, fol. 38b, mentions his name in a charter dated 3 idus Jul. (13th July), 4th of Pope Alexander III, 1163. Malm. Chartul. in Rec. Off., fol. 143b.

Robertus is next mentioned by the new list in the Cottonian MS. In the Lansdowne MS., 417, fol. 32, he occurs in a charter of the time of Henry II. Willis, quoting the *Decem Scriptores*,⁴ shows that he occurs in 1174. Dugdale considers his abbacy to have extended from 1174 to 1180. In Benedict of Peterborough's chronicle, the *Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I*, and in Hoveden, he occurs⁵ in August 1175. This abbot mentions "Petrus predecessor noster" in the Lansdowne MS. 417, fol. 50.⁶

Osbertus Foliot.—Osbertus of the Cottonian list, Osbernus Foliot of another MS., and Osbertus Foliot by Willis, who identifies him as prior of Gloucester from the Cottonian MS. Faustina, B. i, and *Anglia Sacra*,⁷ dating his appointment in 1180, and death in 1181 or 1182. The *Annals of Tewkesbury*⁸ and of *Worcester*⁹ place his death in 1182. As Osbert was a prior of Gloucester, he is more likely to have been prior of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter's (where another of the family, the celebrated Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London and other sees, had commenced his career as a monk, and became abbot of the monastery in 1139), than prior of the Austin Priory of St. Oswald in the same city. In the Malmesbury chartulary at the Record Office, "Hobertus abbas" occurs at fol. 178b; but whether this is an error for Osbertus, or Robertus the name of his predecessor and of his successor, it is difficult to determine. Salomon, the scriptor

¹ *Decem Scriptores*, p. 533; but Hutton quotes the same reference, under 1162, in MS. Harl. 7520, fol. 12.

² Edited for the Master of the Rolls, by J. E. B. Mayor, Esq., vol. ii, p. 326.

³ Same series, ed. H. T. Riley, Esq., vol. i, p. 157.

⁴ P. 1105.

⁵ Edited for the Master of the Rolls by W. Stubbs, Esq., vol. i, p. 99; ii, p. 82.

⁶ Cf. also Malm. Chartul. in Record Office, fol. 128, *temp.* Regis Henrici.

⁷ Vol. i, p. 477. Cf. also MS. Harl. 6982, fol. 108, from Cotton. MS., Tiberius E. iv, *sub anno* 1180: "Osbernus Foliot, Prior Gloucestrie, electus est abbas Malmesburiensis."

⁸ *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, for the Master of the Rolls, vol. i, p. 52.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 385.

or professed writer of the monastery, occurs as a witness in several charters executed during the time of this abbot.¹

Robertus Foliot, a new name for the list of Malmesbury abbots. The Harley MS. 6982, fol. 124b, extracting from the Cotton MS., Faustina, B. i, *sub anno* 1180, has the following unique entry: "Osberto abbate Malmesburie defuncto, Robertus, cognomento Foliot, prior Gloucestrie, in abbatem ejusdem loci canonice electus est." In the original MS. it stands on the margin of the leaf as a correction of the text, now scored out, which read: "Osbernus Foliot prior Gloucestrie in Abbatem Malmesburie canonice electus est." Abbot Robert was most likely a relation of his predecessor, and, like him, occupied the priorship of Gloucester as well. Robert was dead in 1183, under which year the above MSS. mention the election of Nicholas.

Nicholaus occurs in the Cottonian MS. The *Annals of Waverley*² call him Nicholas de Sancto Albano, where he is mentioned under the year 1183. The *Annals of Tewkesbury* indicate his appointment³ in 1183, and his death⁴ in 1205, the date of which latter event is borne out by other authorities.⁵ Willis and Dugdale consider that he was deposed in 1187; but the Cotton MS., Faustina, B. i, places this in 1185, and assigns his extravagant debts and other reasons as the cause of his deprivation.⁶ Willis finds that he was originally a monk of St. Alban's (hence his appellation in the *Waverley Annals*), and prior of Wallingford in Berkshire.

Robertus de Melun occurs as Robertus in the Cottonian list. Willis calls him sub-prior of Winchester (St. Swithin's). He was appointed in 1187, according to the *Annals of Winchester*.⁷ He occurs in the Lansdowne chartulary, MS. 417,

¹ Malm. Chartul. in Record Office, fol. 178b, 179b: "Salom' scriptore,—Salom' qui cartam scripsit."

² Ed. Luard, as above, vol. ii, p. 243.

³ Ibid., vol. i, p. 53.

⁴ Ibid., p. 57.

⁵ Cotton. MSS., Faustina, B. i, fol. 22 b, and Cleopatra, A. vii. Harley MS. 7520, fol. 12.

⁶ Fol. 20. On the outer margin the following note in a thirteenth century hand: "Nicholaus abbas Meldunensis apud regem et archiepiscopum accusatus quod ecclesiam suam gravibus debitis onerasset, unde, dum male acta infra tempus sibi assignatum corrigere nequiret, honore debito privatus est, MCLXXXV."

⁷ Ed. Luard, as above, vol. ii, p. 63; *Anglia Sacra*, p. 302; MS. Harl. 6982, fol. 88; *ibid.*, 7520, fol. 12; Cotton. MS., Faustina, B. i, fol. 21b,—marginal note, "Robertus subprior Sancti Swithuni Wintonie factus est abbas Malmesburie, MCLXXXVII."

fol. 33; Malm. Chartul. in Rec. Off., fol. 139, *temp.* Richard I; Lansd. Ch. 417, fol. 50, *temp.* Celestine III (1187-91); *ibid.*, fol. 41, 4th of the calends of September (29th August), 1191, in the fourteenth year of Pope Celestine III; Malm. Chartul. in Rec. Off., fol. 146; Lansd. Ch., 417, fol. 47b, 1st of Celestine III, 1191; *ibid.*, fol. 76b, vigil of All Saints (31 Oct.), second year of King John (1200) *ibid.*, fol. 77b, third year of King John (1201-2). Abbot Robert exercised the capacity of *justiciarius regis* at Reading¹ in 1194. His death is recorded by Willis in 1205, as also by Dugdale and the author of the *Eulogium Historiarum*.² The Malmesbury chartulary in the Record Office states that he was succeeded by his *clericus*,

Walterus Loryng, who had been a monk of Malmesbury for thirty years, and was abbot for nineteen years.³ He occurs in the Cottonian list as Walterus; but as Walterus Loryng, or Loryngus, in the *Eulogium Historiarum*.⁴ Willis quotes the Salisbury Register for the date of his appointment in 1205, and of his death in 1222. The latter date is verified by the *Annals of Dunstaple*.⁵ This abbot is mentioned on the 18th of July, 17th of John (1215), in MS. Lansd. 417, fol. 33b; MS. Harl. 84, fol. 188; *Cartæ Antiquæ Turris Lond.*, Q. 6; Malm. Chartul. in Rec. Off., fol. 139b; and again as Walterus Loeryng, in the 4th of Henry III (1219-20), in the other Malmesbury Chartulary, MS. Cotton, Faustina, B. viii, fol. 152b.

Johannes Walensis succeeded. He is the Johannes of the Cottonian MS., and the last name on the list. Willis calls him Johannes Wallensis from his appointment, 10 Nov., in the Patent Rolls,⁶ 7th of Henry III (1222). This abbot occurs as procurator of the preceding one. He is mentioned in the *Annals of Burton Abbey*,⁷ in 1225; and occurs in the

¹ "Die Sabb. ante fest. S. Michaelis," MS. Cotton, Vespasian, B. xxiv, fol. 21b; cf. MS. Harl. 6982, fol. 89; and also in MS. Cotton, Caligula, A. xiii, fol. 22; cf. MS. Harl. 7520, fol. 12.

² Ed. for Master of Rolls, p. 301, and MS. Cotton, Faustina, B. i. fol. 22b,—marginal note, "mccv, Robertus abbas Malmesburie obiit." Cf. MS. Harl. 7520, fol. 12, *sub annis* 1205, 1208; MSS. Cotton, Cleopatra, A. vii, and Tiberius, A. x.

³ See text at end.

⁴ P. 61.

⁵ *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, as above, vol. iii, p. 77.

⁶ Cf. MS. Harl. 6957, fol. 21; "Rex concedit licentiam eligendi abbatem de Malmesburia post mortem Walteri abbatis"; and again, fol. 21b, "Johannes Walensis electus abbas, 10 Nov."

⁷ *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, as above, vol. i, p. 232.



Malmesbury chartulary, British Museum, Additional MS. 15667, fol. 1-1b; before 1230; and again in the same MS., fol. 1b, after 1230. The other references recording his name are,—MS. Lansd. 417, fol. 97; Hilary term, 1224. Ibid., fol. 97b; Easter term, 17th of Henry III (1233). Ibid., fol. 201, St. John Baptist's Day, 25th of Henry III (1241); Malm. Chartul. in Record Office, fol. 284. Ibid., fol. 90, vigil of St. Lucy's Day, 1230.¹ Malm. Chartul. in Record Office, fol. 188b. He lived at least until 1246; but the Record Office MS. states that he was abbot for twenty-five years.² We meet with numerous documents in the various chartularies bearing the names of abbots John, William, etc.; but it is impossible to determine to which abbot bearing the same name they are to be referred. G. prior of Malmesbury, and God', *præpositus*, or provost, are found in MS. Lansd. 417, fol. 81, on the 29th of July, 1244.

Galfridus succeeded, according to the Record Office MS.,² holding the abbacy for fifteen years. He had originally been sacrist of the abbey, and occurs in that capacity in an undated deed in the early part of the thirteenth century.³ Willis calls him Jeffrey, and quoting from the Patent Rolls, 30th of Henry III, places his election in 1246,⁴ and finds him occurring in 1256. Dugdale finds him in 1246 and 1260. He is also to be found in Trinity term, 33rd of Henry III (1249), MS. Lansd. 417, fol. 201; Malm. Chartul. in Record Office, fol. 283b; 1255, as a witness to a charter, MS. Harl. 6982, fol. 85,—an extract from MS. Cotton, Vitellius, A. xi, fol. 103; feast of St. Peter *ad Cathedram*, 22nd February, 41st of Henry III (1257), MS. Lansd. 417, fol. 158b; Malm. Chartul. in Record Office, fol. 237. He was succeeded, according to the Record Office MS., by

Willelmus de Colerne,² who had held the abbacy for twenty-five years when the memorandum was made, about 8 Edw. I. He is found by Willis in the Patent Rolls, 44th of Henry III (1259). The vacancy was notified to the king⁵

¹ In conjunction with Walter, abbot of the Cistercian Abbey of Stanley, co. Wilts. a new name for the defective list of that house. A few other charters relating to business with Stanley occur in these MSS.

² See text at the end.

³ MS. Cotton, Faustina, B. viii, fol. 142. Cf. next note.

⁴ Cf. MS. Harl. 6957, fol. 47b. "10 Mar., 30 Henr. III (A.D. 1246), *licentia eligendi abbatem Malmesburiensem*." Ibid.: "25 Mar., Rex præbet assensum electioni Galfridi Sacristæ Malmesburie in abbatem ejusdem."

⁵ MS. Harl. 6957, fol. 68b: "*Custodia Abbatiæ de Malmesburia vacata*, 12

on the 12th April, the royal assent for the election of William was given on the 30th April, and the temporalities restored to him upon the 1st of May. His name will be found in the following chartularies, occurring under the respective dates mentioned :

St. Andrew's Day, 1260.—MS. Lansd. 417, fol. 107b.

1261.—Ibid., fol. 106b.

11 kal. Maii, 1261.—Brit. Mus., Addit. MS. 15667, fol. 5b-7.

1267.—MS. Lansd. 417, fol. 126b.

Octave of Purification of B. V. Mary, 52nd of Henry III (1268).—Ibid., fol. 121, 130b.

Easter, 52nd of Henry III (1268).—Ibid., fol. 125, 165.

1270.—Ibid., fol. 144b.

Sunday before St. Lawrence's Day, 55th of Henry III (1271).—Addit. MS. 15667, fol. 7.

1274.—MS. Lansd. 417, fol. 111.

1276.—Ibid., fol. 65b, 67b, 68b.

St. Michael's Day, 1276.—Malm. Chart., Rec. Off., fol. 167.

SS. Simon and Jude's.—Ibid., fol. 168.

St. Matthias' Day.—Ibid., fol. 169b.

St. Nicholas' Day, 1277.—Ibid., fol. 248.

Decollation of St. John the Baptist, 1281.—Ibid., fol. 253b.

5 kal. Sept. 1282.—Addit. MS. 15667, fol. 6b.

1282.—MS. Lansd. 417, fol. 149; (?) Malm. Chartul. in Rec. Off., fol. 247b.¹

1283.—MS. Lansd. 417, fol. 172b; MS. Cotton, Faustina, B. viii, fol. 191b.

Easter, 1283.—Malm. Chartul. in Rec. Off., fol. 254b.

Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 1283.—Ibid., fol. 256.

Translation of St. Edward the King, 1284.—Ib., fol. 273.

St. Michael's Day, 1286.—Ibid., fol. 287b.

1286.—MS. Lansd. 417, fol. 202, 202b, 206.

16th of Edward I, 1287.—Ibid., fol. 209b.

Sat. before Conversion of St. Paul, 1287.—Faustina, B. viii, fol. 132.

Morrow of the Purification of the B. V. M., 16th of Edward I (1288).—Malm. Chartul. in Rec. Off., fol. 114b.

Trinity term.—Ibid., fol. 290b.

Apr. 44 Hen. III." Ibid.: "Rex præbet assensum electioni Willelmi de Colern in abbatem Malmesburiensem, 30 Apr. Temporalia restituta, 1 Maij."

¹ *Testibus* Willelmo Le Scriveyn, et Adam Le Chaumberleyn," two of the Abbey officials.

St. Kenelm's Day, 1289.—Ibid., fol. 292.

1289.—MS. Lansd. 417, fol. 211b.

13 June, 21st of Edw. I (1293).—Malm. Chartul. in Rec. Off., fol. 14.

The *Eulogium Historiarum*¹ records his death in 1295; but Willis, Dugdale, and others, make it 1296. An inquisition *post mortem abbatis de Malmesbury* was taken in the 13th of Edward I (1284-5).

Willelmus de Badmyntone of the Malmesbury Chartulary in the Record Office,² W. de Badminton of Willis, or W. de Badmenton of Dugdale, is the next abbot. The Patent Rolls,³ 24th of Edward I, indicate his appointment towards the close of 1296. This name occurs in the Malm. Chartul. in Rec. Office, fol. 27, Saturday before St. Barnabas' Day, 1309; and again at fol. 297, on the 11th of the calends of March, 1313. The above authors record his death on the 26th of May, 1324.

Adam atte Hok or De la Hok of Willis, De la Hoke of Dugdale, succeeded, 29th June, 1324, according to the Patent Rolls,⁴ 17th of Edward II. His name occurs in MS. Cotton, Faustina, B. viii, fol. 138, in the 2nd of Edward III (1328-29). The *Eulogium Historiarum*⁵ indicates his death in 1340, which is corroborated by the Patent Rolls.⁶ Willis, however, states that he died in 1339. One MS. of the *Eulogium* calls him Hook.

Johannes de Tintern next occupied the abbacy, according to Willis, who gives a reference to the Patent Rolls, 14th of Edw. I (1340). The same authority places his death in 1348. The *Eulogium* calls him Johannes Tyntern, and records the exact day of his death,⁷ 6th of the ides of August (8th Aug.), 1347, which appears to be two years before the

¹ P. 306.

² Fol. 17, 17b, where W. de Colerne is spoken of as his predecessor.

³ Cf. MS. Harl. 6958, fol. 69: "Licentia electionis post mortem Willelmi, 3 Oct." Royal assent, 25 Oct. Temporalities restored, 6 Nov.

⁴ Cf. MS. Harl. 6958, fol. 142b: "Nunciatur regi de morte Will. Abb. de Malm.; hab. lic. eligendi, 26 Maij." Ibid., fol. 143: "Rex restituit temporalia fratri Adæ atte Hok, electo in abbatem Malm., 29 Jun."

⁵ P. 204.

⁶ Pat. Rolls, 14 Edw. III. Cf. MS. Harl. 6959, fol. 71b: "Nunciatur regi de morte Adæ abb. de Malm., et hab. licentiam eligendi, 29 Mart'." Ibid., fol. 72: "Rex consentit electioni de Joh. de Tyntern in abbatem de Malmesb. 10 April; temporalia tradita, 21 April."

⁷ P. 214. Cf. MS. Harl. 6959, fol. 139b. Pat. Rot., 23rd Edward III:—"Nunciatur regi de morte Joh. de Tyntern, abb. de Malm.; hab. lic. eligendi, 9 Aug. (1349)."

Patent Rolls place it. This abbot occurs in the 18th of Edward III (1344-5), in the MS. Harl. 6982, fol. 88; an extract from MS. Cotton., Vitellius, A. xi, fol. 136. A warrant for his apprehension was issued in the year 1343, when he appears to have been indicted for felony, and absconded.¹ He occurs also in the 17th and 18th of Edward III, in the Malmesbury Chartulary, Record Office, fol. 66.

Simon de Aumeneye is the next in order. According to the *Eulogium* he obtained his appointment in 1349,² and died in 1362;³ whereas Willis and Dugdale suppose that he was elected in 1348, from the Patent Rolls,⁴ 23 of Edw. III (1349), and died in 1361. The record of his election is dated 19th of August, 1349; and the licence⁵ of electing a new abbot in his place, 13th of October, 1361.

Walterus de Cam received the royal assent to his election on the 4th of November, and restitution of temporalities on the 25th of November, 1361.⁶ According to the *Eulogium*⁷ he was appointed on St. Quintin's Day, 1362. Willis calls him Walter Cam, and Dugdale Walter Camme, from the Patent Rolls, 35th of Edward III (1361). These authors place his death in 1396.⁸ His name occurs in the following references :

G. Abbas (for Gualterus) before 37th of Edward III.—Addit. MS. 15,667, fol. 122b.

1364.—Malm. Chartul. in Rec. Off., fol. 299.

37th of Edward III.—Faustina, B. viii, fol. 165.

42nd of Edward III.—Ibid., fol. 174.

43rd of Edward III.—Ibid., fol. 163b, 164.

45th of Edward III.—Detached seal in the British Museum, xliii, 67.⁹

¹ *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium, prima pat. M. 31, a tergo* : "De capi-endo Johannem de Tinterne, abbatem de Malmesbury, ac unum suum commo-
nachum, ac complures alios viros et mulieres de felonìa indicatos ac latitantes
et discurrentes per totum regnum, qui indictati fuerunt coram Roberto Par-
nynge, Cancellario, ac aliis justiciariis in com. Wilts." (17 Edw. III.)

² P. 309.

³ P. 313.

⁴ Cf. MS. Harl. 6959, fol. 141; Pat. R. 23 Edw. III : "Rex consentit elec-
tioni de fratre Simone de Aumeneye in Abbatem Malmesburie, 19 Aug. Tem-
poralia tradita, 11 Sept."

⁵ MS. Harl. 6960, fol. 55; Pat. R. 35 Edw. III : "Licentia eligendi Abbatem
de Malmesburia per mortem Simonis de Aumeneye, 13 Oct."

⁶ MS. Harl. 6960, fol. 56b; Pat. R. 35 Edw. III : "Rex consentit electioni
factæ de fratre Waltero Camme in Abb. Malm., 4 Nov. Temporalia traduntur,
25 Nov."

⁷ P. 313.

⁸ See next abbot.

⁹ This seal is of fine execution, and the original exists in the Chapter House

49th of Edward III.—MS. Harl. 638, fol. 252.

Abbot Walter must have been dead before the 27th of February, 1396 (19th of Richard II), as the MS. Harl. 6961, fol. 110 (Pat. R. 19 Ric. II) mentions the royal licence to elect a new abbot on this day; and the Addit. MS. 6165, fol. 57, contains a transcript of the *Extenta Temporalium* of the Abbey taken after his death, and dated 26th of March in the same year.

Thomas de Chelesworth. For this and most of the succeeding abbots Willis is the principal authority; according to whom I find he was admitted in 1396, on the 18th of March, as appears from the Patent Rolls, 19th of Richard II. The temporalities were restored to him on the 18th of April¹ in the same year. This abbot occurs in the Salisbury Register in 1419. The date of his death is not known.

Willelmus.—Willis, on the authority of Wharton's Collections, states that this abbot occurs in 1423; but I do not find any reference confirming the fact.

Rogerus Pershore was elected² on the 5th of May, and received the temporalities on the 17th of May, 1424. His death³ took place before the 13th of April, 1434. He occurs in the Malmesbury Chartulary in the Record Office, fol. 67. Willis and those who follow him call this abbot Robertus Persore, and give the years 1424, 1434, as above.

Thomas Bristowe obtained the royal assent⁴ to his election on the 24th of April, 1434, and the temporalities were restored to him six days after. Willis, from the Salisbury Register, places the succession of this abbot in 1434, and death in 1456. This latter date is borne out by the transcript of the inquisition *post mortem*, 2nd of December, 1456, in the Addit. MS. 6165, fol. 7; and the royal licence to elect

at Hereford Cathedral. The legend it bears is, *HOE ALDELMUS AGO QUOD PRESENS SIGNAT IMAGO*; in allusion to the patron, St. Aldhelm, whose head is represented in a niche upon the seal.

¹ MS. Harl. 6961, fol. 111; Pat. R. 19 Ric. II: "Rex assentit electioni de fratre Thomâ de Chelesworth in Abbatem de Malmesburiâ, 18 Mar. Temporalia restituta 18 Apr."

² MS. Harl. 6963, fol. 4; Pat. R. 2 Hen. VI: "Rex assentit electioni de fratre Rogero Perschore in Abbatem Malmesburie, 5 Mai. Temporalia restituta, 17 Mai 1424." Cf. also the Salisbury Register.

³ Ibid., fol. 16, Pat. R. 12 Hen. VI: "Licentia eligendi Abbatem Malmesburie post mortem Rogeri Pershore, 13 Apr."

⁴ Ibid., fol. 16, Pat. R. 12 Henry VI: "Rex assentit electioni de fratre Thomâ Bristowe in Abbatem Malmesburie, 24 Apr. Temporalia restituta, 30 Apr."

an abbot after his death¹ was entered in the Patent Rolls, 9th of December, 35th of Henry VI (1456).

Johannes Andover or Andever, "Sacrae Paginae Professor," was the next in order, obtaining the royal assent² to his election on the 3rd, and temporalities on the 15th of January, 1457. Licence to elect, after his death,³ was issued on the 2nd of October, 1462. Willis, from the Salisbury Register, indicates his succession in 1456, and death in 1462.

Johannes Aylee, or Ayly, according to Willis, from the Salisbury Register, succeeded in 1462, and enjoyed the title until about 1476. The royal licence of election⁴ was issued on the 2nd of October, and temporalities restored on the 25th of the same month, 1462. This abbot probably incurred the displeasure of his superiors, for the Abbey was handed over to the charge of Richard, prior of Bath, in the 16th of Edward IV. His death⁵ occurred before 24th of April, 1480. He appears, from the Harleian charter, 44 G. 4, bearing date 16 August, 1474, to have been "Unicus ac generalis collector omnium arreragium, multarum, et contribucionum triennialium per presidentem in capitulo provinciali nigrorum monachorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti tento anno Domini MCCCCXXI legitime deputatus." An imperfect impression of his ring-seal, or signet, will be found appended to an acquittance issued by him in his capacity as collector, dated 4 July, 1471. (Harleian Charter, 44, G. 2.) It represents an eagle rising, with an indistinct motto.

Ricardus.—From the *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium* (1802, fol., p. 322), it appears that in the 16th of Edward IV (1476-7) the custody⁶ of the Abbey of Malmesbury was made over to Richard the prior of Bath, to be held for five years. This Richard was an influential person, and became godfather to Richard, son of George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, and of his wife, Isabella Neville. The

¹ Ibid., fo. 52.

² Ibid.: "Rex assentit electioni de Johanne Andever, Sacrae Paginae Professore, in Abbatem Malmesburiae, 3 Jan. Temporalia Restituta, 15 Jan., A.D. 1457."

³ Ibid., fol. 64; Pat. R. 2 Ed. IV.: "Licentia eligendi Abbatem de Malmesburia post mortem Johannis, 2 Oct."

⁴ Ibid., fol. 64b: "Rex restituit temporalia Domino Johanni Ayly, abbati Malmesburiensi, 25th Oct. (A.D. 1462)."

⁵ Ibid., fol. 89b.

⁶ "Abbatia de Malmesbury cum omnibus temporalibus et pertinentiis ac bonis suis commissa regimini prioris Bathonie pro quinque annis."

child was baptised with great pomp, at Tewkesbury, 7th of October, 1476.

Thomas Olveston.—Willis, quoting from the Salisbury Register and the Patent Rolls, 15th of Edward IV (1475-6), says that this abbot succeeded in 1479, and died in 1509; but a reference to the Patent Rolls of the 20th of Edw. IV indicates that the king restored the temporalities¹ to him on the 7th of June, 1480, shortly after the death of John Aylee.

Richard Frampton.—In Matthew Hutton's valuable collections² I find Richard Frampton's appointment in 1509, and a reference to him in Herbert's *History of Henry VIII.*³ He probably lived until 1533, and a relation named

Robert Frampton, alias Selwin, succeeded, according to Hutton's Collections from the Salisbury Register. Robertus abbas Malmesburiensis is one of the witnesses⁴ to the Articles of Faith agreed upon in Convocation, 1536. This abbot surrendered in 1539, 15th December, with a pension⁵ of two hundred marks, which lapsed with his death before 1553.

We have thus a nearly complete series of abbots of this great Abbey, from its foundation to its destruction. Future research may bring to light a few more new names; but I think those that are mentioned in the foregoing pages will always be substantiated rather than disproved by any succeeding notices. I conclude this account with a short *précis* of the official books belonging to the Abbey, from which a great quantity of materials relative to the possessions it held, and jurisdiction it exercised, may be collected. I leave, however, the minute examination of these documents to a future occasion.

I. MALMESBURY CHARTULARY in the Record Office.

Formerly in the office of the Queen's Remembrancer, and removed from the Tower, with several other chartularies and accounts, to its present resting-place. This very beautiful MS. of the thirteenth century is of folio size, bound in thick oaken boards covered with sheep-skin, and contains 299 folios. It is the finest MS. of the series now under examination. The capitals and ornamental initials are in red and blue ink. On the first folio a transcript of the king's writ to the sheriffs respecting the tanners of the city, *s. d.*

¹ MS. Harl. 6963, fol. 89b; Pat. R. 20 Edw. IV.

² MS. Harl. 7520, fol. 19.

³ P. 334.

⁴ MS. Harl. 6975, fol. 1b, an extract from MS. Cotton., Cleopatra, E. v, fol. 59.

⁵ MS. Harl. 6974, fol. 34.

Copy of Abbot William's letter to King Edward [I], excusing his attendance before him on the 1st of August, by reason of illness, and sending a substitute, "Edmundus Gabun, clericus."

Transcript of London *Domesday*, "pro libertatibus villæ Malmesburie." Fol. 1b.

Charter of Henry [II?] in favour of William "Scriptor." *Ib.*

List of perquisites obtained by Abbot William de Colerne for the Abbey. Fol. 2.

Curious list of improvements made in the Abbey, mentioning a new vineyard and herbary, vines and fruit-trees planted in the abbot's garden, new infirmary erected, etc. Fol. 4b.

Charter of Abbot William de Colerne "de augmentacione elemosinæ et pitanciæ." Fol. 7.

Grant of the same to the *custos* of the altar of the B. Virgin for finding twenty-four wax candles. Fol. 9.

After other charters, a list of "libri et ornamenta ecclesiæ quæ Frater Willelmus Favel adquisivit tempore suo et ea bonâ devotione Deo et ecclesiæ S. Aldhelmi dedit." Among others, "aliud magnum psalterium quod idem Willelmus scribi fecit." Fol. 11b.

Various entries, in different hands, of the end of the thirteenth century, followed by a list of the charters forming the body of the work; which are preceded by several general charters of liberties, statutes of Merton, etc. The charters, numbering four hundred and sixty-two in all, begin with the earliest one; and several late ones have been introduced, as at pp. 27, 66-67, 297-299.

A copy of the *Brut* Chronicle has been written in fol. 37-41; curious miniatures of an abbot and a king at fols. 44, 64. The series of papal rescripts commencing at fol. 140b has been crossed out and smeared with ink, probably at the time when Henry VIII ordered the names of popes to be erased from all writings.

The bulk of the book contains deeds to be referred to abbots of the twelfth and thirteenth century, and ends in the time of Abbot William (1289), but additions as late as 1313 have been made.¹

¹ It may be mentioned, as it is not generally known, that the companion chartularies at the Record Office are of Torre, Godstowe, Canterbury (2), Newstead, Chertsey, Osney, Ramsey, Warwick, and Langdon.

II. British Museum. Lansdowne MS. 417.—A fine MS. on vellum, of medium folio size, formerly in the possession of James West, Esq., 1763. It is almost a duplicate of the Record Office MS., as far as the body of the work is concerned, and may be termed a chartulary or register of Malmesbury Abbey, containing transcripts of charters and various legal documents relating to the possessions of that Abbey. The period embraced extends from July 30, 635, to the 17th year of Richard II, 1394. A table of contents is prefixed, but is imperfect, as is also the text of the book in a few places.

III. A MS. belonging to Sir Thomas Phillipps, which is apparently portion of the next book. I have not met with any detailed description of its contents.

IV. Brit. Mus. Additional MS. 15,667.—Chartulary of Malmesbury Abbey on vellum, large 4to size. The greater portion written at the end of the thirteenth, with additions of the fourteenth century. Imperfect at the commencement. It formerly belonged to Evan Seys, serjeant-at-law. The principal contents are : charters, *temp.* Joh. Wallensis, No. clxiii-clxxxvi ; forming, in all probability, portion of another register, of which Sir Th. Phillipps possesses some quires. Charters, *temp.* Henry III, with a table prefixed. Charters, *temp.* Will. de Colerne, ii-cclii. Charters, *temp.* Edw. III ; pleas, etc., 37th to 39th of Edw. III (1363-66).

V. Cottonian MS., Faustina, B. viii, fol. 128-265.—This MS. is similar to the other two in the British Museum, and to all appearance has been for the most part written by the same hand. It originally belonged to Ralph Starkey, 1602. The text commences with a charter in the time of Abbot John, and contains transcripts of two hundred and seventy-four charters, the last of which is dated in the 42nd year of Edward III (1369). “*Reddituale Capellæ B. Mariæ ibid.*,” 1399. Fol. 250. “*Hankyntone rentale redditus ibidem renovatum*, 23 Ric. II.” Fol. 254. After other accounts and boundaries, the table of contents to the above charters has been entered ; but is unfortunately imperfect, and begins with No. 37. This table carries on the number of charters to two hundred and seventy-nine, showing that one or two pages are missing from the concluding portion of the Register.

Tanner also refers to—

VI. “*Cartularium antiquum Cœnobii de Malmesbury in*

com. Wilt. penes Ant. Wood, nunc in Biblioth. Bodl. in Musæo Wood, 5. Ex hoc codice donationes et cartas regum Saxoniorum transcripsit cl. et doctiss. Joh. Millius, non ita pridem Aulæ S. Edmundi Oxon. principalis."

VII. "Registrum cartarum, etc.; ad officium pitanciarum hujus abbatiæ spectantium. MS. in fol. pergami. continens folia 100 plus minus, penes Gul. Brewster, M.D., de civitate Hereford."

VIII, IX.—"Duo cartularia penes Magistrum Will. Bayliff de Monkton juxta Chippenham, co. Wilts."

X. "Cartularium Saxonice Malmesburiense. Medio-Montanis, 1829. Fol." Privately printed by Sir Thomas Phillipps from a MS. in his possession. The description and contents do not agree with No. III.

I take the opportunity of adding here, by way of appendix, the text of the Cottonian fragment upon which I have based the principal part of what is new in the early portion of the list of abbots. As it has never been printed, it is worthy of a place among the chronicles of England, and contains a few new facts for the English historian. The numbers refer to the pages in Mr. Hamilton's edition of the *Gesta Pontificum*, containing parallel passages.

COTTON MS., VITELLIUS A. X, FOL. 158.

HÆC SUNT nomina regum Christianorum qui ecclesiam Maldubiensem fundaverunt, et rebus et possessionibus ditaverunt. (349.) []dus, rex Mertiorum, dedit Sancto Aldhelmo decem cassatos in Uudetun Post (350) hunc Ethel[redus, rex] Mertiorum .cxlv. cassatos. Berthwoldus (351) subregulus dedit Deo et [Sancto Aldh]elmo .xl. cassatos in eo loco qui dicitur Sumerford. Kentwinus (352) [rex Wests]axonum, morbo et senio gravis, Ceduallam, regii generis juvenem, successorem decreverat. His (*sic pro is*) ergo, quamvis non adhuc rex nec Christianus, spe tamen r[egnum] anticipabat, baptismum credulitate ambiebat. Quapropter et reg[em] dici gauderet et multa monasteriis circumquaque largiens liberaliter [Maldub]icensi prævidit cenobio. In uno (353) vero loco .cxl. manentes; in s[ecundo] loco .xx]x.; in tertio .v. cenobium insignivit. [Eo] igitur (354) Romam [eunte, regnum per] Inan innovatum est. Ina aduunculus Sancti Aldhelmi (355) reg[navit] .iiii. annis, et dedit Deo et Sancto Aldhelmo .xlv. casatos [... quinque manentes] scilicet in loco qui dicitur Iserdun; et ubi rivulus qui [vocatur] Corsaburna oritur] .xx.; et in alio loco juxta eundem rivulum .x.; [et juxta laticem qui vocatur Red]burne .x. Ina (386) successit Ethelardus rex .xiii. an[nis]. Bi (387) Cuthredus pari spatio]. Iste dedit huic ecclesie .x. mansiones in loc[o qui dicitur Wdetun. Cuthre]do

regi successit Sigebrihtus anno .i. Suc[cessor Sigebrihti fuit trigin]ta et uno annis Kineulfus. Hic anno .iii^o. [regni sui triginta manen]tes cenobio isto contulit in loco ubi se [duo latites Meardenæ et Rot]burnæ jungunt. Egfert, rex (388) Mertiorum [anno primo regni sui ec]clesiæ huic .xxxv. manentes in P[irigeam reddidit. Kine]wulfo (389) successit Brihtric annis .xvi. [Successit Brihtrico Egbirhtus annis xxx^{ta} .vii. qui] omnia regna Anglorum [Westsaxonico usque hodie curvavit imperio. Huic Ethel]wulfus filius annis [xviii^{em} quem quidam Athulfum vocant (391) Ellendune, Elm]hamstede, Wdetune, Cherletune, (390) Minti, Reodburne [Piritune, Toccan]ham, Lacoc, Suttune, Cor-saburna, Crdeuella, Cemela, [Dantesie], Perscora. Huic (392) tres filii continua succedentes serie regnaverunt annis .x[v]. Quartus quoque Elfred nomine annis .xxx., .vi. minus mens[ibus] omnium regum totius Britanniae suscepit diadema a beato [Cuthberto] in abacia Wintoniae sepultus. Illo vero mortuo successit Edwardus filius ejus. Qui .iiii. et .xx. annis regnavit. Successit (396) ei filius Ethelst[anus] .xvi. annis, qui regnum Angliæ nobilissime rexit. Hic dedit (401) Deo [et Sancto Aldhelmo] .lvi. maneria, videlicet Bremle, Hawei, Nortune, Sumer[ford W]detuna, Ewelme. Immatura (397) vero mort[e mundo] in Glocestria prærep[tus Meldunum] devectus est, ibique sub altari Sanctæ Mariæ in turri sepultura[... Ethelstano (403) succ]esserunt fratres Edmundus .vi., Edredus .ix. annis. Edredo [Eduius .iiii. annis] filius Edmundi, qui dedit ecclesiæ Mendunensi Brocenebor[... Post eum regn]avit frater ejus Edgarus .xvi. annis. Et dedit ecclesiæ (408) filius sanctus Edwardus .iii. annis et dimidio. [Illi Egelredus frater substitu]tus est .xxxvii. annis. Hic (410) dedit ecclesiæ Tetteburi et .xv. cassatos juxta Tetteberi. (411) [..... Egelredo post] .vii. et .xxx. annos defuncto, successit [Cnuto annis .xx^{ti}. Cnutoni] Haroldus filius annis .iiii. Ei Hardecnutus [anno .i^o. Illi] Eduardus .xxiiii. annis. In his octo[ginta sex annis fuerunt post] Etheluerdum, Kineuard, Brihthelmus, [Brihtwoldus, Edericus, Wlsinus] abbates. Brihtwoldus, ut ex scrip[tis Anglicis animadvertimus multa] incommoda cenobio intulit. Terras vel [omnino distra]hendo, vel parvo pretio inva[diando]. Successit Brihtwold[o Egelwardus annis .x. Mox Elwinus an]no et semis. Brihtwol[dus huic annis .vii. Eum inertem ad bonum, alacrem ad malum] miserabiliter obisse (420) tradit vetustas. Illo vero mortuo, Hermannus, Episcopus Salis-buriensis, vacantem abbaciam sede sua implere cogitavit. Sed præven-erunt conatum ejus monachi, fautoribus Goduino et Haraldo comi-tibus. Quorum [suf]fragio Brihtricus, ex proposito factus abbas, gloriosissime ce[nobio in]terfuit. Sed ex comite Normanniæ Uillelmus factus rex Angliæ Turolдум quendam, Fiscamnensem Monacum, viventi Brihtrico intrasit. Idem [Turolдus], dum tirannidem in subjectos ageret, ad Burh a rege translatus est. Haroldus, filius Goduini comitis regnavit .xl. ebdomadis, Willelmus vero dux Normanniæ .xxiii. annis .v. ebdomadis minus regnans, rogatu Lanfranci (428) Archiepiscopi et Matildis reginæ annuales nundinas ad festum Sancti Aldhelmi instituit. Matildis vero regina Carsoun ecclesiæ dedit. (421) Substitutus est Turolдо Garinus de Lira Monachus, vir efficax in hoc maxime, quod monacos regulæ insueverit. Ceterum alias non multum utilis, quia majoris spe honoris præceps raptaretur. Quapropter idoneus monachorum masupia (*sic*) evacuare, undecunque nummos rapere. Sed non ita cupide parta abscondere, quin immo et citra et ultra mare

res ecclesiæ dilapidare, ut majorem locaret apud potentes gratiam, et apud eos qui enim olim pauperem vidissent, compararet jactantiam. Ossa denique sanctæ memoriæ Meidulfi et ceterorum, qui, olim ibi abbates posteaque in pluribus locis antistites, ob reverentiam patroni sui Aldhelmi se in loco tumulatum iri jussissent, quos antiquitas veneranda in duobus lapideis crateris ex utraque parte altaris, dispositis inter cujusque ossa ligneis intervallis, reverenter statuerat: Hæc, inquam, omnia pariter conglobata velut acervum ruderum, velut reliquias vilium mancipiorum, ecclesiæ foribus alienavit. Contumeliam facti gravavit jocularis dictum convicii. Qui modo, inquit, potest auxilietur aliis. O tempora! O mores! Quis digno improprio tantam prosequetur audatiam. Quanta hominis impudentia. Quod beatissimus Dunstanus et ceteri sapientissimi et religiosissimi viri vel fecerunt ipsi, vel permisere fieri, nos nugaces et ad ludibria nati destruemus? Defuncto (431) abbate Gurino in tempore Villelmi junioris, qui regnavit annis .xiii. successit statim ad .xv. dies Godefridus, qui fuerat Gemmeticensis monachus. Ejus tempore et industria multum adolevit [ho]nos ecclesiæ; au[c]ta religio; ornamenta facta perplurima, quatinus tantul[æ] fa[c]cultatis homo tam occupato tempore poterat. Libri conscripti nonnulli, vel potius bibliothecæ priniçie libatæ. Monachi, qui vulgares tantum (432) literas balbutiebant, perfecte informati. Servicium Dei institutum liberaliter, actitatum instanter, adeo ut monasterium per Angliam nullum Malmesberiensi excelleret, multaque cederent. Sed cum Willelmus rex junior importabile tributum indixisset Angliæ, quo Normanniam a fratre Roberto intendebat emere, Godefridus, ut suam partem ex facili componeret, thesauros ecclesiæ quos antiquorum cura [coacer]varat fede distraxit, pessimorum usus consilio. Enimvero idem

“.... facinus quos inquinat æquat.”

Denique die uno .xii. textus evangeliorum, .viii. crucès, .viii. scrinia argento et auro nudata et exerustata sunt. Sed pulchre contigit quod penuria cupiditatem frustrata non suffecit voluntati. Quippe non plusquam .Lxxii. marcæ repertæ. At vero nocte sequente visus est videre hominem terrifico vultu et gestu in se impetum facere, et aquam perfervidam cum urceo in faciem jacere. Quo terrore somno excussus brevi consecuta pæna veritatem somnii persensit. Siquidem primo fatiem, mox totum corpus morbo nefando, morbo regii correptus extabuit. Familiari et omnibus consueta Sancti Aldhelmi consuetudine, ut diu quidem injurias portet, sed cum semel decreverit non portare injuriatorem suum toti mundo spectaculo exponat.

Defuncto abbate Godefrido, successit ei Eduulfus abbas. Illoque mortuo, in tempore regis Henrici senioris, qui regnavit .xxx. et .vi. annis, Rogerius, Episcopus Salesburiensis vacantem abbaciam vi et potestate regia usurpavit, et multis annis in manus suas tenuit. Quousque Stephanus, comes Boloniensis, filius sororis regis Henrici, præfato regi in regnum Angliæ successit. Ille vero, regni diademate insignitus, Rogerum episcopum sub carcerali custodia apud castellum de Devisis usque ad diem mortis suæ posuit, et Johannem electum, quendam monachum Malmesburiensem, ecclesiæ regendæ præfecit. Cumque ille immatura morte præventus esset, Petrus, Cluniacensis monachus, loco ejus substitutus est. Iste P[etrus] dignitatem Malmesburiensi monasterio a beato Sergio Papæ Sancto Aldhelmo datam renovavit, per privilegia Innocentii Papæ venerabilis memoriæ, et Eugenii Papæ

gloriosi et excellentissimi, et Anastasii Papæ. Illoque defuncto, Gregorius abbas ecclesiæ regimen suscepit. Stephanus, rex Angliæ, cum regnasset .xix. annis, .v. ebdomadis minus, multa bella sustinuit ab Henrico duce Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ, qui fuit filius Gaufridi comitis (*sic*) Andegavensis et Matildis imperatricis. Illoque defuncto, suscepit regni gubernaculum idem Henricus, et regnavit .xxxiiii. annis et .v. mensibus. Iste H[enricus] inter ceteras libertates quas ecclesiæ Malmusburienti contulit, rogatu Sancti Thomæ archiepiscopi quietanciam .v. librarum et .x. solidorum singulis annis condonavit, qui appellatur "hundert selver." Successerunt regi Henrico in regnum Angliæ duo filii: Ricardus .ix. annis et dimidio;

Interiit decimo primus Ricardus in anno.

Johannes frater ejus .xviii. et .v. mensibus. Iste Johannes castrum Malmusburie diruendum huic ecclesiæ concessit. Et villam Malmusburie cum hundredis ad feudifirmam carta sua confirmavit. Post Gregorium fuerunt abbates Robertus, Osbertus, Nicholaus, Robertus, Walterus, Johannes.

ABBATES MALMUSB[ERIENSES].

Sanctus Aldhelmus	Cynewerdus	Godefridus
Daniel	Brihelmus	Ædulfus
Megildulfus	Brihtuoldus	Johannes
Forthere	Cynebertus	Petrus
Æambriht	Æthericus	Gregorius
Sigibriht	Wulfsinus	Robertus
Oththelard	Ægelwardus	Osbertus
Wlfredus	Ælwinus	Nicholaus
Æthelmodus	Brihtuoldus	Robertus
Hetheredus	Brihtricus	Walterus
Ælfricus	Tuoldus	Johannes
Æthelwerdus	Warinus	

The following is the text of the passage in the Record Office MS., which I have mentioned above, in the account of Robert de Melun and the succeeding abbots. It occurs as part of a deposition in a law-suit, made in the eighth year of Edward I (1279-80).

F. 112. "Walterus quondam Abbas de Malmesberia fuit clericus Abbatis Roberti de Malmesberia, quando idem Abbas Robertus habuit custodiam Johanne filie Antelmi, et quando idem Robertus abbas dedit prædictam Johannam Elyæ Comyn. Iste Walterus factus fuit monachus apud Malmesberiam, et fuit monachus xxx^{ta} annis, et postea abbas ejusdem loci xix annis. Et post Abbatem Walterum Abbas Johannes xxv annis. Et post Abbatem Johannem Abbas Galfridus xv annis. Et post Abbatem Galfridum Abbas Willelmus xxv annis. Summa annorum, v^{xx} et xiiij anni."

ON CHINESE CINERARY URNS.

BY HENRY F. HOLT, ESQ.

THE two cinerary urns I now present to your notice (Pl. 17) were discovered about ten years ago by the falling in of an old and unknown grave situated on a hill called the Black Rock Hill, within the city of Fuhchow. Their dimensions are as follows :—The larger one is $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches across the mouth, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in the narrowest part of the neck ; the corresponding dimensions in the smaller urn are respectively $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and 3 inches. They appear to be made of a greyish clay resembling almost stoneware, over which a coat of greenish brown glaze has been coarsely laid ; a curved line at the bottom sharply defines where the glazing ended ; at the shoulders of each vase, immediately below the neck, is a pair of ringlike handles, those on the larger one being double ; both urns have apparently fallen on their sides, and there the glaze has been nearly worn off ; the rest of the glazing also is quite decomposed, and can easily be detached. I did not happen to see the grave where they were found, but I subsequently had an opportunity of being present at the opening of another which was also at Fuhchow, but without the city, and on the other side of the river. The existence of this grave was disclosed by the wearing away of a path, when some brickwork came to light. So gradual was, however, the exposure, that people unconsciously became familiarised with it, and it never attracted any attention. As, however, it began to interfere with the level of the path, complaints were made which led to its being opened, when a brick-lined vault appeared about 5 feet deep, 8 feet long, and 5 feet broad. The grave had apparently been already broken into, possibly for the purpose of searching for gold and silver ornaments. All that was found in it when newly opened consisted of an urn precisely similar in shape to the smaller of these now before you, but considerably injured, and lying on its side ; two or three bowls and a small, flat, roughly cut double lamp or candlestick, all of common red steatite, of which substance I may mention an extensive quarry,

exists on a mountain two days' journey from Fuhchow. I was unable to secure these, they having fallen into the hands of a wealthy native, who refused to let me have them, but permitted me to examine them.

So far as I can understand, these graves are altogether unknown to the Chinese, nor have I been able to find any account of them in their writings. I will, therefore, venture to offer a few observations on the urns before you, with a view of showing their great antiquity ; and firstly, I would point out that the simple fact of their being found in a grave within the city walls is a certain proof that they must have been deposited before those walls were built, and at a time when the hill on which they were buried was not enclosed by the houses of the growing town. The law on this subject has always been very stringent, not only in China, but in other oriental countries. Thus Magællaus,¹ a Jesuit missionary in China, in the middle of the seventeenth century, tells us that "in China all persons are prohibited under great penalties to bury their dead within the walls of their cities, or of another place whatsoever. It is also lawful when a person dies at a distance from his own house to transport his body from one city or province to another, as it is usual for the richer sort and mandarins to do, provided nevertheless that they do not bring their dead bodies through the cities, but round about by the walls." In Burmah,² again, all who die within the walls of a city must be carried out through the west gate, the Burmese cemeteries, which are generally large open places, lying to the west of the cities and villages. For this reason the gate is called "the gate of sorrow." If anyone dies in the suburbs the procession must make the circuit of the walls to get to the appointed place ; for a dead body is never allowed to be brought into any city. Ralph Fitch again tells us of a people north-east of Pegu, that they burn their dead outside the towns. None of these far-eastern countries in fact permit of the dead finding their last resting-place among the habitations of the living. It next, then, remains for me to shew when Fuhchow became a walled city. This, though unable to do from any existing account at my disposal, I may argue must have been not far from the earliest date of the Christian era, and on this ground—the civilisation of

¹ P. 47.

² Sangermanos, Burmah, 138.



ACTUAL SIZE $11\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$.ACTUAL SIZE $15 \times 11\frac{1}{2}$

China spread southward and eastward, consequently as Canton lies much further away in that direction than Fuhchow, Fuhchow would have been likely to become a walled city sooner than Canton. This latter city, although known as a stockaded place before Christ, was first encircled by a wall in A.D. 1067, consequently Fuhchow must have been a walled city long before that time, and we find, according to the imperial geography, that A.D. 625 Fuhchow was a city of the first-class, and the seat of the commander-in-chief of the army. As a place of relative importance, indeed, it was well-known centuries before that time extending far beyond the Christian era. It is, however, quite sufficient for my purpose to have shown, on the authority of the imperial geography of China, called the *Tu tsing yih tung chih* (chapter 261, section i), that Fuhchow was a city of the first class. That it was walled, we need have no doubt, in view of the fact of the Chinese thoroughly comprehending that means of defence, as testified in the celebrated great wall built by the emperor and princes of the empire in the third century before Christ.

Having now shown that no deposit of human remains could be permitted to take place within the limits of the city of Fuhchow, and that that city *must* have been walled in by the beginning of the seventh century, and certainly at least stockaded for centuries before that—thus, throwing it back to about the Christian era, it remains to be shown what is known of cremation in China.

The burning of the dead is a custom universal and widespread among the nations of the far-east. In India, Ava, Burmah, Pegu, Siam, Cambodia, and Thibet, besides many other places circumjacent, it has been practised from time immemorial. Doubtless also when Southern China assimilated to those regions under its native rulers, cremation was practised by the people. As, however, the germ of the future celebrated China sprung up on the borders of the great north-western desert from unknown seed and slowly but surely ramified itself through the extreme east of the Asiatic continent, it changed many of the unfamiliar practices of the earlier inhabitants, who derived their civilisation from the south, and substituted its own customs. The unknown race from which the Chinese spring brought with them a great principle—respect to their elders when living, venera-

tion for them when dead. Thus reverently have these people for many ages laid their progenitors in the dust, and year by year for centuries have they on certain fixed days visited the tombs of the honoured dead and endeavoured by prayers and offerings to expedite and facilitate their entry into a happier world. Emphatically, therefore, these people are not burners of the dead. Their creed, deeply rooted in them centuries before Buddhism appeared in the land, was shocked with the idea of desecrating the remains of deceased parents and friends by consuming them with fire ; and, as a race, they have never at any known period adopted it as a national custom. I will not pretend to deny that cremation, not only has been, but is practised in certain parts of China to this day ; but the cause of it differs materially from the same custom prevailing elsewhere. In China it is not a voluntary act in honour of the dead, but an involuntary act, the force of stern necessity or miserable poverty which compels the survivors to outrage their own ideas of propriety and respect for the deceased.

The origin of this cremation, in short, is one of the evils which arose out of Buddhism through the facilities which it afforded to the disposal of bodies by those who were too poor to purchase the land necessary for interment, or in consequence of the inadequate proportion of land for burial purposes among a large population. There can be no doubt that the Buddhists erected around their monasteries many towers for the purposes of burning bodies, the hire of which gave the priests means of extortion to a great extent. Thus one monastery alone had as many as ten of these towers for the accommodation of the public. Towards the end of the eleventh century the custom appears to have reached its climax, the Kiangnan province being distinguished above the others for the frequency with which bodies were burned ; and the historical records of the Sung dynasty then reigning shew that public attention was then thoroughly roused to the evil. To prevent the continued desecration, as it was considered, of the dead, it was suggested that some of the imperial lands should be given up for the benefit of the poorer classes ; and the *Jih che loo*, a most valuable collection of notes on a variety of subjects, published about 1673 by *Koo yen woo*, gives an instance of the purchase by an

official of certain lands to be used as a cemetery, in the hope that the burning of the dead would then be discontinued. There can be no doubt that these "body-burning towers," as they were called, were originally intended solely for the cremation of Buddhist priests, and that their being opened to the general public was due to greed of gain. Thus one *Hwangchin* addresses to his superior officer an energetic protest, which appears in the work above referred to, against the rebuilding of some of those towers which had been destroyed in a storm. He refers with great exultation to the fact that while every surrounding building had escaped, these towers alone were destroyed; from which he infers that the souls of those who had been consumed there had appealed to Heaven for vengeance for the indignities offered to them, and that their prayer had been effectual. A tone of deep disgust with the practice pervades the whole of the protest of *Hwangchin*, and he pictures in strong language the dangers to morality and filial piety contained in a system of things which not only allows the burning of a parent's body, but also the common occurrence of throwing the ashes into caves, running water, etc. He further argues that it is the most horrible of crimes to destroy by fire the body of a parent. He protests against this practice of cremation, and proposes as a means of extinguishing it in his own jurisdiction a prohibition against the rebuilding of the towers where so many bodies had already been consumed, and the granting of vast pieces of ground to the people as places where their dead might be buried.

It is in the Kiangnan provinces above-mentioned that such cremation as still exists among the Chinese in China is chiefly carried on to this day; and it is noteworthy that it is precisely in this territory that the burning of the bodies of Buddhist priests is most frequent. In various of the districts the people are accustomed to place the dead in coffins for a few months, or at most a year, when the remains are burned, and the charred bones placed in an earthen vessel about two feet long, 8 inches broad, and 5 or 6 inches deep, made for the purpose. This is covered with a lid, and a small mound of earth is usually raised over it. Occasionally the coffin is used for fuel, but more frequently it does duty as a sort of family coffin, a drawer being fitted to the bottom thereof on which the body of the defunct being laid, it can be removed

at the proper time. This information concerning modern cremation comes from a missionary whom I know, and who has resided many years in China. I am bound, however, to say that during a lengthened residence in many parts of that country no instance of cremation, excepting that of priests, has come under my observation. Cremation in this same province of Kiangnan is also mentioned in Van Braam's *Dutch Embassy* at the end of last century. Having remarked a number of coffins lying about in the fields, and knowing the extreme veneration which the Chinese have for the dead, he inquired into the causes which led to this, to him indecent, abandonment of the dead. He was informed that the land thereabouts was so low lying that it was impossible to inter the bodies because the graves when dug would at once fill with water—an idea abhorrent to the Chinese mind, they being persuaded that the dead always prefer a dry resting-place. After a certain time, therefore, these coffins which have been left in the open field are burnt with the bodies they contain. The ashes are then gathered together, which are then placed in covered jars and partly buried in the earth. Van Braam adds that he saw many of these pots on his route. With all respect for that writer, I may state that while I do not remember to have ever seen one of these coffins burnt, I have seen hundreds of them scattered about, not, however, in the fields, as he says, but on “common” land, where they are ranged side by side, so close that in many instances it would impossible to burn one without setting the surrounding ones on fire—all belong to the poorer classes. Those who can afford nothing better wrap the coffin about with matting ; others bury it above ground by building up earth round it and making it square ; others cover these mounds with white chunam. In the case of the exposed coffins, when they are decayed and the skeleton alone remains, the bones are collected and put in large red earthenware jars with wide-open mouths, and it is these, which can frequently be seen dotted about, that I think Van Braam must have noticed and believed to contain ashes.

Cremation is, as a matter of fact, sanctioned by the laws of China, but only under special circumstances, and this alone will prove that it is no universal custom, but a resort only permitted by law when involved by dire necessity.

Thus the Chinese Penal Code 1, 313, says : "Whoever, in obedience to the last wishes of an old man, his relative, shall burn his body or throw it into the water, shall be punished with one hundred blows. Should it, however, happen that a person should die in a distant province, and that his children or grandchildren cannot go to fetch the body in order to bury it in the district where the deceased was born, it may then be permitted to be burned."

Thus far, then, I have endeavoured, I trust successfully, to show that no human remains have ever been permitted to be buried among, or even to pass through the dwellings of the living, and that cremation is held in abhorrence by the Chinese, and only resorted to by the poorest classes under the direst necessity. Yet we have before us two urns taken from graves on a hill within the ancient walls of a first-class Chinese city ; and, therefore, I consider them to belong to an age when the civilisation of Indo-China, which has left such astounding relics of its magnificence that Greece and Rome might be proud to own them, influenced the south and east of what we now term China, and which yet has among its tenets that cremation is the highest honour which can be bestowed on the remains of a deceased relative. The light which the civilisation of Cambodia and the circumjacent regions shed on Southern China faded away with the mysterious decadence of those countries, and the people lapsed into barbarism, only to reawaken and adopt the manners, customs, and ways of thought of their new guides. Without venturing to assign any particular date to the urns now before you, I express my belief that they belong to that first age of civilisation above referred to, and would fain trust that their interest will cause further investigation to be made on a subject so intimately associated with archæology.



ON WEOBLEY CHURCH AND CASTLE.

BY THE REV. H. W. PHILLOTT, M.A.

IN this building the points most worthy of notice are:— 1, south porch, eleventh or twelfth century. 2, window on south side of chancel; 3, piscina at south-east side of south aisle; 4, tomb of Hugo Bissop; all of the thirteenth century. 5, nave in general, especially clerestory windows and west window, delicacy of carving, corbels, the roof being of a later period; fourteenth century. 6, position of tower. 7, monuments in chancel. 8, remains of glass. 9, mutilated remains of chapels. 10, churchyard-cross.

We find from *Domesday Survey* that in 1086 Roger de Lacy, son of Walter, was in possession of Weobley. In 1088 Roger was banished, and his lands granted to his brother Hugh. In 1108 Hugh assisted to found Lanthony, and lies buried in Weobley Church. In 1287 he endowed Lanthony Abbey with the tithes of Weobley; and this patronage remained with the prior and Convent of Lanthony down to the period of the Reformation.

In 1561 Weobley was granted by Queen Elizabeth to Bishop Scory in exchange for other property, and the patronage remained with the Bishops of Hereford until it was alienated to the Bishop of Worcester in 1852.

The church is said to have been dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul. We find in the Register that Bishop Spofford gives permission, when the festival of the dedication of Weobley Church fell during Passion Week or the season of Easter, to change it to the Sunday next after the Feast of Relics. The dedication, however, mentioned by Bishop Spofford probably refers to his own re-dedication on April 14, 1325, which would periodically fall during these seasons. There were once two chantries or chapels in the nave, on the north and south sides respectively. The north one, which is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, certainly existed before 1430. Entries of admissions to the office of chaplain are found in 1446, 1489, 1492. This chantry, "of small revenue," was sold in 1553 to John Harford and John Farley. Land belonging to it is recorded as being held in chief of the Lord Ferrers and — Monington, gentleman. It is

called the Monington Chapel in 1684, and the space occupied by it is still called "the Monington aisle." Blount describes a monument in it of "alabaster."

The chapel on the south side was founded by John Chapman and Alice Baker, to the service of St. Nicholas, "not long before the Dissolution," and was granted to Sir Christopher Hatton, who sold it to John King of Hereford in 1581, being then valued at £6 : 13 : 1. At some time previous to the Reformation this chapel became connected with the Bridges family, as a monument is mentioned to Rowland Brugge of the Ley, and Margaret his wife, with an inscription of pre-Reformation character. Bishop Croft, at his visitation of Weobley Church in 1684, ordered as to the chapel on the south side, in which Colonel Birch and Mr. Bridges sat, that Mr. Bridges was to take his choice between the chapel and a seat in the church, and the occupant of the chapel was to repave it and erect seats. The screen-work of this chapel also once bore two coats of arms,—Bridges and Sourdeval. Near its site is a monument to Simon Bridges, who died in 1702. The screen-work in both these chapels was in good preservation until 1868. The only remnant of it now left is the post at the east end of the south aisle.

The following extracts may, perhaps, be not without interest :—

In 1312 Roger de Baskerville, presented by the patrons of the Vicarage to Bishop Swinfield, was rejected by him as being only sixteen years of age, and notoriously unfit, who in his stead admitted W. de la Wode. The same Bishop had in 1282 refused to give clerical promotion to Nicholas de Genevil, son of Geoffrey de Genevil, lord of Ludlow (husband of Maud de Lacy), then only ten years old, though requested by the king to do so, but undertook to allow him ten marks per annum out of his own purse till he should be able to hold preferment.¹

In 1420 Bishop Polton assigned a pension of seven marks per annum to Walter Drayton, and also a chamber with a fire-place over the door of the Vicarage with free ingress and egress.

¹ The Bishop himself visited Weobley on Monday, May 29, 1289, and lodged there one night; hay and oats being supplied by the prior of Lanthony, the rector of the place. (Swinf. Roll, pp. 89, ccxix.)

In 1446 Bishop Spofford assigned a pension of eight marks to John ap Griffiths, and also "bassam cameram" near the door of the Vicarage, with light, fire, and the use of the kitchen.

In 1640 the Survey of the Ministry of Herefordshire reported as follows of the vicar and vicarage :—"A Vicaridge worth £40 per annum, Mr. Child (licensed by Bishop Bennett as a preacher in 1611), Vicar, an old man, neyther preacher nor of good life. Ye parsonage impropriate to the Bishop of Hereford, worth £100 per annum, who is also patron." Among nonconformist ministers expelled in 1662 we find Mr. Richard Billingsley from Weobley. In 1665 Colonel Birch undertook to rebuild the Vicarage House, Samuel Clarke being vicar. In 1684 Bishop H. Croft ordered the chancel to be repaved by Colonel Birch, the farmer of the tithes.

As to the monuments, the following story is told in reference to that erected to Colonel Birch.¹ It is related that Bishop Ironside went to Weobley to deface the original inscription, "the minister, Stephen Lewis, and ch. wardens thinking some words thereon not right for the church institution," and it was said that "the Colonel's nephew designed to bring an action against the bishop for defacing it." I have, however, been able to find no trace either of violence or restoration, nor any record of the altered inscription.

The two monuments on the north and south sides of the chancel are described by Silas Taylor in 1665. Speaking of the one on the north side, he says, "near him, on the wall, hangs a wooden shield with the arms of Devereux. Over against it on the south side, another shield hangs up with a cross engrailed between four spear-heads. I could not discern the colours. . . . A little lower, near the remains of the quire are the effigies of a man in close armour, and a woman. . . . There is no coat armour about them, but underneath, on a very ancient stone, and of a very ancient make, are these letters, HVCIS LASCII, Cenobium Lanthoni." The writer of the MS. wrote Bissop instead of Lascii, and then erased it. Blount, rather later, describes the monuments briefly, and says, "without doubt they were some of the family of the Verdens. There are two shields hanging in the chancel, the one having the arms of Devereux." Sir R. S. Meyrick, who visited Weobley

¹ A. à Weol's Life, p. cxviii, 1694. May.

in 1827, quotes from the Dilwyn Register:—"Vernon in Weobley chancel," and has inserted a rough drawing of the single figure. He also mentions a drawing of the two effigies, and says "here the vicar has written upon it the names of Devereux." Sir S. R. Meyrick, after discussing the monuments, concludes that the single figure represents some member of the Marbury family, and the two figures represent (Sir) John Marbury and his first wife, Alicia Pembridge. Mr. J. G. Nichols suggests that the single figure represents John Marbury, and the two figures Sir W. Devereux and his wife Elizabeth Marbury. Now the state of the family possessing Weobley during the period to which the monuments belong was this:—Agnes Crophull was married to Sir W. Devereux, who died 1402. She survived her husband thirty-one years, and married for her second husband John Marbury, of Lyonshall, who died in 1437. He had married for his second wife Alicia Pembridge, by whom he had a daughter Elizabeth, who was married to Walter Devereux, grandson of Sir W. Devereux, who had married Agnes Crophull. I am disposed to think that the single figure represents Sir W. Devereux, who died in 1402, and the two figures represent John Marbury and Agnes his wife. I think so partly because Silas Taylor says the Devereux shield hung on the north side and the Marbury shield on the south. It is underneath the slab on which the two figures rest that we may suppose the "stone of ancient make" to be placed which bore or bears the name of Hugh de Lacy.

Lastly, there is in the nave a flat stone of the thirteenth century, bearing a floriated cross of great beauty, which has inscribed upon it the name Hugo Bissop, also a mitre and pastoral staff. The name of H. Bissop occurs several times in charters, printed in Dr. Rawlinson's History. In one of them he appears as the donor of land in the parish of Norton Canon to Hereford Cathedral.

There was also a monument mentioned by Blount to the memory of one Tomkins, who was the father of thirty-two children "all born in one chamber in Webley. The chamber is over the hall in the Mansion House next adjoining the Market House." This monument is now covered by the tiles of the chancel.

THE CASTLE.

The castle was probably built in the time of Stephen. It was taken, on behalf of the Empress Maud, by Geoffrey (or William) Talbot, or by Fitz Scroope, but was retaken by Stephen in the following year. In 1210 W. de Braose, father of Margery Lacy, assisted by Matthew de Gamages, made an inroad into Herefordshire and burnt half the town of Leominster. He is said also on his way to have seized the Castle of Weobley. In 1262 the Welsh are said to have ravaged the country as far as Weobley.

In 1483 Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, connected with Lord Ferrers by the marriage of Lord Ferrers's son, John Devereux, with Cicely Bouchier, descended, as well as the Duke of Buckingham, from Thomas of Woodstock and Eleanor Bohun, is said to have conveyed "sundry false and traitorous proclamations against our sovereign lord (Richard III) from Brecon to Weobley." After the discomfiture of his attempt by the floods in the Severn (1483), the Duke came to Weobley, together with the Bishop of Ely, Sir W. Knyvett, and others, and stayed a week; but "having made him a frieze coat," he departed, leaving his lady and children there. He was soon after taken in the house of Banister near Shrewsbury. Leland visited the Castle about 1533-40, and says "here is a fair castle of my lord Ferrers." Silas Taylor gives a plan, and on the margin is written in pencil, "this MS. was wrote in the year 1655." Charles I. visited Weobley on September 5, 1645, after the battle of Naseby, and lodged at the Unicorn. He then proceeded to Presteign. The Unicorn Inn is probably a house now existing at the south end of the town.

ON A BRITISH TERRA-COTTA VASE FROM BERIGONIUM,

AND BRITISH SEPULCHRAL URNS FROM OTHER LOCALITIES.

BY JOHN S. PHENÉ, ESQ., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., ETC.

WHETHER the place called Berigonium was, or not, the capital of the ancient kingdom of the Dalriads, I do not propose to discuss in the present paper. That the locality exhibits remains of a very extensive settlement of the earliest date of occupancy of these islands, long anterior probably to the immigration of the early Scottish race, is, I think, beyond question ; and that a succession of different peoples is shown by traces of their occupancy in this and its immediately surrounding localities will be obvious to any person who has carefully investigated the spot. The interesting three-chambered structure,—the southern compartment being domed,—and the lake-dwelling just discovered by my friend Dr. R. Angus Smith, within a mile or two of Berigonium, which I have had the good fortune to inspect, give additional support to this view. (Sept. 1871.)

Nor is this surprising, though it may have occurred in a district and at a period where and when the human family was more sparsely distributed, and when consequently untenanted areas of vast extent might have been taken possession of at no adequate risk. For, apart from the love of conquest instilled into the heart of every individual, in an age when all the men were warriors, it was a necessity that an invading race should become dominant, if it were to look for permanency, and it could only become so by a display of conquest over the most powerful opponents. Hence one locality, simply from previous occupation would become the field of successive contests, while others equally salubrious and suitable for settlement, would be as prominently neglected. Nor would the advantage gained be one of glory alone over and above the possession of the captured stronghold and its dependencies.

To over-populated tribes and peoples, whose pursuit of conquest was from that very cause *forced* upon them, the success of an expedition would lead to a stream of immigration, and possession would thus be taken of districts

whose desirability emanated from other causes than their historical repute or natural defences ; and under the ægis of the first comers, whose successes would have procured them the reputation of invincibility, extensive pastoral occupation of adjoining districts by their own countrymen would ensue, giving support to the capital, which in turn would give them its protection. Illustrations of which occurred in our own country in the invasions of the Saxons and the Danes ; in Caledonia in that of the Scots from Ireland, and, indeed, with one exception, in the invasion of Palestine by the Israelites.

The Roman occupancy was altogether exceptional. Those conquering soldiers of an iron empire crushing only the governments and rulers, but instructing the peoples in arts and sciences, sought rather a revenue from taxes, imposed on the products from sources they themselves taught the people to cultivate, looked upon such conquered countries as integral portions of the empire, and their revenues so obtained as tributaries to supply the expenditure of imperial magnificence in Rome itself.

That Berigonium, the place we are now considering, was a spot of great importance is clear, from its being claimed as the capital of the Dalriadic kingdom, as well as the residence of King Fingal, and the classic ground of Ossian ; while its former power is attested, not only by its own position and fortifications, but from the later fortresses of Barcaldine and Dunstaffnage, the histories of which are lost in the mists of antiquity. From the latter was brought the famous stone on which the Scottish monarchs were crowned. It was afterwards taken to Scone Palace, and thence by Edward I to Westminster, and now supports the chair occupied by the British sovereigns at their coronation.

Moreover, the place so-called (Berigonium) would have been the key to an extensive line of coast, and a protection to inland possessions, while commanding the archipelago of the Hebrides, yet completely secure itself from attack, except by superior strategy, or an overwhelming force.

I mention these facts because, from their rendering it a peculiar mark for attack, they account for the apparent succession of occupations ; but, apart from these, I was led to search this locality for the earliest "British" remains, on other and distinct grounds. In the present day, when so much

that was archaic, and, indeed, generally prehistoric, has been removed, and when that which remains is daily becoming less, it is a very great advantage to come upon undisturbed relics of remote ages.

In the series of photographs I had the pleasure to submit to your Association in November 1869, there were represented some features of the most perfect and undisturbed tumulus I have had the good fortune to open—that in the larger Cumbrae on the estate of the Earl of Glasgow, whose kind assistance, and the facilities for investigation he placed in my way I cannot too warmly acknowledge.

Previous to my examining that tumulus, I had long carefully considered if there were not certain marked parallel coincidences in the localities in which British occupation was indicated, and, though I have hardly yet sufficiently digested the facts I have accumulated, to propound a theory which is becoming daily more convincing to myself, notwithstanding that I ventured to touch upon such at the late meeting of the British Association at Liverpool, and to approach the subject still more nearly at the inaugural lecture I had the honour to give, on the opening, for meetings, of Sir Peter Coats's Free Museum and Library at Paisley, in October last; yet, I may mention the train of ideas which led me to investigate, not only the locality of Berigonium, but others also, and in each case with successful results.

Rich and pastoral localities in the neighbourhood of abrupt and rugged scenery, I find to be strongly indicative of British settlement, and when from the pressure of overpopulation new localities had to be sought, in which the pastoral became the pressing, indeed the imperative, consideration, there I find enormous expenditure of labour to supply to some extent those physical characteristics which seem to me to have been bound up with the ideas of the earliest settlers on our shores.

Ayrshire was quite new ground to me previous to my examination of the tumulus at the Cumbrae; but pursuing certain indications, then vaguely, but now more strongly, impressed on my mind, I encountered first one, then another evidence of British construction, in regular consecutive order,—I exhibit an illustration of one of these, a cromlech in the policies of Mrs. Wilson of Haylie,—till I came to the extensive and interesting remains at Beith, with carefully

constructed cistvaens of colossal dimensions, portions of large circles, and other megalithic arrangements.

Whether for the purpose of observation of hostile approach, an extensive view in the contemplation of terrestrial nature, or of the celestial bodies, I do not here attempt to determine, but one of the features that has attracted me most in the vicinity of such remains, is the broad expanse which can be commanded from some point in the locality of such settlements, with generally a prominent land mark or bearing, by which the situation might be known, even to new visitants, who in a time when there were no roads by land, and no beacons by sea, might have wandered fruitlessly wide of their mark, and traced and retraced their course in vain. As an instance of the latter, Ailsa Craig was from this spot unmistakeable.

I would here draw attention to some of my illustrations of the great Cumbrae tumulus, and to a photograph of a peculiar kind of urn, which I exhumed in the neighbourhood of Beith, not from the ground itself, but from the oblivion of fifteen years, and utter forgetfulness of its existence, from long residence on the continent by its present owner, J. S. Dobie, Esq., of Beith, into the possession of whose father it originally passed after its actual exhumation.

With regard to the first, I beg again to draw your attention to the peculiarity of the formation of the tumulus, which, however striking in appearance, I yet think presents those features from a very simple cause. As one of the objects of tumuli was to raise the depositories of the dead, and as the ideas of the constructors, on the subject of purity, apparently did not agree with the black soil which formed the original level, a quantity of clean sand had evidently been brought from the adjacent seashore, which also supplied the layer of white quartz pebbles in the eists. A temporary mound having been constructed for each cist, was then heaped over from the surface around, producing the black lines in the photograph; while a hollow of the almost exact capacity of the main mound is immediately adjoining, and from the nature of the soil evidently supplied the mass of material.

Similar lines of differing soil are shown with a less marked uniformity, in the cut of the great tumulus at St. Weonards in *Essays on Archaeology*, by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., and in the *Annals of Cambridge* I find the following de-

scription of an apparently British tumulus, opened in 1778, on the Gogmagog Hills :—"The tumulus was composed of fine light brown soil, which must have been collected purposely and from a distance, as the natural soil or earth of the hills consists, first, of a thin stratum of light soil, then gravel, then chalk, to a considerable depth, the earth immediately enclosing the bones was distinguished from the rest by a blueish tint." I again produce before you portions of the three actual soils used in the tumulus at the Cumbæ, and some of the white pebbles found in the cists.

In addition to the parallel indications of labour in bringing the soil from a distance, another similarity deserves notice. In the tumulus in the Cumbæ the cists containing unburnt bones lay nearly north and south ; while those containing cinerary urns were nearly east and west. In the tumulus on the Gogmagog Hills the bodies were disposed as follows : "At the bottom were found deposited seven skeletons, six of them were laid close together in a parallel direction, their heads pointing due north ; the seventh lay in a different direction, the head pointing due west and the feet pointing to the side of the nearest of the six, forming a right angle therewith, and so composing a large T with six tops."¹ A similar arrangement appears to be indicated in the tumulus at Saint Weonards, as to the orientation and its opposite.

The urn is one of a kind found in connection with a larger one, and either in or immediately by it. The larger kind having invariably, I believe, indications of incineration in the fragments of bones it contains.

The larger urn and bones found in the present instance crumbled into dust on being touched ; but the form, according to the information I obtained, agreed with those I hereafter describe.

A pair of urns of this description was found on Midsummer Common at Cambridge, on the side of the Cam, opposite to, but yet in the immediate vicinity of, the immense British mound or tumulus now known as the Castle Hill, one of those examples of that enormous expenditure of labour, where little or no natural elevation existed, I have before referred to, and of which Silbury Hill and the tumulus at St. Weonards, already referred to, are other examples.²

¹ Annals of Cambridge, p. 7.

² See also in Lapham's Survey of Mounds in Ohio and Wisconsin,—Lapham's Peak.

I think there can be no doubt that this mound is "British", from its admission as such by Professor Babington; its being enclosed within the square camp of the Romans, *Camboritum*, being, in short, the citadel of which they would take possession to overawe the conquered and original possessors, as I have already suggested in the case of Berigonium; moreover, the fact of a number of undoubted British relics having been discovered in this mound seems to place its origin beyond question.

That relics of the British occupants of this locality are found, Professor Babington not only admits, but distinctly affirms, by quoting a paragraph in the *Cambridge Chronicle* of May 2nd, 1840, in which some blue glass beads, a bronze spear-head, and various other implements found at Maney, are reported as "Roman," for which description in the quotation the word "British" is substituted as a correction.

A great amount of careful discrimination is necessary to avoid confusion as to occupancy, and, indeed, as to who were the actual possessors of such relics, when found mixed with those of another people or period; for in the present instance, apart from the fact that the Romans would possess themselves of the important posts of the British, it has to be remembered that they would also possess themselves of the spoil of the conquered, both in arms and ornaments, appropriating the one to themselves and the other to their families. Policy would also dictate intercourse in seasons of peace between the conquerors and the native families of importance; presents would be exchanged or articles purchased; and again, after the departure of the Romans, their camps and strongholds would in turn be taken possession of by the native inhabitants, in many cases moderately furnished with the remanents of Roman requirements.

Such relics in any case distinctly indicate British occupancy, though when mixed with others make the period of it doubtful. But the sepulchral urns I now refer to are of the oldest British type, and the large and small one were found in the same position with respect to each other and with the same contents as those in the neighbourhood of Beith.

A similar pair of urns under parallel circumstances was found in the Isle of Ely, in an area I have not yet been able to examine, but they at least tend to prove that those at *Camboritum* were not foreign to the locality. Each of these

two pairs of urns are now in the Fitzwilliam Museum. In form, the larger urns in each case assimilate to the urn I now exhibit from Berigionium, though they are of considerably greater dimensions.

In the British Museum is a still larger urn of the same device, excavated by Martin Atkins, Esq., from a barrow on Lambourne Down, Berks; there is no small urn with it, but it is perforated like that in the photograph, evidently for securing a smaller urn within it; the position of the holes being such as to show they could not have been placed to attach a lid or cover. Since reading this paper a fragment of an urn of the larger of these kinds, obtained in the locality of Weymouth, has been shown me by George Rolleston, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Anatomy in the University of Oxford, in which the same perforations are found almost at the bottom of the urn,¹ showing conclusively that they could not have been made for suspension, or the urn would have become inverted, moreover, that the urn could not have been intended to hold any fluid; and, therefore, leaving only the alternative that they were used to attach something inside the urn.

I conceive that the smaller urn of those found in pairs was a receptacle for the heart, perhaps the only fleshy portion of the body not subjected to fire, and that it was placed in the centre of the bones contained in the larger urn, and that the perforations were to secure the small urn in an upright position within the larger one.

In more than one instance where the urns have been found in pairs the smaller has contained a dark rich earthy matter, which I conceive to have been the remains of the heart. In one instance, where the small urn was deficient, a heart-shaped relic of a material described as being in appearance like "mountain pitch, very hard and light," was

¹ This urn would have had a diameter at the base of at least eight or nine inches. The height of such urns always exceeds the width. The dual perforation is one inch and a half from the bottom, measuring from the inside; and consequently it would have been simply impossible to suspend it, except in an inverted position, by such perforation. But the question of the object of these perforations is set at rest by an example in the Ashmolean Museum of a similar pair of urns. The larger one has the not infrequent perforated projections externally, evidently for vertical suspension; while it has *also* the two perforations through *one* side,—a rare instance, the different kinds of perforation seldom occurring together. The perforations in the small urn agree with those in the side of the large one, and are also only on one side. These urns were bequeathed by the Rev. A. B. Hutchings of Applesham, Hants.

discovered lying within the large urn on the top of the burnt bones it contained ; it was perforated, as is the case with the small urns when found, evidently for securing it within the urn, and may have been the integument of the heart preserved by pitch or resin (*Archæologia*, vol. 8, p. 62).

The custom of preserving the heart in Scotland, appears to have been retained down to the early ages of Christianity, or later, and upon it Sir Walter Scott has founded his tale of *The Monastery*.

The indications already mentioned having led me, as I supposed, to a successful result, I followed up the subject in the neighbourhood of Berigonium.

Here, bisecting a most beautiful crescent bay, stands the once fortified hill, a regal stronghold, as we have seen, of more than one dominant people. Its vicinity to Ben Cruachan is marked by the striking outlines of the mountain's peaks which forcibly arrest the eye. Around, at a radius of six miles eastward, and which by careful search might probably be much more extended, are circles, monoliths, and cromlechs, the apices of which latter at Achnacreebeg, are formed so as to correspond exactly with the angle of the mountain's peaks. There are also some remarkable remains not yet, I believe, particularised, some peculiarities concerning which I purpose to submit to the British Association at its next meeting at Edinburgh.¹

Further on, by the shores of Loch Etive, are those oval pavings, found surrounded by wooden stakes, which bring before us the dwellings described by Strabo of the Gauls, "circular with lofty tapering roofs of straw,"² which, if the calculations for earthy deposits and peat to accumulate are correct, lead us back to a period of more nearly three thousand than two thousand years. The same remoteness of date applies to the Temple of Calernish, in the island of Lewis, which I have closely inspected.

Here, pursuing my search, I was rewarded, amongst other relics, by the urn now before you. I was not actually the fortunate finder of the urn itself, it having been taken from a natural cavity in the lofty and remarkable conglomerate cliff, which at this spot rises perpendicularly, by Mr. John Campbell, who handed it to me with many injunctions as to

¹ See Report of the British Association for 1870-71.

² See Professor Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*.

its gentle treatment. It appears to be of sun-baked clay, and bears marks of the earliest style of British incision. The bones in it were near at hand, they have not been carefully examined, as the teeth, on being submitted to Professor Owen by me, were pronounced by him to be nothing more than the molars of an animal of the genus *sus*.

The chamber in which the vase was found was evidently a part of a once extensive cave, the major portion of which had been removed in making the road between the sea-shore and the conglomerate rock, and the entrance had become filled with the *débris*. The cave at one time must have had its opening upon or close to the sea, and the urn in question was no doubt one of the valued articles of the former inhabitants of the cave itself, whether the object of its use was that of contributing to the comforts of life or receiving the bones of its owner after death.

Confining myself to the pottery illustrated by the original specimens I am able to lay before you, I will content myself by saying that the same indications were followed by me with equally successful results on the Scottish border, and the examples are a very beautiful urn which has been named by me "the Jedburgh Urn," and which the Procurator Fiscal of Jedburgh kindly brought to London a few days since, specially to be exhibited to your Association by me. It was exhumed in October last, and I then saw it placed in the safe keeping of the Procurator Fiscal, J. Stevenson, Esq., on behalf of W. O. Rutherford, Esq., on whose estate it was found.

I exhibit also a large urn, under process of restoration, the property of the Marquis of Lothian, which I exhumed from a cistvaen in February last near the site of a former British settlement.

The cistvaens in each case where these urns were deposited I had the good fortune to examine before disturbance took place, and I found their construction the same as those in the great Cumbræ tumulus, the cover being relieved from the side walls or upright stones of the cists, by uncemented masonry so placed as to discharge the weight from the cist, and throw it upon the surrounding earth; hence the perfect condition of the very delicate and fragile urn. The larger one, having been struck by a ploughshare which had dislocated the supports, exhibits its present fractured condition.

Each urn had its burnt bones, while that called the "Jedburgh" urn had flint scrapers and quartz pebbles, indicating, I consider, an earlier date in this case than in the other. At this point I may once more mention that quartz pebbles formed a prominent feature in the cists in the Cumbræ. Here again are those peculiar physical features to which I have referred as having induced me to explore Ayrshire till I was led to Beith; and Argyllshire, till in the neighbourhood of Ben Cruachan I was again rewarded, and again with encouraging results, to the most northern and western of the Hebrides, where, in Harris I found similar remains, and in Lewis that mysterious temple which is to me the most impressive erection I have seen.

In the present case the "Trimontium" of the Romans, the modern Eildon, presents here as prominent a landmark, as commanding a view, and overlooks as rich a district as eye could wish to behold. This was exclusively my inducement to search the locality, where my labours are still in progress, as the various proprietors, and amongst others the Duke of Roxburghe, the Marquis of Lothian, and the Earl of Minto, have kindly given me permission for making more extensive investigations, which I am now prosecuting.

I may observe that several of the specimens have been illustrated in the *Graphic*, and a selection from my photographs will also be exhibited at the International Exhibition, in a presentation frame of appropriate design I have constructed as a contribution from myself to accompany the Earl of Glasgow's donation of relics to Sir Peter Coats' princely gift to the town of Paisley, the "Free Museum and Library."¹

I cannot fail to express my thanks to Professor Allen Thomson, and Dr. Young, of the University of Glasgow, for their kindness in examining and describing the human bones from tumuli examined by me: a report of some of their observations is appended to my paper "On a recent Examination of Tumuli in the Hebrides" in the *Report* of the British Association at Liverpool in 1870, and I acknowledge an equal obligation to Mortimer Evans, Esq., C.E., of Glasgow, for instruments and assistants placed at my disposal in the measurement and mapping of the tumuli and surrounding areas.

(Read 26th April, 1871.)

¹ See the Catalogue of the International Exhibition for 1871.

MONKLAND CHURCH.

BY THE REV. SIR HENRY BAKER, BART.

I THOUGHT, before you went into the church, some little account of the connection between the monks and this place would be acceptable. Mr. Ward, who is a solicitor at Leominster, has taken a great interest in the investigation of matters connected with the history both of the monastery and of the church; and it is almost his paper that is here given. He says, "What Monkland may have been after the Saxons I know not." Ralph De Toni was, no doubt, of a family which came from Conches in Normandy. He came over with William the Conqueror, and we know how he apportioned out the land. His partition of it, indeed, was one of the popular grievances of the period. Monkland seems to have been granted to De Toni as part of the reward of his services. In the next reign—that is, in the time of William Rufus—we find that De Toni granted the manor of the church and the "ville" to the abbot, St. Peter of Castellione, and "the monks there serving God." These monks were of the Benedictine order. The tithes and profits of the manor were granted, except that sufficient maintenance was to be made for the vicar. The grant comprises the manor of Monkland and the church, the tithes and profits, and moiety of the bell of Diura; the tithes of the lordship of Salvenour, *cum uno hospite* (which is, I presume, one *hospice* in the French sense), and the tithes of the land held with the *hospite*; the tithes of Hida; two parts of the great and small tithes of Bromeshaga. I do not know to what part this refers. There is a Broomy-hill at Hereford, and there is one near Leominster. But, to proceed, there were, as I have just said, two parts of the great and small tithes of Bromeshaga and Edidentoc, with one monk's house; two parts of the tithes of Hyde, and the domain lands of William de Schall; two parts of the tithes of Herbert de Ashpertou; one "*burgagium in villâ Hereford.*" (which must mean the city of Hereford); two parts of the tithes of Albodeley, and in the same "ville" two hospices; two parts of the tithes of Bur; two parts of the tithes of Wormesley; the



lands and mansion late of Caure ; two parts of the farm of Osburne, the son of Rinaldi ; and two parts of the titles of the lordship of Linda, with one hospice. The arms of the De Toni family, which are *argent a maunch gules*, remained in the east window of the church as late as 1683. They were then sketched by Mr. Dingley. Unfortunately, he misattributed this coat of arms, and gave it as that of the Earl of Pembroke, yet marked the shield *or. argent*, the *argent* being underneath the *or*. This is rather an interesting matter. Mr. Severne Walker reproduced the sketch. There were several coats of arms then connected with the church which have entirely disappeared. Now, as I have said, in his sketch there is *or*, and *argent* underneath. Mr. Ward, about two years ago, wrote to Thomas Winnington, in whose possession the book is, respecting this point. Sir Thomas Winnington wrote—"Dear Sir,—Your letter reached me yesterday. I have turned to the description of Monkland, and I find that Dingley attributes the arms to the Earl of Pembroke—*argent a maunch gules*,—but gives the simple word *or*, with *argent* underneath ; and, therefore, I conclude that he had some doubt about it." I have no doubt that these arms were those of the De Toni family. It is rather important. Mr. Severne Walker has curiously enough omitted, in his sketch, *argent*. Then Mr. Ward, accepting Mr. Street's theory as to the date of the present nave of the church,—viz., that it was 1100,—says it would be attributable to the Benedictines, soon after De Toni's grant. He then remarks upon the use of tufa in this church. He says the use of tufa stone in churches is not common. It may be seen in Lanthony Abbey in the clerestory windows and at Easton, near Tenbury, the church is built of it. Mr. Brittain says it is often used in filling up the spaces between the ribs in the arched roof and seams, but confined to that purpose. Here it takes important bearings, and could only have been obtained from a considerable distance, "Hill Hole." But I believe it is found to this day a few miles on the other side of Leominster. He asked what it was that induced this outlay ? Was it the idea that it extinguished fire ? Dr. E. J. May speaks of its being used in a church built in the tenth century at Incyringen, in Oberland, Switzerland, in which case they would have to haul it eighty miles. Did this influence the Benedictines

at Monkland? At any rate, whatever was its use, it is very light but very hard.

But to proceed with our history of the place. The grant of De Toni was confirmed by William Bishop of Hereford,—it is assumed, William de Vere, who presided over this diocese from 1186 until his death in 1199. This record is published in full in Dugdale's *Monasticon*. It was published in 1654. In King's College, Cambridge, there is a copy of this record, which was made by a notary at York in 1433. In this document William Bishop of Hereford confirms the De Toni grant, as I have said; and it is only from this copy of the notary that we know what he gave, the original deed of gift having been lost.

Ralph de Toni left but one son, and the family became extinct in Robert de Toni, who died in 1309. Its wealth and honours passed, by the marriage of Alice de Toni, to Guy Earl of Warwick. Monkland, as an alien priory, received its prior, if not most of its monks, from the mother church at Conches, Normandy, and probably the account was rendered by them, to the mother church, of the profits and increase; or, at the least, there was a "paid apart," which is a species of pension, which greatly reduced the income of the inmates, and impoverished them. The tenure of the alien priories was, as we know, very precarious, and during the wars between England and France all such institutions were seized by the Crown. It would be difficult and tedious to attempt to trace the fortunes of the Priory as regards the trials it may have undergone from the border feuds with the Welsh, or from national differences with France. But, notwithstanding these troubles, the Benedictines improved their church. They added the tower in 1126, and inserted the window on the other side 1276. In adopting these figures, Mr. Ward thinks that it is not necessary to affirm what Mr. Street has said, that the first instance of the windows not being on the same level, and being crude, was owing to the unconscious skill which the village workmen had shown; he rather thinks it was not a matter of unconscious skill, but that it was to be attributed to the refinement of the monks. The work might have been executed by country masons, but it was under the guidance of the priests. He also says that we owe very much to the monks for the advancement of agriculture. He would also

like to know whether it was known how far they had helped the wool trade and the glove trade which were carried on at Leominster and other places. He further says that no one knows how the apple was introduced into Herefordshire, not the crab, which is admitted to be indigenous, but as good fruit. Conches, he says, is in the heart of the French apple district; that it was to Normandy what Hereford is to Herefordshire, the central town of the apple district. What part did the monks sent here take in the improvement of the fruit? In the work, written by Mr. Hall on the breaking up of the glove trade, we are told that in this place, Monkland, the glove trade existed from time immemorial.

Then Mr. Ward says:—"In 1399 its possessions were granted to the Carthusian monks at Coventry. In 1414 it was suppressed. I do not know whether there was after this any vicarage, or whether any one came there, but it was a very deserted place. In 1435 Sir Rowland de Leinthall obtained a grant of the cells and the properties. He had distinguished and enriched himself at the battle of Agincourt. He does not appear to have done anything for the church; but Mr. Dinley gives his arms as adorning the east window of the church in 1683—*argent*, on a bend, cotised *sable*, three mullets *or*, for Leinthall [Lenthall] of Besselleigh, Berkshire, quartering *sable*, a bend, fusilly, *argent*; or Leinthall of Dorset, and on another shield the bearing of the Leinthalls of Berks and Dorset, quartering barry of seven, *argent* and *azure*, possibly intended for Grey of Codner, Sir Rowland having married, for his second wife, Lucy, fourth aunt and one of the co-heirs of the last Lord Grey of Codner." Mr. John Gough Nichols, in his edition of Dinley's book, attributes one of these coats to a family of the name of Lauton. Mr. Edmundson, in his well-known book on *Heraldry*, does not notice the family of Lauton. Mr. Boutell may be able to throw some light upon this matter. In pulling down the chancel I may say that we found the remains of a two-light window, sufficient to enable us to restore it.

We will next pass to the interior of the church, of which I will read the account printed in the *Ecclesiologist*. It says:—"The old church consisted, before its restoration was commenced, of a western tower, nave, chancel, and vestry. Of these, the chancel was a poor, modern erec-

tion, having been built some thirty-five years ago, and the vestry was a more recent and slighty addition. The nave was more interesting. It contained in each side two original Romanesque windows, which were placed high up in the walls (about eleven feet from the floor), and were mere slits, six inches wide and three feet in height. Their position proved that the whole of the nave walls were Romanesque ; but they were the only architectural features which remained of the original fabric. Subsequently other windows were inserted, two of two-lights in the south wall, and one of two-lights in the north. The dimensions of the nave were only 48 ft. by 17 ft. 6 in., so that the lighting of the building was sufficient, and (the new windows having been inserted at a much lower level than those originally built with the wall) extremely picturesque in the way of light and shade. The effect is one which is very suggestive, because it is too rarely that in new buildings any attempt is made to manage with skill any such very effective disposition of the openings. The south-western and north-western windows were close to the entrance to the chancel, and the existence of a piscina in the sill of the former showed that there had once been an altar against the chancel screen. The tracery of these inserted windows is peculiar. One of them has two lights, with a quatrefoil above, and an enclosing label, which takes a trefoil outline. The other, of somewhat similar tracery, has a simply arched enclosing label ; both were rude and irregular in their workmanship, and evidently executed by mere country masons ; and their happy position in the walls is a good instance of the unconscious skill which these simple mediæval workmen so constantly displayed. The date of these inserted windows was probably *circa* A.D. 1270 ; the original walls dating from about A.D. 1100. Here it should be mentioned that the Norman work was almost all executed in calcareous tufa. Rough and rude as this material is, it has been as far as possible retained in the building. It is very rarely that this material is to be found in any English buildings, and it was specially important, therefore, that it should not be condemned here on account of its roughness. The old roof existed on the nave. It appeared to be about the same date as the inserted windows, and had painted arched braces framed to every pair of rafters throughout its length. At

the west end of the old Romanesque nave a steeple was built *circa* A.D. 1220. This is a most admirable example of good design and extreme simplicity. It is 21 ft. 6 in. square outside, and only 41 ft. high to the top of the walls, rising 6 ft. only above the ridge of the nave roof. It has buttresses at the angles, with bold weatherings, and simple lancet belfry windows of one light on each face. A good corbel-table, with moulded corbels under a chamfered course, forms the cornice. Here the masonry is admirable, and the stonework, never having been touched with whitewash, nor the equally defiling hand of the 'pointing' mason, had obtained the most lovely colour of which lichen and stone are capable. The tower was surmounted by a great boarded framework, which had some of the elements of the picturesque, but more of the ugly, and which was clearly not antique. The old doorways had disappeared, no trace remaining of any on the north side, whilst that on the south was an insertion of late thirteenth century date, with a timber porch, probably of the same age, but very much decayed. The font, a rude cylinder, is probably coeval with the original foundation of the church. It may be assumed that the Romanesque church consisted of a nave and chancel only, and that the western tower was an addition to the length of the fabric. Such was the account of the old church given by Mr. Street; and its appearance when he was called in to restore it was certainly hopeless enough. A new chancel was a necessity, as there was nothing old remaining, and the existing chancel was some four or five feet shorter than the old one, as was proved, not only by the testimony of some of the parishioners, but by the remains of the original foundations which were discovered by excavation. There was no chancel-arch. The nave roof was decayed, and had pushed the walls so much out of the perpendicular that, in spite of a huge buttress which had been built against one of them, they were quite unsafe. Then the masonry of the nave wall was so rough, and the cut stone so rude, that most men would have proposed to build an entirely new church. But what has actually been done proves clearly that it is possible to rebuild in so conservative a fashion as to lose few, if any, of the links that bind us to the past. Here in the rebuilt church we have solid new walls, but every wrought stone put back in its old place, and the old roof repaired, made good, and

again presenting exactly its old appearance. In pulling down the modern chancel walls the remains of a good two-light window, of early fourteenth century character, were found built up in the walls : these have been carefully copied and inserted in the new south wall. The chancel-arch and the eastern window of three-lights, as well as the low stone screen by which the chancel is divided from the nave, are built of local stone, and blend admirably, both in design and colouring, with the old work. The pulpit was Mr. Street's design, and was executed by Mr. Earp, of London. It is of oak, with statues of the four Latin Doctors at the angles, and a richly carved cornice. The eastern window has been filled with stained glass by Hardman, and is one of his most successful efforts ; representing in the centre our Lord with the saints 'harping with their harps' on either side."

You will observe that in the group of saints in the act of praise, there are the figures of a king, a queen, a bishop, and others. The birds, fishes, and animals, are also represented below as praising Him. There is a happy group of earthly singers, singing from a book on the bough of a tree, with shepherds piping, etc., below ; and above are angels with different instruments of music. The whole design and colouring is good, and accords not only with the dedication of the church (which is dedicated to All Saints), but with the objects of the compilers of "Hymns Ancient and Modern," by whom it was given. Below the window is a very effective reredos, which has in the centre a crucifix sculptured in alabaster, under a canopy of Purbeck marble, and on either side two figures—the Blessed Virgin Mary and "the other Mary" on the north, and St. John and St. Mary Magdalene on the south. The object I had in view was that over the altar we might have the Saviour in His sufferings brought before our minds, and in the window above in His glory. The ground is Salviati's mosaic. "On either side of the reredos the east wall is lined" (continues the *Ecclesiologist*) "with stone, filled in with geometrical patterns incised in coloured cement. The altar, raised on three steps, is of cedar with oak tracery and walnut panels, with an ebony cornice below the old oak mensa, which has been retained. There are sedilia and double piscina in the south wall, with simple bold moulding. The pavements are all of Godwin's tiles. The roof of the chancel is boarded

and panelled, and covered with painted decorations, executed from Mr. Street's designs by Harland and Fisher." In the window in the north wall of the nave close to the chancel there is a bit of old glass, which I put back where I found it.

With regard to some tiles which are laid near the pulpit, we found them laid as part of the pavement, a foot below the floor.

Proceedings of the Association.

8TH MARCH, 1871.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

MR. J. W. BAILY exhibited the following objects:—A bronze knife-handle, in the form of a man playing on a bagpipe—from Long Alley, March, 1866; a knife-handle, enamelled, the upper part formed as a man playing on a bagpipe, sixteenth century, English work—from the Gas Works, Wapping, 1866; a wooden knife-sheath, with ornamental pewter mounting, and containing the knife—from Brook's Wharf, City, November, 1866; the pewter ornamentation for a wooden knife-sheath, late fourteenth century—from Butler's Wharf, Shad Thames; a metal knife-sheath for two knives, ornamented with pewter, late fourteenth century—from Butler's Wharf, Shad Thames; a double-ended key—from Wapping; two implements, one an aigrette-hole piercer—from Butler's Wharf, Shad Thames; two Roman pike-heads—from Butler's Wharf, Shad Thames; Roman pottery, with ornamentation in white—from Throgmorton Street; female figure, one of the *Deæ matres*, with two children; Roman penates found in the excavation at a Wharf on the Surrey side of the Thames, March, 1871.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read the following paper on "Moulded Wood":

"The examples of wood embossed by die-stamping which I laid before the Association on December 14th, 1870, seem to have created so much interest that I am emboldened to bring to your notice another mode of producing reliefs in wood which is as little known as that already described, and yet it is one of the old fashions which has been revived and practised in our day.

"Most of those whom I address have probably seen in the course of their lives draughtsmen and medallions with obverses and reverses, to all appearance struck out of the solid wood by dies similar to those employed for minting money, the devices and legends being well-developed, and the fields smooth and bright as a new coin. And this latter feature forms a marked distinction from the embossings previously exhibited, which are covered with fine concentric circles to give them

the air of turned work. I have inspected wooden medals and draughtsmen of this description bearing the busts of William of Orange and his Queen, and I presume that it was during the second half of the seventeenth century that this peculiar kind of embossing came into vogue. The objects to which I refer are not really made of solid wood, as they appear to be, but of a compound of sawdust and other matters, and the method followed in their production is thus described in G. Smith's '*Laboratory, or School of Arts*, printed for James Hodges, at the Looking-Glass, facing St. Magnus Church, London Bridge, and T. Astley,' 1750 (p. 117):—'To cast wood in moulds, as fine as ivory, of a fragrant smell, and in several colours.' 'Take fine sawdust of lime-tree wood, put it into a clean pan, tie it close up with paper, and let it dry by a gentle heat; then beat it in a stone mortar to a fine powder, sift it through a cambrick, and lay it, if you don't use it presently, in a dry place, to keep it from dust. Then take one pound of fine parchment glue, the finest gum-dragant and gum-arabick, of each four ounces; let it boil in clear pump-water, and filter it through a clean rag; then put into it of the said powder of wood, stir it till it becomes of the substance of a thick paste, and set it in a glazed pan in a hot sand, stir it well together and let the rest of the moisture evaporate till it be fit for casting. Then pour or mix your colours with the paste, and put in oil of cloves, of roses, or the like, to give it a scent; you may mix it if you will, with a little beaten amber. For a red colour use brasil ink, and for other colours such as will be directed under the article for bookbinders. Your mould will be better of pewter or brass than of plaister of Paris; anoint it over with oil of almonds, and put your paste into it, let it stand three or four days to dry and harden, then take off your mould, and it will be as hard as ivory; you may cut, turn, carve, and plane it like other wood; it will be of a sweet scent; you may, if your mould will allow it, use several colours in one piece, leaving only in some part the natural colour of the wood, in order to convince the beholder what it is. It is a fine and curious experiment.'

"One hundred and twenty years have passed away since this receipt was published, and few, perhaps, are now aware that it ever issued from the press; but somehow or other the art of which it treats was revived with great success in France some ten or twelve years since, and medallion plaques of jet-black hue of considerable size, bearing profiles of illustrious individuals, both native and foreign, were 'struck-off,' and had a ready sale. These plaques differ in one respect from the earlier castings, inasmuch that the fields, instead of being polished like the busts, are rough and dull, which adds much to the effect of the subject. I produce an example, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, displaying the portrait to the left of BOSSUET, the wily champion of the Papacy, who was born at Dijon in 1627, and died Bishop of Meaux in 1704. This admirable

piece of embossing has on the dos the words *BOIS DURCI*, in low relief, but, hard as the material is, it splinters with a fall, and the fractured surface exhibits no trace of ligneous fibre but a granulated structure.

"The subject here submitted may perchance be deemed far too modern for an archæological meeting, but I trust I may be pardoned for its introduction, as it seems a fit, and indeed needful, corollary to the remarks on imitations of turned work which appeared in the last volume of our *Journal* (p. 380)."

Mr. Keighley exhibited the lower end of a right *femur* or thigh-bone of a very powerfully built adult, found in the interior of the principal church at Iona. It was suggested that it might possibly be a saint's relic.

Mr. J. W. Grover read a paper on "*Heriri Mons, or Castell Tomenymur*," in North Wales, which will be found at pp. 277-282 *ante*, illustrated by diagrams and drawings prepared by himself.

Mr. Gordon Hills, in reference to the mound existing in the works, suggested that it might possibly have been thrown up some time after the works themselves were finished.

22ND MARCH.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following members was announced :—

John Davies Lloyd, Esq., Altyroddyn, Cardiganshire.

William Adlam, Esq., Manor House, Chew Magna, Bristol.

Thanks were returned for the following present :—

To the Society of Antiquaries, for *Archæologia*, vol. xliii, part i, 4to, London, 1871.

It was announced that the annual Congress for 1871 would be held at Weymouth, and Messrs. Gordon Hills and Grover referred to several objects of interest which abounded in the neighbourhood, in the hope that members of the Association would turn their attention to them. There were questions connected with some of the localities it was proposed to visit which required much consideration, and it was desirable that they should be thoroughly investigated with a view, if possible, to their elucidation. As the local authorities had promised their hearty support and co-operation, it might be predicted that the Congress would be both an important and an agreeable one.

Mr. Edward Leven exhibited celts made by the Carib Indians from conch shells. The present examples were found in Barbadoes near the sea-shore in 1869.

Mr. Cecil Brent exhibited the handle of a Greek amphora stamped with the name of the potter, ΑΓΛΟΚΛΑΕΣ.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited four Roman lamps intended for dropping into the sockets of lanterns, found in an excavation in the city. Also from the Thames shore, near the Railway Bridge, Blackfriars, a fragment of an ivory statuette; an object in bone having a hole drilled in the side, probably the bowl of a pipe; and a huntsman's bodkin.

Mr. Lambert doubted whether the vessels exhibited as lamps to be dropped into lantern sockets were really what they were supposed to be.

Mr. Cuming remarked that there could be but very little doubt upon the matter, and that lamps of a similar form continued in use even down to the Norman period.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch read "Remarks upon an unpublished list of Scottish religious-houses," which will be found printed at pp. 241-245 *ante*.

Mr. Gordon Hills called attention to the fact of the list containing so few Benedictine foundations, and remarked that the same was the case in Ireland.

Mr. Birch observed that this was probably, in a great measure, owing to the Culdee institutions being found sufficient for the monastic requirements of the country; and that the Cistercian rule, which was strongly represented in the north of England, found more favour with the Scotch than the Benedictines did. This latter order was, perhaps, not altogether suited to the popular taste. In Ireland the Austin canons and various orders of friars were more numerous.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming laid before the meeting a drawing by Mr. Watling of the old brazen chandelier which was presented to the chapel of ease at Lowestoft, Suffolk, by a Mr. Martin Brown, in the year 1700, and subsequently melted down to furnish material for a new dial-plate for the town-hall clock. This chandelier was six feet in height, and of bold and elegant design, comprising two circles of sconces (8 in. each circle), with gracefully curved stems springing from clusters of volutes, and having at the lower part of the pillar a very large sphere, on which was graven the following inscription—THE GIFT OF M^r MARTIN BROWN OF ROTTERDAM TO THE CHAPPEL OF LOW-STOFT THE TOWN OF HIS NAT^l., 1700.

Mr. Cuming made the subjoined remarks on "Chandeliers:—"

"Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv, c. 8) records that brass was the usual metal employed for pendant lamps, which he says 'were placed in the temples, or gave their light in the form of trees loaded with fruit; such as the one, for instance, in the temple of the Palatine Apollo, which Alexander the Great, at the sacking of Thebes, brought to Cyme, and dedicated to that God.' Such lamps as Pliny alludes to, or more correctly speaking the hanging stands for such lamps, were called by the ancients *lychnuchi pensiles*; and a fine example of one, wrought of marble, is preserved in the Villa Borghese. It is somewhat star-shaped, and contrived for the support of at least eight, and possibly

sixteen *lucerne*. The *lychnuchus pensilis* of the Romans continued in fashion during the middle ages, and doubtlessly suggested the idea of the chandelier, but it is by no means well determined when the latter piece of furniture came into use. In all probability it, like many other things, had a small beginning, for we find in olden times hanging candlesticks for two or more lights of unpretending fabric, such, for instance, as those of iron engraved in our *Journal* (vol. xxv, p. 59). In the same volume (p. 60) a description is given of two iron chandeliers of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, in the Copenhagen Museum, the one having a single pricket, the other five prickets. Both examples manifest thought in design, though they possess no claim to elegance.

"Chandeliers of wood, with metal prickets or nozzles, rising from saucers, were occasionally employed, the frames being made annular, cruciformed, and triangular, and suspended either by cords, chains, or wires; but as early as the first half of the fifteenth century they had begun to show considerable advances towards the modern form of such articles. This is decisively proved by John Van Eyck's picture in the National Gallery, of John Arnolfini, of Lucca and his wife, above whose heads hangs a most elegant chandelier, its circle of branches being wrought in Gothic style, with nozzles for the candles.

"When the chandelier had grown into esteem, and the art of glass-making reached a certain degree of development, the lustre made its *débüt*, the drops and other parts of which were at first only cast, but at a later period cut into facets. In the Catalogue of Specimens of Cabinet Work, exhibited at Gore House, Kensington, 1853 (p. 33), occurs the following remarks on a Venetian glass chandelier of the seventeenth century:—'This chandelier is interesting from its characteristic Venetian aspect. Though somewhat gandy, and by no means elegant in its component parts, it has nevertheless a gala, ball-room air, which is very pleasing, and is thoroughly in harmony with the gorgeous furniture of the period. Numerous similar specimens may still be observed pendant in the faded saloons of the older Venetian palaces. The peculiarities of the Venetian glass manufacture will be remarked in the absence of cutting, and the tenuity and irregular manipulation of the material.'

"At the sale of the Bernal Collection in March, 1855, lot 4264 is described as 'a magnificent chandelier, of old Venetian glass, with flowers and ornaments in colours, and scroll branches for eight lights.'

"The old Venetian chandeliers, though rich with coloured enamels, are, perhaps, more curious than beautiful, for there is in them an absence of the prismatic hues which lend such a brilliancy and charm to the lustres of transparent cut glass.

"I have here an old and neatly executed drawing of a chandelier, in which apparently glass and metal are very judiciously blended, and



the effect of which, if ever carried out, must have been extremely striking. The elegantly wrought pillar is surmounted by a royal crown of brilliants, much like that of the time of Charles II. Beneath this branch out four flowers of glass, and below there is a circle of six sconces, with festoons and drops of glass depending between them. Then comes a great orb of brilliants, which forms the centre of a group composed of two lions and two unicorns, arranged alternately cross-ways, and on the head of each is a spire of glass, and between each project sconces, forming in all a circle of twelve lights. The lower part of the chandelier consists of graceful floriferous volutes with drops at their extremities. This noble looking piece of furniture is of so peculiar a character that we may feel assured it was designed for some special purpose, possibly for the adornment of the palace of an English sovereign, the crown and supporters of the royal arms giving it a very regal aspect.

"The chandelier which was melted down to make a clock-face for the Town Hall of Lowestoft, though dated 1700, was of the type prevalent through the greater part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The ball at the lower part is, perhaps, rather larger than was usually the case, and made so probably for the purpose of better receiving the inscription recording the presentation.

"In Hogarth's well-known print of *The Medley*, published in 1762, is a chandelier, the two sconces of which spring from a great ball, on which is delineated a face turned into a sort of map, the parts of which are distinguished as 'the Molten-lead Lake,' 'the Bottomless Pit,' 'Pitch and Tar Rivers,' 'the Horrid Zone,' 'Parts Unknown,' 'Brimstone Ocean,' 'Eternal Damnation Gulph,' and 'Desarts of New Purgatory.' All this is, of course, nothing but Hogarth's quaint conceit, but the Lowestoft chandelier is a proof that the terminal sphere was sometimes inscribed.

"Though the manufacture of the gaudy Venetian chandeliers ceased in the seventeenth century, they still seemed to have exercised a certain degree of influence over the taste of the succeeding age, for we meet with chandeliers constructed of wood richly ornamented with flowers, etc., of Dresden porcelain, beyond all doubt made in imitation of the older fabrics of glass; and these 'China-pieces' have again been more or less closely copied in papier-maché and composition, the florets, etc., being coloured after the fashion of the Italian and German prototypes.

"We have now noted that chandeliers have been formed of wood, metal, glass, porcelain, and papier-maché, and it may be stated in conclusion that in Germany they have been wrought of the antlers of the stag, and that in the year 1848 No. 228, Regent Street, was opened for the sale of such and other articles fabricated of 'Hartshorn.' "

Instances were given by Messrs. Baily, Hills, Lambert, and Grover,

of fine old chandeliers which had formerly been in the city churches, but had now disappeared and been probably broken up. There was one remarkably handsome one in one of the Bristol churches, and it was a general subject of regret that examples of the kind were now becoming so rare.

Mr. Henry F. Holt exhibited, and read a paper upon, "Chinese Cinerary Urns," which is printed at pp. 343-349 *ante*.

12TH APRIL.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A.SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THANKS were returned for the following presents :—

To the Author, for the Roman Remains of Chester, with a particular description of those discovered in Bridge Street in July, 1863, being a paper read before the Architectural, Archæological, and Historic Society of Chester, by T. N. Brushfield, M.D. 8vo, Chester, 1868.

„ „ Morris Charles Jones, Esq., for fac-simile of a Charter dated 1199, from Wennunwen to the Monks of Stradmarchel.

Mr. Ready, of the British Museum, sent for exhibition a Jacobite snuff-box of a highly interesting character. It is of brass, of a round form, about two inches and five-eighths in diameter, and has its flat bottom, sides, and convex lid painted all over with the Stuart tartan. The lid has an inner lining or flap attached to the hinge, which, when turned down, displays on its concealed surface the half-length portrait of "Bonnie Prince Charlie." It is a well painted miniature, representing Charles Edward Stuart in a flat blue bonnet with a white cockade over the left eye, white cravat and shirt frill, white coat latticed with red and trimmed with gold lace, a broad blue belt passing from the left shoulder under the right arm, and over which hangs from a white bow the jewelled order of St. Andrew, and on the left breast is the star of the order of the garter.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said that boxes like the one now submitted, though rarely met with in our day, were once common among the adherents of the Stuarts, and he produced a photograph of a silver inner lid of a similar box painted with a three-quarter bust of the Prince of Wales, agreeing exactly in pose, and essentially in details, with the effigy on Mr. Ready's specimen, and to all appearance limned by the same hand. This curious Jacobite relic was discovered in clearing out a sewer at Chester, and is now in the possession of Edward Garven, Esq., of Warrington.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming also exhibited copies of two portraits of "the Young Pretender," taken at very different periods of life. The first was a photograph of a good sized oil painting formerly in the possession

of the Leghs of Lyme Hall, Cheshire. It represents the youthful Prince full-faced, with silken doublet belted over the hips, white shirt and full wristbands, and holding a cap in the right hand. The second portrait is a copy in water-colours from an oil-painting in the possession of a lady at Harrow, whose great grandfather, John Cuming, of Elgin, married a Stuart, and who with many of his clansmen were in the army of the Prince Charles at Culloden. The picture shows the "Young Chevalier," nearly full-faced, his light hair thrown back from the forehead, a white cravat tied round the throat, the person cased in steel armour, with a jewel and green ribbon hanging on the bosom, and with a red mantle edged with ermine cast over the left shoulder.

Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited the following objects:—1. A Roman comb of bone inlaid with bronze annulets. 2. An iron strigil, with provision for a hand-strap—perfect. 3. An elegant bronze *lingula*. 4. A bronze spatula, of large size and fine workmanship. 5. A portion of a second strigil, fine bronze, handle lost. 6. A portion of a third strigil, bronze and silver, a portion of the blade missing. 7. A portion of a soap drainer, perforated bronze. 8. A fine Roman knife-handle, terminating in head and shoulders of a wild boar, bronze. 9. An ampulla of pressed glass, beautifully iridescent—all found in London, and, with the exception of the third strigil, together. 10. An alabastron of white glass (Lattimo), striped with pink, in form of an amphora, about five inches in length, Roman, and unique. 11. An alabastron of Greek glass, imitative onyx, beautifully iridescent; in design, material, and colour, this specimen is unique; it is without a lip, and has in the throat a perforated bead, for the handle of the *lingula*; of these, the first was found, the second purchased, in London. 12. A reliquary of pewter found at Queenhithe, which represents Becket receiving his death-blow, has a raised cross, by means of which, probably, it was presented to the lips of the worshipper. 13. A cherub's head in bronze, patinated, of Italian work, fourteenth century, formed a portion of the crucifix of the sanctuary church of St. Martin. 14. A brooch of Italian work, of a delicate and beautiful pattern, from the river. 16. Two carved boxes, Flora and "Chasse aux Lions," French, *temp.* Louis XIV.,—both from London.

Mr. Kettle exhibited a circular bronze box of oriental manufacture, elaborately decorated with figures of elephants and other animals.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills read the following paper by James Davies, Esq., illustrated by a map:

"ON THE ROMAN ROADS OF HEREFORDSHIRE.

"The principal Roman road in Herefordshire was that portion of the *Via Orientalis* of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, which connected Magna with Bravinium and Uriconium northwards, and with Gobannium to

the south. Commencing with the northern course, this road led by Credenhill and Portway to Stretford Street, Mortimer's Cross, Aymestrey, Wigmore, and thence to Bravinium; southward it continued to the River Wye, at the Weir, and passed near Madley along a road which now bears the name of Stoney Street, and thence through Kingstone, Abbey Dore, and Ewyas Harold, entered Monmouthshire, and proceeded to Gobannium.

"This road was part of the twelfth iter of Antoninus, as now agreed upon by antiquaries. The early antiquary Horsley, as well as Sir R. C. Hoare, were both of opinion that this road was the twelfth iter of Antoninus, and that the Roman remains at Kenchester were the *Magna* of the iter. Sir R. C. Hoare, speaking of the *Via Orientalis*, says:— 'This iter is recorded both by Antonine and Richard of Cirencester, who differ only one mile in the distances between the stations.' He then gives the distances between several stations as follows:—

		ANTONINE.		RICHARD.	
		M.P. 9		M.P. 8	
From Isca to Burrium	. .	. 12	...	12	
" " Gobannium	. .	. 22	...	23	
" " Magna	. .	. 24	...	23	
" " Bravinium	. .	. 27	...	27	
" " Uriconium	. .	94		93	

"Richard of Cirencester, in speaking of the Silurian district of the province of Britannia Secunda, informs us that 'the cities of the Silures were Ariconium, Magna, and Gobannium; and that Venta Silurum was their head.'¹

"The portion of this road from Magna to Bravinium, at least from the Portway at Burghill to Stretford and Kingsland, appears to have been a branch of the British Southern Watling Street. It is so named on the Ordnance Map as bearing the name of Watling Street, and is noted on Sir R. C. Hoare's map of *Cambria Romana* as an original British trackway.

"Another Roman road connected Magna Castra with Wigornia at Worcester. Passing through the villages of Stretton Tugwas and Holmer, it continued by Shelwich to Withington, and thence to Circutio, at Stretton Grandison. From this place, passing Froome's Hill, it entered Worcestershire at the northern end of the Malvern Hills, and proceeded to Wigornia. A great portion of this road can easily be traced, and for a distance of four or five miles forms the northern boundary of the liberties of the city of Hereford, where it has always been traditionally known as 'the Roman road.' This road is not

¹ Although Richard of Cirencester's iters are now held to be altogether mythical (see *Journal*, xxv, pp. 120-133), yet I deemed it not uninteresting to give the remarks of Sir R. C. Hoare upon the subject in their entirety.

one mentioned in the *iters*, but is included by Sir R. C. Hoare in his map of *Ancient Wales*. The small station of Circutio is not noticed by him.

“A third road connected Magna with Ariconium. It branched off from the lastly described road at Withington, at a place called “The Black Hole”; and thence by Bartestree and Longworth, Mordiford and Townhope, under Caplar Camp, where probably was a halting station or look out, and from thence by How Caple and Crow Hill to Ariconium. This is also one of the Portways mentioned in Sir R. C. Hoare’s map of *Ancient Wales*, but is not any portion of the *iters* of Antoninus.

“A fourth Roman road appears to have connected Bravinium with Circutio. It commenced at Wigmore, where it evidently branched off from the Via Orientalis, and proceeded by Croft, Stockton, Ashton to Corner Cop. Thence to a place called “The Trumpet,” by Stretford, and along a lane called Blackwardine Lane, under Risbury Camp to England’s Gate, and so on to Stretton Grandison, where Circutio was situate. This is the only road in Herefordshire which is not noticed by Sir R. C. Hoare, but there is the evidence of nomenclature in support of it in many localities. The last three roads do not occur in the *iters* of Antoninus, and we may, therefore, conclude they were not military ways. It is not improbable that they were merely vicinal ways, and occupied, to a great extent, the sites of ancient British trackways, which conveniently served as thoroughfares from one place to another under proper watch and ward, and were ultimately adopted as recognised roads.

“A fifth Roman road traversed Herefordshire for a short distance. It was a portion of the Via Julia Montana of Sir R. C. Hoare, and connected Ariconium with Glevum at Gloucester, and again with Blestium at Monmouth. It is supposed to have taken a course from Ariconium south of the Wye, and to have crossed the river at Walford, and thence to Blestium at Monmouth. This road is part of the thirteenth *iter* of Antoninus, who gives the distances from Blestium to Ariconium at 11 *m. p.*, and thence to Glevum at 15 *m. p.*

“These several roadways can be traced, to a great extent, on the Ordnance Map from the existence at the present day of names of Roman origin. The prefix of ‘Wall,’ ‘Stret,’ and ‘Stretton,’ as in ‘Walford,’ ‘Stretford,’ ‘Stretton Sugwas,’ ‘Stretton Grandison,’ as well as the names of ‘Portway’ and ‘Street’ still to be found, indicate the sites of these trackways.

“The Rev. T. D. Fosbrooke, in his *Cyclopedia of Antiquities*, states that certain names still exist in places upon the sites of Roman causeways, such as ‘Bury Hill,’ the supposed site of Ariconium, the termination ‘cester,’ common in such numerous instances, and ‘week,’

or 'wick,' from *vicus*. Sir R. C. Hoare says that he frequently found the term 'Cold Harbour' in the vicinity of Roman roads and stations—a name supposed to have been a corruption of two words which signified a military station—*Col Arfan*, 'the Hill of Arms.' An attention to the nomenclature of the district through which a Roman road is supposed to have run, by residents in the locality, as well as to the injunction 'when found, make a note of it,' would greatly tend to a better development of antiquity and the more correct illustration of our *Herefordia Romana*."

Messrs. Cuming, Hills, Blashill, Grover, and Roberts made remarks upon Roman paved roads, and pointed out several instances existing both in England and Ireland; and the various derivations assigned to the term "Cold Harbour," as a designation of several sites in various parts of the country, were mentioned and discussed.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a number of coloured drawings executed by Mr. Watling, representing portions of various Roman fictile vessels and other objects exhumed at Stonham, Suffolk. Some of the fictilia are tastefully decorated with white slip in the manner practised by the Durobrivian potters; others are prettily ornamented with patterns scored on the surface of the articles before firing. The most perfect vessel delineated is a *mortarium*, about eight inches diameter, formed of red terra-cotta, near which were found two flint pestles or pounders, which may have been used with it, but more probably were employed ages before the Roman advent in Britain. The rarest object in the group is a good portion of a basin-shaped mortarium of a greyish hue, the upper part of one of its crinkled loop-handles still remaining attached just below the top edge of the utensil. With this novel type of mortar is a leaden key, the upper half of its shaft being four-sided and surmounted by a disc; the lower half cylindrical; the solid bit measuring upwards of an inch in length. These two most curious relics were discovered with coins of Constantine the Great, surrounded by ashes, bones, and cut deers' horns. Among other items figured mention may be made of one of three spindle-whorls wrought of the bases of urns of dark-grey earth. Mr. Cuming observed that *verticilli* were sometimes met with fashioned out of pieces of Samian cups and bowls, as well as of other kinds of pottery. In our *Journal*, vol. xv, p. 306, is a paper on Ancient Spindles, in which various kinds of whorls are described. The largest objects delineated by Mr. Watling are portions of the upper and lower members of the hand-mills, wrought of the siliceous conglomerate, known as pudding stone, of Andernach lava, and other hard materials.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch read a paper on the Succession of the Abbots of Malmesbury, which will be found at pp. 314-42 *ante*.



26TH APRIL.

THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were returned for the following present :—

To the Committee of Council on Education, for two copies of a Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon and other Antiquities discovered at Faversham, in Kent, and bequeathed by William Gibbs, Esq., of that town, to the South Kensington Museum, compiled by C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., Hon. M.R.S.L., etc., etc. 8vo, London, 1871.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited the following objects found on Butler's Wharf, Horsleydown, during the current year :—

Domestic and Military.—1, three necklets, bronze; 2, a bell, bronze, used by morris dancers; 3, chain armour, bronze; 4, chain armour, bronze; 5, pins, bronze, quadrilateral; 6, pins, round-headed, bronze; 7, pins, patterned, bronze; 8, silver-headed pins (5); 9, bronze round-headed pins; 10, pins, bronze, daisy pattern; 11, pins, various, silver and bronze; 12, specimens of wire, bronze; 13, two ear-picks and knitting needle; 14, four bronze buckles (various); 15, double fish-hook of bronze, with wire attached; 16, boss, for horse harness; 17, iron hook for a purse, animals' heads; 18, book clasps (2), butt of knife engraved; 19, clasp for book, and bronze hook; 20, three bronze hooks of elaborate workmanship; 21, two clasps and chains, bronze, elegant workmanship; 22, heart-shaped pin, bronze, large, elaborate; 23, scale beam, bronze, engraved and enamelled with arms; 24, scale beam, bronze, plain work; 25, steelyard, iron, with bands of bronze; 26, two piercers and one case, elaborate, and spindle, bronze; 27, a bronze scale, for weight; 28, a mould for arrow-heads; 29, a mould for casting arrow-heads, with name; 30, a dagger-blade; 31, very fine spur, silvered and ornate; 32, five fine keys, various, one gilded; 33, a guipon, iron, with remnants of leather bound with bronze wire; 34, bronze *innominata*; 35, pewter spoon with figure; 36, round armour buckle; 37, piercer, triangular and curved, with handle; 38, thirteen knives, handles of wood, bronze, iron, and bronze inlaid; 39, a file; 40, a gimlet; 41, a piercer of rounds; 42, two instruments (of warfare as supposed).

Ecclesiastical.—1, iron guipon, with studs closely resembling the tower of St. Mary Magdalene, Bermondsey; 2, two knife-handles, bronze, high art, engraved with Scriptural subjects, etc., No. 2 probably commemorates the foundress of an abbey; 3, portion of a reliquary, pewter, a star; 4, a scourge, bronze wire, for discipline; 5, "*Simon*," bronze, part of a nimbus; 6, calculating wire with beads; 7, clasp for missal.

Roman.—1, stylus; 2, bone pin; 3, bone comb; 4, knife (Roach Smith); 5, girdle knife.

Also two medalets of James Frederick Edward Stuart, "the Old Pretender," struck in the year 1697, being part of a hoard of such pieces discovered about six years since in a jar in Clement's Lane, Lombard Street. They are of bronze, about the size of the current half-pence, with the bust of the little Prince on one side, surrounded by the legend *IAC. WALLIE PRINCEPS*; and on the other side an exploding fort, with the words *QUO COMPRESSA MAGIS*, on one variety; and on the other, the rising sun, with *OMNIA FACIT IPSE SERENA*: upon which Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following remarks:—

"I was informed in the year 1865 that at least a bushel of bronze medalets of James, Prince of Wales, were exhumed together in Smithfield. The few handfuls I examined were covered with verdigris, but in other respects were in a good state of preservation. There were two varieties, the obverses in both being similar, the difference being in the reverses. *Obv.*—Profile bust to the left; legend *IAC. WALLIE PRINCEPS*; beneath the shoulder *N. R.*, the initials of the Flemish artist Roettier. Reverse of one—the sun in its splendour rising behind the world, which seems to float mid-air over the ocean; legend *CLARIOR. E. TENEBRIS*; exergue 1697. Reverse of the other—the sun in its splendour rising beyond the ocean; legend *OMNIA FACIT IPSE SERENA*; exergue 1697. The Prince was born in 1688, so that he must have been nine years old when these medalets were struck. It is not very apparent on what occasion they were produced, nor why they should have been imported into London in such large quantities. Whilst the arrangements for peace were proceeding at Ryswick in 1697, King James II addressed certain manifestos to the different Princes of the Confederacy, solemnly protesting against all negotiations that might be entered into with William of Orange, whom he regarded as a usurper, and, therefore, incapable of making any engagement on behalf of England. It is not improbable that the hoard of medalets in question were sent to London at this particular time, for distribution among the people, who had grown restless under the burdens of an expensive war, and whose loyalty to the exiled family might possibly be rekindled by looking on the effigy of the youthful heir to the throne. But, be this as it may, the discovery of these little medalets in such vast numbers in the heart of the metropolis is a fact worthy of record in connection with Jacobite history."

After various observations had been made by the Chairman and Messrs. Roberts and Black upon the extent and value of Mr. Mayhew's collection,

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited coloured drawings by Mr. Watling of four Roman flue tiles discovered, with many others, at Stonham, Suffolk. One tile is decorated with waved lines down the centre, flanked by straight lines; another has a guilloche design; a third has

a central band of straight lines with three groups of diagonal ones springing from it on either side, so that when two tiles are placed edge to edge a bold chevron or herring-bone figure is formed; the fourth example has a mid-band of straight lines with three groups of diagonal ones on one side, and lattice-work on the opposite. Mr. Watling states that fifteen other patterns occur on the flue tiling of Stonham. Mr. Cuming observed that the great variety of markings on the flue tiles exhumed at Stonham and elsewhere ought to make us pause ere we accept the theory that such configurations were simply for the purpose of giving a firmer hold for the mortar than the ordinary surface of a brick would present. Surely, if such was their sole use, a far less elaborate and ornate mode of roughing the objects would have been followed, since a few cross hatchings carelessly made would have been equally as efficient as all the carefully wrought, much varied, and at times even rich devices that meet the eye upon these hollow tiles. These embellishments were produced in two ways, viz., with pointed instruments of bone or wood, and *forma* probably of either stone or terra-cotta. Some of the scorings were effected with a single point, guided at times by a ruler, as, for instance, in the lattice-work on the tiles of Uriconium. A tool with teeth like a comb was evidently employed for the bands of straight undulating and chevron lines, and saltier and guilloche decorations; and the *figulus* struck the circles, single and interlaced, with different sized bi-cuspid instruments. Separate *formæ* were provided for the rhombic patterns, and stars and clusters of flowers, which occasionally overspread the faces of the tiles. Few examples exceed in richness of embellishment the flue tile discovered in Fenchurch Street, and now preserved in Mr. J. W. Baily's collection. This most curious and important specimen was clearly impressed six several times with the same stamp, but so as to create a bold continuous design covering the whole front of the tile in a well-contrived manner. Though the majority of flue tiles met with in England are of a red-colour, some of a yellowish hue are occasionally seen, and of which the first described example from Stonham is an instance.

Mr. Cuming illustrated his remarks with portions of flue tiles from Wroxeter, Salop; Box, Wiltshire; Kesten (*Noviomagus*), Reculver, and Richborough, Kent; and London.¹

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited the following objects:—Two vertebræ of a whale; one axe; one bronze foot of a stool or tripod; two halves of mill-stones; one key, late Roman or Saxon; one torso of a female figure in terra-cotta, Roman; one pot, Roman; one piece of pewter, apparently the body of a bottle; one end of saddle pommel, bronze,

¹ For Roman tiles decorated with scorings and stampings, see *Journal*, iv, pp. 47, 48; vi, p. 55; xxiv, p. 213; and Catalogue of the Roach Smith collection, pp. 55, 57.

circa 1600; one bronze cup; one bottle; one whorle, sixteenth century—all from excavations in London, made within the last fortnight.

Mr. T. Greenhalgh forwarded a drawing of a bronze paalstab, or winged celt, full $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. across its semilunar edge; and with a straight top or bar at the base of the concave sides of the tang about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. from the top of the instrument. There is a raised ornament on each face of the blade, consisting of two ovate loops surmounting a stem which spreads at the lower end. This fine specimen was discovered about the year 1810, in a turbarry on Charters Moss, township of Turton, four miles and a-half from Bolton-le-Moors, South Lancashire. Another Lancashire paalstab is engraved in this *Journal*, vol. xv, p. 236; and a description of such implements may be seen in vol. ix, p. 186.

Mr. Roberts laid on the table a rough sketch made by Mr. T. Blashill of the Roman pavement lately discovered in Mark Lane, and read the following short remarks upon it by that gentleman:—"The Roman pavement just laid open is of the commonest description of red tesserae, much broken and pressed out of shape, and may contain about fifteen superficial yards, the surface being about eight feet below the present ground level. A good deal of pottery, among it one entire dish, has been found and sold to visitors. The workmen have left the floor standing up about one yard above the virgin soil."

John S. Phené, Esq., F.R.G.S., read a paper on tumuli opened by him in North Britain, which will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*, accompanied by photographs and maps, showing their relative positions and contents.

Before the meeting separated it was announced by the Chairman that the subject of the contemplated destruction of antiquities in the town of Dax, in France, had been discussed at the Council meeting, whereupon it was proposed by W. H. Black, Esq., F.S.A., and seconded by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A., F.S.A.:—"That the members of this Association do cordially approve the steps taken by the Council to intercede with the public authorities in France on behalf of the ancient fortifications of the town of Dax; and earnestly hope that they may be spared from demolition, in accordance with the public voice of men of learning and science in this country and elsewhere."

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 726.)

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 7.

At an early hour the party started on an excursion for Kilpeck Church, Abbey Dore, Rowstone Church, and Grosmont Church and Castle.

At Kilpeck Church Mr. T. Blashill read a paper descriptive of the building, which will be printed hereafter.

Mr. W. H. Black, F.S.A., contended that the elaborate architecture of this church ought not to be called Norman or Saxon, for the people of those races came here only as spoilers and robbers. The work must be considered essentially British, for a reference to the *Book of Llandaff*, edited by Dr. Rees from a text prepared by Mr. Black himself some thirty years ago, would show that a certain Bishop of Llandaff consecrated this church about the year 1100. The proper name for its architecture should be Romanesque. The British were Christians long before the Saxons and Normans had heard of that religion; and on this ground Mr. Black contended that it was falsifying history to attribute to them skill in an art which must have originated elsewhere, especially on a spot where they had no standing ground when this specimen was produced.

Mr. G. Godwin, F.R.S., F.S.A., agreed to the appropriate description of the word "Romanesque." He said it would be difficult to admit that the art exhibited in this church had a different source of inspiration from work of the same age and character abounding in Normandy.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., said that at Broxworth, Eastham, Dover, Warksworth, and other places, were churches of a distinctly different character and earlier date than this one, which must be regarded as Norman in its characteristics.

The party then proceeded to view the fine remnant of a Cistercian abbey church at Abbey Dore, which was described by Mr. Gordon M. Hills. His description, with illustrations, will be given at length hereafter. One point which created considerable interest, and is of evident importance, may, however, be here disposed of. Within the church

there has been long preserved a small stone bearing the miniature sepulchral effigy of a bishop, with an imperfect inscription. Miniature sepulchral effigies exist of bishops, abbots, knights, and ladies; and, indeed, of all classes, civil, military, and ecclesiastic. The subject of these miniature effigies has been treated of in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute* (iii, pp. 234-39), and very ably in our own *Journal* (xv, p. 122), by our Vice-President, Mr. J. R. Planché, where it is suggested that such monuments indicate the burial of a portion only of the remains of the deceased, particularly the heart. The inscribed monument at Dore Abbey appears to confirm this suggestion in the most decisive manner. The first notice on record of the stone is contained in the excellent history of the Abbey published by the Rev. Mr. Gibson in 1727. He gives the imperfect inscription upon it, "..... *Pontificis cor ... xpiste Johannis*"; and because Leland has told us that Sir John Breton (father of John Breton, Bishop of Hereford) was buried in this church, he conjectures that the heart of the Bishop was buried here, and covered by this stone. Mr. W. H. Black and Mr. Maidlow, on examining the stone, found the letter A terminating a word before the first letter given by Mr. Gibson, and suggested that the complete reading might be an hexameter line running thus:

SERVA PONTIFICIS COR SANCTVM CHRISTE IOHANNIS

the first word, SERVA, except the A, and the word SANCTVM, being conjectural. If this be accepted, here, therefore, was interred the heart of a bishop; and the conjecture that it was the heart of Bishop John Breton of Hereford is in a high degree probable. The stone is evidently a work of the thirteenth century, and of the era of that Bishop. The stone is 15 inches long, 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ ins. wide at the head of the recumbent effigy, and 9 ins. wide at the foot.

Just within the presbytery (now the chancel) of the Abbey church, in the south side, is the table-tomb, of black and light marble, of Serjeant Hoskyns, a well known lawyer and literary man of the time of James I. He was an ancestor of the President of the Association, Mr. C. Wren Hoskyns, M.P., who being present made the following observations:

"ON THE TOMB OF SERJEANT HOSKYNs, ABBEY DORE.

"In venturing to comply with the desire to hear some account from myself of the ancestor who lies under this tomb, I hope I shall be able to steer clear of all partiality which might interfere with historical accuracy. I always think of him with some additional reverence and respect, as a forgotten patriot whose ready wit and foresight led him to anticipate a coming struggle, and become a martyr to a cause that was not yet ripe.

"He was the youngest son of Mr. John Hoskyns of Monkton in the



county, who appears to have sat in Parliament as one of the burgesses for the city of Hereford. In early life the Serjeant showed great talent, but accompanied with so dangerous a propensity to satire, that he was rusticated for a term from New College, Oxford, of which he afterwards became a Fellow, before he entered upon the study of the law. He was first returned to Parliament in 1603, for the city of Hereford, and took a part in what is called "the Addle Parliament" of James I. He was one of the four members whom Sir Henry Wotton mentions as having ventured to speak too boldly in disapproval of the Scotch favourites, by whom the King had filled all the state offices of trust, and to inveigh against the despotic tendency which had already been shown by the King, and proved fatal to the house of Stuart. But the Serjeant was premature.³ Had it been reserved to a few years later, to the days of the Long Parliament, his courage and patriotism would have been more influential. As it was, his speech merely led to an interview with the King in the Star Chamber, and a place in the Tower, where he spent the following year. It proved to be the greatest privilege of his life; for there were then collected in the Tower such a body of distinguished men, that it might have seemed to be James' policy to shut up in that great cage all the wit and patriotism and scholarship of England. Amongst them were Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, the Mæænas of his time, the patron of all learning, and a number of the clever men of the day; but greatest amongst them all, Sir Walter Raleigh, who in his confinement was engaged upon his *History of the World*. Serjeant Hoskyns had the honour of preparing that work for the press after its author's death. He had the reputation of being very skilful in editorial taste. He reviewed the works of Ben Jonson, who acknowledged the favour, saying: 'I do confess it; Father Hoskyns hath made me speak clear.'

"After his release from the Tower, which was hastened, partly by a clever Latin memorial addressed to the pedantic king, and partly by the dissatisfaction of the House of Commons at his unconstitutional seizure and confinement, he was frequently able to visit his property here during the performance of his duties as a Judge of the Welsh Marches. Local tradition says he hospitably received his royal master during one of his progresses at his estate of Morehampton, close adjoining. The entertainment is said to have been remarkable for a morris dance before the king, consisting of ten old people, whose united ages amounted to a thousand years.

"Serjeant Hoskins was a member of the Long Parliament, but had then happily exchanged politics for his judicial duties. Sir Henry Wotton gives an interesting account of the attack upon the Scotch favourites and its consequences. In reply to some members who had asked what would be the best mode of dealing with them, Serjeant

Hoskyns suggested, probably half in joke, a repetition of the ' Sicilian vespers' mode of getting rid of them. For this much too daring allusion, whether in jest or earnest, on the next day the king sent for him and asked him what he had meant. The Serjeant replied that he did not pretend to much historical knowledge beyond his profession, and of that he had said he would abide the consequences, but, being actuated by a patriotic desire to prevent an undue interference of royalty with the Acts of Parliament which afterwards became the cause of so much national movement, its only fault was its being a little before its time. The tomb is curious as being a vestige of his numerous friendships; for most of the wits and poets of that day wrote the inscriptions which are now upon it, and some also which were not placed there. The tomb is, I am sorry to say, in the style of the period, for which we cannot have much admiration without excluding the beauties of this church. It would be better if it were removed to some place where it would be more in character. He died in 1637. His grandson, Sir John Hoskyns, was one of the founders of the Royal Society, and succeeded Sir Christopher Wren as President."

The next place to which the attention of the travelling party was directed was Rowlstone Church, where Mr. Blashill again acted as *cicerone*. His account will be printed together with that of Kilpeck. The Rev. J. M. Kennedy obligingly received the visitors at the church. Its early features attracted considerable interest. In the church is a Bible in Welsh, printed in 1588.

At Grosmont Castle and Church short descriptions were offered by Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., in the limited time at command, and the company was most kindly received by the Rev. W. H. Twining, who had prepared welcome refreshment at his house for the travellers. The church is cruciform in plan, with a central tower and spire. The fine chancel has just been rebuilt, re-using the old material as far as possible, and replacing the old architectural features; adhering, in fact, to the old design, which dates from the dedication of the church in 1261. The central tower is in very feeble condition on its north side at the base, urgently requiring the care of the architect, Mr. J. P. Seddon, who has so effectually dealt with the chancel. Above the body of the church the form of the tower changes to an octagon. The nave has aisles both north and south of very simple character. In the nave there lies a gigantic recumbent effigy of an armed figure, remarkable for the fact that the sculptor has never finished his work, and it is left quite in an early stage of the artist's work; the figure is 6 ft. 6 in. long, but in its rough state conveys an idea of much larger size. There is nothing to show to whom it should be attributed.

The castle is a small one. The walls remain picturesque, lofty, and crumbling, and almost wholly divested of architectural interest. One

feature only left perfect is a fine chimney shaft, which has been often engraved, and which belongs to the fourteenth century. Much of the building Mr. Roberts thought might be attributed to the time of Henry II, but the later additions are a very considerable part of the existing work, and were made under the ownership of the Dukes of Lancaster. The castle is surrounded by a vast moat, and was a place of considerable strength amongst the fortresses of the Marches.

In the evening the Bishop of Hereford and Mrs. Atlay received the Association at a *Conversazione* at the Palace. His lordship explained to the company that they were assembled under the roof of a vast Norman hall, which covers the principal portions of the palace, and into which the modern arrangements are fitted so as to conceal the ancient work completely. It can be seen only by ascending into the roof itself. Drawings, showing the nature of the ancient design, were exhibited, taken from the very perfect description and illustrations of it to be found in the *Transactions* of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

At the invitation of the Bishop, the President (Mr. C. Wren Hoskyns) took the chair, and called upon the Rev. W. L. Bevan to expound the famous *Mappa Mundi* of Hereford Cathedral, which was exhibited in the hall. The reverend gentleman most ably responded to the call, and fixed the date of the map at 1300 to 1314. It is the work of Richard de Bello, Canon of Norton in this cathedral. It would be impossible in the absence of the map to give effect to Mr. Bevan's description. The best course is to announce that by the aid of photolithography a *fac-simile* of the map, with a complete description by Mr. Bevan, is in course of publication, and can be had on application to that gentleman, or to one of his coadjutors in the work, the Rev. F. T. Havergal, Hereford. Specimens of this admirable reproduction were exhibited.

Mr. H. F. Holt followed with some biographical notices of the ecclesiastical statesmen of Hereford, dwelling chiefly on the three bishops—Thomas de Cantilupe, Richard de Swinfield, and Adam de Orleton. The paper was not completely finished, and was voluminous. It is possible that the recent lamented death of the author will preclude its publication.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 8TH.

At 9.20 A.M. a large party started by train for Leominster, and proceeded to examine the remarkable Priory Church. The monastery was of the Benedictine order, and was, except in its earlier existence, subject to the Abbey of Reading.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., undertook the description. A history of Leominster, including that of the Priory, has been written by the

Rev. G. Fyler Townsend, with an architectural description by E. A. Freeman, Esq. To the accounts of those gentlemen very little can be added, but Mr. Roberts views the Norman portion of the church as having been intended for the choir of a much larger building. His reasons will be given, together with a plan, in a future number of the *Journal*.

The present church consists of three distinct edifices, namely, an early Norman choir, part of which was subsequently used as a nave, with a north aisle running the whole length, even to the extent of the western tower. These remain nearly in perfection, all the upper part and some other portions of the aisle being, however, of the fifteenth century, and the east end modern.

The so-called nave is altogether remarkable and peculiar in its architecture,¹ and the appending of two immense churches on the south side, one of the thirteenth, and the other of the fourteenth, century, is most singular; the south aisle of the first church was destroyed to make room for them. The latest church, to the south, is, as regards the windows, a very fine specimen of that period. The central portion is that which, till quite recently, was appropriated as the parish church, and was so used at the time Mr. Townsend and Mr. Freeman wrote. It has now been completely denuded of its internal fittings, so that both these later additions are in a melancholy state of waste, and the Norman building with its north aisle, having been well-restored by Mr. G. G. Scott, is now the only part used for the parish services.

Mr. Roberts first pointed out the foundations of the former presbytery (usually described as the choir and central tower) with its transept and apse, the aisles being continued round as an ambulatory, having radiating circular chapels at the east end. The foundations of two only of these chapels remain; the others in the centre having given way probably to a rectangular lady chapel in the fifteenth century, though Mr. Roberts doubted the genuineness of the loose walling attributed to that building. Adjacent to the apse, on the south side, is another small apsidal chapel; there are no evidences of such an extension on the north.

While still outside the building Mr. Roberts remarked that of the monastery which was on the north side nothing remains except a single building, now incorporated with the workhouse at a short distance on the north-east of the church; this was probably part of the subordinate offices, or some of the workshops, a stream running under its whole length.

On entering the church Mr. Roberts drew attention to Leland's account. The Norman architecture of the first portion of the church, though of the plainest character, is very effective; the arcades are

¹ For a very minute description, see Mr. Townsend's History, pp. 209-228.

singularly interrupted by some irregularities of design which it is on all hands acknowledged are very difficult to explain. There is the usual triple division in height, but neither tier corresponds with the other, the number of bays and arcades differing in each.

The great additions on the south were next examined; the first of them having been altered in the fifteenth century, and also destroyed by fire in 1699, bears no marks of its thirteenth century origin. The second is in a most deplorable state of dilapidation, needing, and, in the highest degree meriting, speedy and great conservative care.

Mr. Blashill drew attention to the Norman west door of the church, and showed that there are precisely the same ornaments in this door as are used at Shobdon and at Kilpeck. The ornaments appear to have been designed and executed by the same man.

Mr. Roberts observed, in conclusion, that the monks, no doubt, built the east end of their church in 1070 or 1080; the west end, the tower, and western front, he thought, not earlier than 1158 or 1160.

The party then proceeded to the church of Monkland, and were received by the incumbent, the Rev. Sir Henry Baker, Bart., who gave a description of it, which is printed in full at pp. 365-372 *ante*.

In answer to Sir Henry's question as to the use of tufa in the church, it was remarked by Mr. Gordon M. Hills that it was employed for vaulting purposes, and with a view to protection.

With respect to the tiles near the pulpit, it was observed by Messrs. Blashill, Roberts, and Boutell, that they were of a very uncommon kind, and peculiar in having on them a double-headed eagle, which Mr. Boutell thought was, perhaps, an heraldic bearing.

Mr. G. M. Hills said that Sir Henry Baker had spoken of the church as having been a village church, while other accounts referred to it more as a monastic church. For his own part he did not believe that this could ever have been the church of the monastery; and the monastery must have stood at some little distance from the place where they then were. He thought they must come to the conclusion that no monastic buildings were attached to that side; and that the church was never a monastic, but a parish church; and that the monastery had its own distinct church.

After the building had been thoroughly examined, Sir Henry Baker most hospitably entertained the members and visitors at luncheon at his own house; and after he had been warmly thanked by the Association for his kindness and courtesy, a short drive brought the party to Stretford Church, which was described by F. R. Kempson, Esq., of Hereford, who said: "You would naturally expect to see an early church in a place with such a name,—a place situated on a Roman road, and named after the ford which is just a hundred yards below. At a first glance this church would not appear to be so early as it

really is. You would expect to find one more like Kilpeck, Rowlstone, or Pencombe, before it was spoilt. But here there are evidences of the greater antiquity of this edifice. There is the little window in the north wall, which proves that there was a church here early in the twelfth century, and coeval with it; a little round window in the west end; and it seems to me as if there was another Norman slit. Another point is the font. It is as early as that at Monkland. The present northern portion was an early Norman church; but soon afterwards they added to the church on the south side, the addition being as large as the original church. The arcade between the old and the new parts comes under the ridge of the roof, for the two portions are roofed over under one span. The portions of the screens which have been preserved are late work; but still I hope they will remain, for they are not in the way of any future judicious arrangement."

The Rev. C. Boutell being called upon to offer some remarks on two tombs bearing much worn effigies, observed that the tomb with two effigies appeared to refer to the father and mother of the knight in the other niche. The knight has a lower covering on his mail, an extra guard on the leg. You do not get, in this instance, pure mail: armour of another kind is introduced. This is one step in the development of armour. The effigy of the father has pure mail-armour. The date is 1330. The other is about twenty years later. The vestment or surcoat worn by the older figure, cut short in front and long behind, had ceased to be used in 1340. I hesitate whether this one may not be as old as 1320; but a part of the armour is like 1320, and the rest like 1330, so that it may be between these dates. The costume of the lady is very simple. You will notice the excellent effect of the drapery. The sculptors of the fourteenth century, in cutting the drapery, appear to have been always mindful of the fact that their effigies were to be recumbent. I commend the effigies generally, as examples of military equipment. They fill up a void space in our knowledge of the development of armour of the first and second quarters of the fourteenth century. The heraldry strikes me much. The well known arms of the De Bohuns resemble very closely the arms upon this shield. The difference seems to shew that one of this family may have married a younger daughter of the De Bohuns. The Bohun arms are a bend cotised between six lions rampant, whereas this coat has birds instead of lions.

Mr. W. H. Black, F.S.A., remarked respecting Mr. Kempson's observations on the position of the place, that the ford across the river would be found to have been chosen for the road because the ford is an important point where lines of the ancient Roman surveys intersect.

On arriving at Dilwyn Church, the Rev. Dr. Heather read a paper upon it, which has been printed at pp. 149-156 *ante*.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills remarked that the great arcades of the nave were of the style prevailing early instead of late in the thirteenth century. He thought that there was an old church standing here; that the tower was built against it, at the west end, quite at the beginning of the thirteenth century; that they then took down the old Norman church, and built the nave about 1210; then the chancel, then the transept, and then the clerestory. It was done piecemeal. Probably at first there was no tower at all to the Norman church.

The Rev. C. Boutell, speaking of a monument on the north side of the chancel, said: "In this monument we have an early example of a shield with a border. It has the arms of the Talbots. The date of the effigy may be put certainly not later than 1290, perhaps as early as 1275. The effigy has the legs crossed. Various theories have been expressed to account for this posture. Some think that it was applied to Knights Templars. But there is more than one cross-legged lady; and as we have not heard of lady Templars, that disposes of that theory, and equally so of the theory that cross-legged knights are Crusaders: and, besides, there are effigies of Crusaders where the legs are not crossed. If this were so decidedly characteristic of the time, and distinctive of the circumstance of being a Crusader, and not being a Crusader, it would have been carried out in all cases of Crusaders. It is strange, however, that the posture never appears after the introduction of plate-armour, which coincides somewhat with the last Crusade. But the fact is, that as soon as that armour ceased which made the posture an easy one, the practice of putting effigies with crossed legs was discontinued. It is nothing more than a representation of an easy attitude of repose. The shield shows precisely the same arms as the first quarter of the arms of the Earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot."

In reference to an ancient monumental slab at the west end of the church, Mr. Boutell said that it bore a shield of the De Bohuns associated with the Delabarres, showing the dependence of the latter family, and yet its connexion with the De Bohuns. The date of it appears to be the middle of the fifteenth century. A second slab, close by, Mr. Boutell thought about coeval. It is an inlaid slab of a kind similar to two examples in Hereford Cathedral. A slab near the door is a beautiful Early English design, a century earlier. One other fragment of a slab bears a chalice upon it, indicating the memorial of an ecclesiastic. Probably one of the incumbents of this parish, whose names we have heard from Dr. Heather. It is Early English, A.D. 1240 or 1250.

It was suggested that the supposed representation of a chalice is the foot of the stem of a cross incised on the stone, and now inverted; but Mr. Boutell adhered to his own opinion.

The Rev. Prebendary Searsh remarked on the interest he derived

from observing the close resemblance borne by this church to that of Staindrop in the county of Durham,—a work evidently carried out much about the same time, and much in the same way, as this. This was made a collegiate church, though not so originally. That was so with the church at Staindrop. The Association visited it about five years ago, since which the same thing has been done which has been done here,—that is, all the wall-plaster has been taken off.

Mr. Gordon Hills, in conclusion, offered the thanks of the members to Dr. Heather.

Weobley Church was reached late in the afternoon, and a description of it was read by the Rev. W. H. Phillott, which is printed at pp. 349-354 *ante*.

At the conclusion of the paper the Rev. C. Boutell was again called upon to speak respecting the monumental effigies in the chancel. They are works of high monumental art, but now in sadly mutilated condition. Mr. Boutell fixed the date at 1403 or 1404 for the earlier monument. The peculiarity which enables us to give such an approximate date, he said, is the body armour. The breast-plate is globular—a form which it took at the commencement of the fifteenth century. It ends not in straight lines, but in rings, a manner which came in in 1405. The burnished steel plate was left to view, and there hung over the waist—to use a common expression—an apron, called a “tace.” All this was before 1405. The belt is adjusted about the hips. This inconvenient manner was gone five years later. There is a kind of tippet on the shoulders. There is no known example of this after 1405. The bold wreath with SS shows him to have been a partisan of the House of Lancaster. There is one remark to be made bearing upon the address just heard from Mr. Phillott, where he says that probably this monument was a memorial by the lady to her first husband. A monument was scarcely ever erected by the widow in which a memorial of the widow does not appear by the side of the husband.

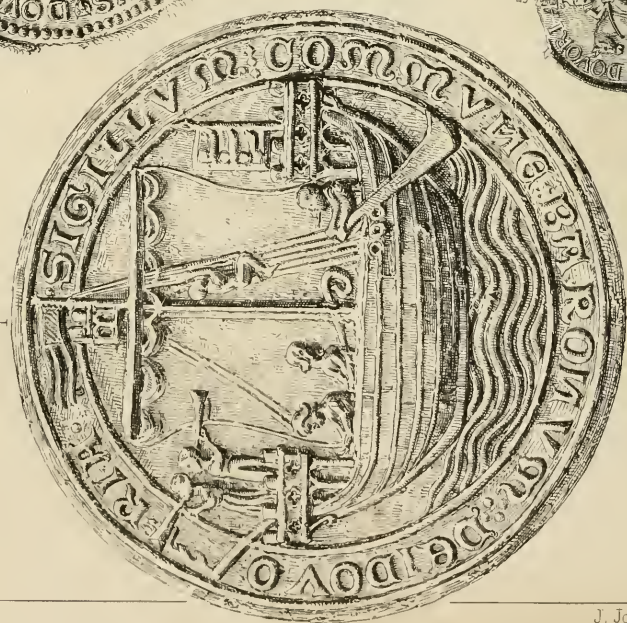
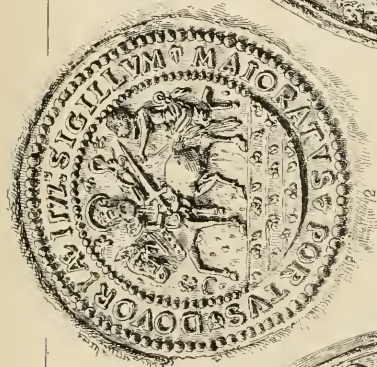
Some discussion took place as to the meaning of the staff and mitre incised on a grave stone in the floor of the aisle, but Mr. Gordon Hills pointed out that the name of the deceased was also engraved on the stone, “Bishop,” and that probably the insignia were merely a rebus of the name, a conclusion which was accepted.

The whole of the nave, with its aisles, is, as Mr. Phillott pointed out, a beautiful piece of “middle-pointed” or “decorated” work. It is manifestly the work whose completion was celebrated by the rededication, the date of which thus fixes precisely the date of the architecture; the profuse display in some parts of the ball-flower ornament the same as at Hereford Cathedral and at Leominster Church in this work of A.D. 1325 gives by analogy a similar date to the work as the other buildings.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills said that Mr. Phillott suggested a difficulty with respect to the date of the dedication of the church. In looking through the register of Bishop Orleton at Hereford, he (Mr. Hills) had found that this bishop dedicated several churches in 1325, and amongst them, on the 14th of April, this one. Now it is obvious that the 14th of April is liable to fall within Easter, and, therefore, it is in reference to this rededication by Bishop Orleton that a proviso was made to keep the dedication later if it fell in Easter, and not in reference to the day of St. Peter or St. Paul, the patrons of the church.

The thanks of the meeting were then tendered to the Rev. W. H. Phillott and to Mr. Purton, the vicar. At a few steps from the church the party was led to the site of the Castle of Weobley, a beautiful green sward with grassy mounds which mark out the extent of its foundations. No feature of its architecture remains, and the lateness of the hour warned the excursionists to return to Hereford.

At the evening meeting at the Assembly Rooms at Hereford the Rev. Canon J. Jebb, D.D., delivered an address on palæography, illustrating the history and connexion of ancient alphabets; and was followed by W. H. Black, Esq., F.S.A., on the archives of Hereford. He first described the municipal, and afterwards the episcopal and capitular archives, and then those of the monastery at Belmont. All these will be treated of in a future number of the *Journal*.



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ON SOME ANTIQUITIES IN THE POSSESSION OF THE CORPORATION OF DOVER.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

IN commencing the present communication I must beg to say a few words respecting its origin, and in so doing have in a certain measure to reiterate the closing paragraph of my former paper on Dover relics.¹ We are indebted to the Rev. S. M. Mayhew for bringing to our notice the several objects which are now to pass under review, and which would have been described by his own gifted pen had health and leisure permitted. Being deprived, unfortunately, of this anticipated pleasure, he has confided their explanation to me, and I can but regret that the task has fallen into hands so incompetent to do justice to the subject.

The first group of Dover relics belongs to the old fortress, the present to the Corporation, and it comprises five seals of various dates, an ancient horn, and a highly decorated bell, connected probably with the worship of the Virgin Mary. Mr. Mayhew is desirous of expressing his obligations to several members of the Corporation of Dover for their courteous aid in obtaining impressions of the signets in question, and drawings of the old town horn and "sacring bell."

Though Dover was rather roughly treated by some of the Norman followers of William the Conqueror, the King himself seems to have taken the town and its people into special favour, and paid due respect to the old privileges they

¹ See *Journal*, xxvi, p. 340.

possessed. Those privileges were not only respected, but enlarged by our first Edward, in whose reign we hear of a mayor and corporation, and a seal for their special use, engraved in the year 1305.¹ This matrix is of brass, measuring about three inches and a quarter in diameter, and produces an impression with an obverse and reverse like a medal. (See Plate 18, fig. 1.) On the obverse is an antique vessel, the timbers of which have much the appearance of pointed brickwork. In the centre rises a mast crossed by a yard, to which the sail is reefed in seven festoons; above this is a top-castle, and higher still floats a three-tailed pennon. The bow and stern of the ship are alike, each being provided with a little deck or fighting gallery, termed the *ballatorium*, or fore and stern castle; and beneath these were the entrances to the cabins. The bowsprit projects between the battlements of the forecastle, and in it stand two men blowing long straight trumpets; and in the stern-castle is fixed a banner charged with the arms of the port of Dover. In front of the latter *ballatorium* sits the steersman with his great paddle, which so long did duty for the rudder, which valuable appliance did not prevail until about the middle of the fourteenth century. Two figures are seated before the mast, apparently busied in hauling a rope; and another, in a state of nudity, is climbing the shrouds in a fearless manner; and it may be observed that it is no uncommon thing to find naked seamen introduced in early representations of shipping. On the verge of the seal is inscribed SIGILLVM COMMVNE BARONVM DE DOVORIA (common seal of the barons of Dover). The device on this face of the seal bears a strong likeness to that on the seal of the town of Winchelsea. The opposite side is, of course, altogether different. On it is represented the well-known story of St. Martin and the beggar, within a broad verge decorated with twelve lions passant gardant, each pair being *vis à vis*. The pagan soldier is exhibited on horseback, passing out of the Gothic portal of the city of Amiens, followed by a half-naked beggar leaning on a crutch; the two holding a cloak between them, which the benevolent Martin is about to divide with the edge of his sword.² According to tradition,

¹ Boy's *History of Sandwich*, ii, 797.

² The stamp used by the Corporation on their envelopes is copied from this reverse, with the addition of the word DOVER above the gateway.

when night came, our blessed Lord appeared to the donor wrapped in the half of his cloak, and attended by angels, to whom he said, "My servant Martin, though unbaptized, hath given Me this." Directly after this vision (which is said to have occurred A.D. 332) the pagan became a Christian, and in the year 371 was chosen fourth Bishop of Tours, and so continued till his death in 397.

The great event in the career of St. Martin is shown on several seals belonging to the Corporation of Dover. That which follows is of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (see Pl. 18, fig. 2). It is about an inch and three quarters in diameter, and in its field is displayed the equestrian figure of the hero with a nimbus about his head; and the beggar, instead of being supported on a crutch, has the left leg bent, and provided with a wooden stump. No building is introduced, but the group stands on a pavement decorated with trefoils, etc. The inscription on the verge is between two beaded circles, and reads, SIGILLVM MAIORATVS PORTVS DOVORLE, 1572 (seal of mayoralty of the port of Dover).

The next seal to notice is far less ornate in design, and much later in date, and is of most despicable execution (see Pl. 18, fig. 3). It is somewhat oval in form, measuring rather less than one inch in height by seven-eighths in width. The wooden legged beggar is close on the heels of St. Martin's steed; and above is inscribed DOVOR, 1723.

In a Corporation-seal of twenty-six years' later date, the saintly legend would be unrecognisable, were it not that the name St. Martin is placed above an equestrian habited like a general of the reign of George II, in plumed helmet, close fitting coat buttoned down the front, high military boots, and a cloak flying in the wind; the whole figure being copied, I believe, from one of the Duke of Cumberland on a Culloden medal. Immediately in front of the horse stands a figure dressed in a shirt barely reaching to the knees, extending the right hand as if soliciting alms, and resting the left upon a staff. In the exergue is the date 1749. This oval seal measures one inch and three-sixteenths in height, and one inch in width. (See Pl. 18, fig. 4.)

I know not if the Corporation of Dover got ashamed of the two last described seals, but from some cause another and much neater one was provided; and though we cannot say a word in its praise, on the score of correctness of cos-

tume, it does at least set forth the story of St. Martin in a way that all can understand. The hero rides a rather stout horse, and is in the act of dividing his cloak with the nude beggar who rests on his crutch, and has his left leg supported on a wooden stump. The inscription is the same as that surrounding the seal of 1572, SIGILLVM MAIORATVS PORTVS DOVORLÆ. This signet is an oval, full one inch high, and one inch and an eighth wide. (See Pl. 18, fig. 5.)

The prominent and persistent presence of St. Martin on the seals of the Corporation of Dover suggests the query, how came the foreign ecclesiastic to be adopted as the protector of the town? We have no precise record when the little church near Canterbury was dedicated to St. Martin; but it is possible that it received its name from Luidhard, Bishop of Senlis, who accompanied Queen Bertha to England *circa* 565, and that some of its clerics carried the fame of the holy man to Dover, and induced its inhabitants to accept the Bishop of Tours as their saintly patron. Thus much is certain, that from an early period St. Martin was a great favourite in this island,—the 11th of November being set apart for his festival, and fattened geese eaten in his honour. Hence we read in Barnabe Googe's version of Nao-georgus' *Popish Kingdome*,—

“To belly cheare yet once againe doth Martin more incline
Whom all the people worshipeth with roasted geese and wine.”

But other good cheer awaits us, and to it we must proceed.

If the Corporation of Dover cannot, like the showman of the Castle keep, boast of the possession of Julius Cæsar's *cornus*, it can, without doubt, claim possession of one of the finest horns to be seen in any city of the three kingdoms. (See Pl. 19, fig. 1.) The dimensions of this ancient trumpet are as follow: length, in a straight line from the mouth to the *embouchure*, twenty-seven inches and two-tenths; diameter of mouth, or *bell* as it is technically termed, five inches; diameter of *embouchure*, one inch and seven-tenths. The curved tube gradually decreases from the bell to within an inch and a quarter of the silver *embouchure*, which expands like a funnel, and is a comparatively modern addition. The horn itself is of stout latten, deeply graven with bold foliage and trefoils on a hatched field, and with a broad ribbon or fillet wreathed about its length; inscribed on the upper





part with the letters +A+G+L+A+, and beneath with the words IOHANNES DE ALEMAINE ME FECIT. The signification of the first four letters is very questionable. Some read them as part of the name of the maker, and certainly *John Agla* has a reasonable sound in it. But these same four letters occur on a magician's bracelet in the Londesborough collection, and on an early charact-ring of brass, so that I am greatly inclined to attach a talismanic value to them. On one part of the horn is a little inlay of brass inscribed, probably in the fifteenth century, with the initials I. H. C. This magnificent trumpet has been considered as the work of the twelfth century. There is much in the look of the lettering and decorations which speaks of the thirteenth century, but I should not be disposed to quarrel with any one who would bring down its date to *circa* 1300. Johannes de Alemaine was, of course, a German artificer; and it is not improbable that the Dover horn was wrought in Nuremberg,—a place famed from early times not only for its latten wares, but also for its musical instruments. All the local information to be now gathered respecting the specimen is that Dover has possessed it from time immemorial, and that it was wont to be sounded on the 8th day of September, as a signal to the townsmen to assemble in "common hall" for the election of the mayor. Hence the day of meeting was called a "Horn blowing."

The last item of Corporation property we have to describe is a remarkably fine hand-bell of gilt brass, in which the mould-suture is still discernible, and somewhat mars the ornamentation and inscription (see Pl. 19, fig. 2). On one side of this curious *campanula* is the scene of the Angelic Salutation, in which the Virgin Mary is represented kneeling before a low book-rest; on the opposite side is an amphora-shaped pot containing three lilies, typical at once of purity and the three persons of the triune Godhead. Round the spreading base of the bell is the legend, PETRVS GREINEVS ME FECIT, 1491, followed by a quatrefoil. The second numeral in this date is of very equivocal form. There is nothing in the general character of the bell which positively forbids it being the work of the end of the fifteenth century, though the style of lettering is more consistent with the succeeding age. The makers of handbells seem to have been wantonly careless about dates, a good instance of which may be seen in

the *Vetusta Monumenta* (vol. ii, Pl. 11), where is engraved a bell of undoubtedly sixteenth century work, displaying the legend—O MATER DEI MEMENTO MEI—round the shoulder, and the following round its base :—PETRVS CHEYNEVS ME FECIT, 1366, obviously a mistake for 1566. The handle of this bell consists of a baluster with nude children resting their backs against it, and in the same plate of the *Vetusta Monumenta* is given a bell, with a like handle, which is inscribed on the shoulder LOF GOD VAN AL, and on the base IOHANNES A FINE A° 1547 ME FECIT. Neither of these German hand-bells has anything of a religious air about it, save the legends; and they therefore present a very different appearance to the one belonging to the Corporation of Dover, which, if it were really cast in the year 1491, may have appertained to the church of Saint Mary the Virgin, in Biggin Street, the subject represented on it rendering it specially suitable to that sacred establishment, where in years gone by the election for Mayor and representatives in Parliament used to take place, to the no small disgust of all right-minded people.

ON ANCIENT

STATUTES RELATING TO THE MARCHES OF WALES AND THE BORDER COUNTIES,

CONSIDERED IN CONNEXION WITH THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY
OF WALES.

BY JAMES DAVIES, ESQ.

AFTER the expulsion of the Ancient Britons from the principality of Wales, or at least from the English side of the river Severn, that tract of country which lay westward of it, and a large portion of which constitutes the present county of Hereford, remained still under Celtic occupancy. Subsequently to this period we find the aboriginal population confined within even more prescribed limits, the Severn substituted as a boundary for the Wye, and the whole of Herefordshire, eastward of Offa's Dyke, added to the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Mercia.

After the conquest of England by the Normans, the next

object to be attained was the subjugation of the original population of this island on the western side of Offa's Dyke ; for which purpose grants of lordships marchers on the Welsh borders to various royal retainers were the means adopted to carry out this design, and accordingly along the western boundaries of the several counties of Salop, Hereford, and Gloucester, these jurisdictions were established, with such power annexed to them as constituted the lords marchers petty kings in their respective districts.

If, as it has frequently been remarked by writers, from the ancient laws of a country we may gather a considerable portion of its early history, so a reference to our old statutes will evince that in consequence of the extent of power which the lords marchers possessed, it was necessary for the Crown of England to preserve a record of its own paramount authority, and to declare by statutory enactment that these peculiar jurisdictions were not altogether free from its control. The early statutes of this realm, as well as those which related to wholly born Welshmen as those which affected the lords marchers and their authority, are of great importance ; not only as an evidence of the turbulent spirit of the age in which they were enacted, but because there are counties, cities, towns, and parishes specifically mentioned, which are of much aid to the antiquary in defining statutory jurisdiction of the lords marchers and their ancient boundaries.

The various statutes which were from time to time passed relative to the lords marchers and the several march counties serve to show the continued animosities that existed between the Welsh and the inhabitants of the adjoining English territory, so that very severe measures had to be adopted to prevent the repeated incursions of the Welsh upon the neighbouring population. They also evince the necessity that arose at the same time to preserve the rights of the English crown over the lords themselves, and show with what a jealous eye these latter must have been regarded by some of the English sovereigns.

The first statute which relates to the marches of Wales was passed in the reign of Edward III, from which it would seem that the lords marchers had not previously been much subjected to the control of the English Parliament, and that it was necessary to define their jurisdiction. The object of

the Act was evidently to extend the English authority with greater certainty, so that it should include the territories of these conquerors, which had been wrested from the Welsh, who naturally endeavoured from time to time to regain their independence.

According to this statute, 28 Edward III, c. ii, the lords marchers were to be attendant upon the Crown of England, and not to the Principality. The following is a copy of the clause which is taken from an edition of the Statutes at large, published by Mr. Serjeant Hawkins in 1735:—

“Item, it is accorded and established that all the lords of the marches of Wales shall be perpetually attending and annexed to the Crown of England, as they and their ancestors have been all times past; and not to the Principality of Wales, in whose hands soever the same Principality may be, or hereafter shall come.”

It is evident that the English Parliament regarded the Welsh borderers as very inconvenient neighbours, and found it necessary to lay them under very considerable restraints. It is highly probable, too (at least such is the inference to be drawn from the internal evidence of the statutes), that Welshmen had located themselves in certain towns in the marches, and that it was feared that their influence might be exerted to the detriment of the English government. It is, indeed, amusing, in these enlightened days, to peruse the ridiculous Acts of Parliament that were then passed relative to the Principality and the border counties of Salop, Hereford, and Gloucester.

By statute 2 Henry IV, c. xii, which was intituled (as lawyers say), “Certain restraints laid on wholly born Welshmen,” it is provided that no Welshman born in Wales, and having father and mother born in Wales, should purchase lands or tenements in the towns of Chester, Salop (Shrewsbury), Bridgnorth, Ludlow, Leominster, Hereford, Gloucester, or Worcester, or any other market town adjoining the marches of Wales, nor in the suburbs of such towns, under the penalty of the forfeiture of those lands and tenements to the lords of whom they were held in chief. Such Welshmen, as before described, were under this Act not to be received as citizens or burgesses in any of those cities, boroughs, or market towns, and those who were then already located there as citizens or burgesses were to give sufficient surety

for their good behaviour. Moreover, they were not to be placed in the office of mayor, bailiff, chamberlain, constable, gate-porter, or gaoler, nor be received into the common council of such cities and boroughs. By chapter xx of the same year's statutes it was further enacted that no Welshman should purchase any land in England, nor in the English towns in Wales; and for their better protection from any Welsh revolt, it was enacted by chapter xviii that the lords marchers should maintain sufficient guards in their castles. In the fourth year of the same reign further restrictions were imposed upon the Welsh, for by chapter xxix of that year's roll, Welshmen were not to be allowed the use of arms; by chapter xxx, no victuals or armour were to be carried into Wales; by chapter xxxi, a Welshman was not allowed any defensive residence; by chapter xxxii, no Welshman was to be a justice, chamberlain, chancellor, or such like officer; by chapter xxxiii, for the better guarding of Wales, all castles and walled towns were to be garrisoned by Englishmen; and by chapter xxxiv, it was even declared that no Englishman who married a Welsh woman should hold any office in Wales or the marches.

This last provision is somewhat droll; but, nevertheless, it marks the influence which the softer sex have always possessed, not only in the domestic regulations of the family circle, but even in the more important affairs of national economy; and is an ancient evidence of a proverbial policy which has come down to our own times.

The statutes to which reference has just been made contain no points of geographical interest, yet are curious as showing the national spirit which existed on the part of the English towards the Welsh, and *vice versâ*—in consequence of the repeated attempts of the latter to regain their lost ground.

The Welsh inhabitants of the marches and adjoining parts were, from time to time, guilty of predatory incursions upon their English neighbours, and particularly those on the borders of the river Severn, and we find from the statutes that it was found necessary to restrain them by legal enactments. Although these statutory provisions do not contain much local information, still they show that the country eastward of the river Wye, towards the forest of Dean and near the junction of that river with the Severn, was then a portion

of the marches where Welsh animosity yet lingered, to the great detriment of the English traders between the cities of Bristol, Gloucester, and Worcester, who were most unmercifully plundered and ill-treated by their lawless Welsh neighbours who inhabited that district.

By statute 9 Henry VI, c. v, after setting forth that the river Severn was common to all the king's liege people trading between Bristol, Gloucester, and Worcester, and other adjacent parts, and that Welshmen dwelling in those places had then lately assembled in great numbers, and taken the floats and boats of such traders, and ill-used the people who were in such boats, it was provided that if anybody were in future disturbed of his free passage he should have his remedy by an action at law.

In the 19th year of Henry VII a similar Act was again passed, but the complaint then was, that the merchants on the Severn were vexed and interrupted by divers misruled persons inhabiting the forest of Dean and other places adjoining to that river.

The next statute we shall notice is the 20 Henry VI, c. iii, which, after reciting that grievous complaints had been made to the king by the inhabitants of the counties of Hereford, Gloucester, and Salop, which were adjoining the marches of Wales, of the great oppressions done by the people of Wales and the marches in carrying away their cattle and goods, such offence was declared high treason. The statute was to be in force for six years, and by ch. iv of 27 Henry VI this statute was to continue for six years longer and until the next Parliament afterwards.

Notwithstanding all these legal enactments for the protection of the English residents in the border counties, the same hostile feeling continued to be exhibited towards them, and could not be suppressed even by the strong arm of the law; nevertheless, the visits of the Welsh into the English portion of the border districts appear to have become less frequent; but whether this arose from the severity of legal prescription, or the introduction of a better spirit, is a matter of uncertainty.

The Welsh inhabitants of the border district near the Severn still continued to be troublesome, for by an Act of 23 Henry VIII, ch. xii, after setting forth (but in language too dry to be quoted *verbatim*) that certain persons had in-

interrupted many of the king's subjects passing along the paths of the river Severn, and levying upon them tolls in the shape of bottles of wine, it was enacted that if any person interrupted another of his free passage by demanding such bottle of wine, he should forfeit forty shillings to be recovered by a suit at law.

By another statute, 26 Henry VIII, ch. v, after reciting that divers felonies, robberies, and murders were committed in the counties of Gloucester and Somerset in the parts adjoining the Severn, and that the perpetrators conveyed themselves at divers passages or ferries by night over the river into South Wales and the forest of Dean, it was enacted that if any person who kept any of the ferries of Aust, Newnham, Arlisyham, etc., conveyed over any boat with horses, oxen, or other cattle before the time of sunrising and after sunset he should be liable to fine and imprisonment; and by ch. xi of the same Act it was ordained that if any one who resided in Wales or the marches should assault, beat, or hurt any person of the counties of Gloucester, Salop, or Hereford, he should upon conviction be imprisoned for a year.

As the province of this paper is more for the purpose of defining from the early statutes the political geography of Wales and the marches, it has not been considered necessary to take notice of many of those statutes which have no reference to localities, but, nevertheless, were expedient enactments for redressing the mutual grievances of the lords marchers and the inhabitants of those districts, and are interesting as showing, on the one hand, the resistance of the native population, and, on the other, the wrongful practices of the lords and their subordinates.

For example, in the statute 26 Henry VIII, ch. vi, which was intended for the better administration of justice, and consequently, to stop these mutual animosities and oppressions, the first section, which applied to the Welsh people, commences by reciting that—"Forasmuch as the people of Wales and the marches of the same, not dreading the good and wholsom laws and statutes of this realm, have of long time persevered in perpetration and commission of divers and manifold thefts, murthers, rebellions, wilful burnings of houses, and other seclerous deeds and abominable malefacts;" whilst the next section, which applied to the lords

marchers, discloses (in the words of the Act) that “the officers in the lordships marchers in Wales have often and sundry times heretofore unlawfully exacted of the king’s subjects within such lordships where they have had rule or authority, by many and sundry ways and means, and also committed them to strait duress and imprisonment for small and light feigned causes, and extortiously compelled them thereby to pay unto them fines for their redemptions, contrary to law.”

The most important alterations in the political constitution of Wales were effected by the statute 27 Henry VIII, ch. xxvi, intituled “Concerning the laws to be used in Wales,” which enacted that the dominion of Wales should be incorporated with and annexed to England, that all persons born in the Principality should enjoy all the privileges of other subjects in the kingdom, and that the laws of England should be used in Wales. In order to settle the geography of the march districts it provided that certain lordships marchers should be respectively annexed to certain English and Welsh counties, and that the remainder should be divided into shires under the names of Monmouth, Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery, and Denbigh, which previously did not exist as shires, and that in the county of Monmouth all actions at law should be commenced, and assizes held in the same manner as in every English county.

This statute was so important, and so well exhibits the spirit of the times, that it will be desirable to notice it a little in detail.

The third section commences by reciting that—“Forasmuch as there be many and divers lordships marchers within the said country or dominion of Wales, lying between the shires of England and the shires of the said county or dominion of Wales, and being no parcel of any other shires where the laws and due correction is used and had, by reason whereof hath ensued and hath been practised, perpetrated, committed, and done within and among the said lordships and countries to them adjoining manifold and divers detestable murders, breunning of houses, robberies, thefts, trespasses, routs, riots, unlawful assemblies, embraceries, maintenances, receiving of felons, oppressions, ruptures of the peace and manifold other malefacts contrary to all laws and justice, and the said offenders thereupon making their refuge

from lordship to lordship were and continued without punishment and correction ; for due reformation thereof and forasmuch as divers and many of the said lordships marchers be now in the hands and possession of our sovereign lord the king, and the smallest number of them in the possession of other lords. It is, therefore, enacted by the authority aforesaid that divers of the said lordships marchers shall be united, annexed, and joined to divers of the shires of England, and divers of the said lordships marchers shall be united, annexed, and joined to divers of the shires of the said country or dominion of Wales in manner and form hereafter following ; and that all the rest of the said lordships marchers within the said country or dominion of Wales shall be severed and divided into certain particular counties or shires, that is to say the county or shire of Monmouth, the county or shire of Brecknock, the county or shire of Radnor, the county or shire of Montgomery, and the county or shire of Denbigh." The same section further enacts that "the lordships, townships, parishes, commotes, and cantredes of Monmouth, Chepstow, Portsedes, Lannihangel, Magour, Goldecliffe, Newport, Wenllonge, Llanwerne, Caerlleon, Usk, Trelleck, Skyn freth, Grousmount, Wite castle, Raglan, Calicote, Biston, Abergavenny, Penrose, Grenefield, Maghen, and Hochnyslade, in the country of Wales, shall be parts and members of the county of Monmouth." This Act further declared, as we have already noticed, that the county of Monmouth was thenceforth to be regulated the same as any other English county, and it was ultimately added to the Oxford circuit. Thus this part of the march district which heretofore had been *historically* and *physically* a portion of Wales then became *legally* one of the forty English counties, under the newly constituted title of Monmouthshire.

Sections 5, 6, 7, and 8 declare what lordships marchers shall constitute the counties of Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery, and Denbigh, and sections 11, 12, and 13 prescribe what lordships and places shall be annexed to the counties of Salop, Hereford, and Gloucester.

These portions of the march district which were by this statute annexed to Salop are described as "the lordships, towns, parishes, commotes, hundreds, and cantreds of Oswester, Whetington, Masbroke, Knoking, Ellesmer, Downe, and Churbury Hundred, in the marches of Wales aforesaid."

The parts annexed to Herefordshire are set forth as “the lordships, towns, parishes, commotes, hundreds, and cantreds of Ewyas Lacey, Ewyas Harold, Clifford, Wyferton, Yerdisbury, Huntington, Whytney, Wygmore, Logharneys, and Stepulton, in the said marches of Wales;” and the portions annexed to Gloucestershire are defined as the “lordships, towns, and parishes of Wollastone, Tidnam, and Beckley in the said marches of Wales; and all honours, lordships, castles, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments lying or being between Chepstow Bridge in the said marches of Wales and Gloucestershire.”

The march districts which immediately bordered upon England are thus fully defined by the statute of Henry VIII, and may be readily recognised at the present day by a reference to those portions of the Ordnance Map which include the three counties of Salop, Hereford, and Gloucester, which may be rightly designated the three ancient English march counties. It has been a moot point whether Worcestershire may be included as a march county. It is true that Worcester is one of the towns mentioned in the statute of 2nd Henry IV, ch. xii, amongst those places within which Welshmen were restricted from enjoying any municipal or other privileges; but the reason for the extension of these restrictions to the city of Worcester may have arisen from the contiguity of that county to the other three, and the convenience of the river Severn to assist in the transit of marauders and their booty.

In consequence of disputes as to the precise definition of the term “marches” in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the officers of the crown inserted in the royal commission of the Lord President of Wales and the marches the shires of Salop, Hereford, Gloucester, *and Worcester*. This attempted encroachment on the part of the crown was afterwards disputed, and a decision given against the government. The question at issue was, whether those four shires were to be included in the jurisdiction of the court of the Lord President. The mention of Worcester with the other three shires would intimate that it was regarded as a march county.¹

As respects the remainder of this statute of Henry VIII, it only remains to mention that under sections 14, 16, 17,

¹ For full particulars, see *Arch. Camb.*, vol. vi, Third Series, p. 34, in a paper by H. Salusbury Milman, F.S.A.

18, and 19, certain lordships therein mentioned were also to be annexed to the counties of Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan, and Merioneth; and by section 26 the Lord Chancellor was empowered to direct a commission to visit and view those shires with those of Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery, Denbigh, and Monmouth, and to divide them into as many hundreds as should be thought convenient.

The final establishment of the present legal constitution of Wales was effected by the statute 34 and 35 Henry VIII, ch. xxvi, entitled "An Act for certain Ordinances in the King's Dominion and Principality of Wales," which enacted in the second section "That His Grace's said dominion, principality, and county of Wales be from thenceforth divided into twelve shires, of the which eight have been shires of long and ancient time; that is to say, the shires of Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan, Flint, Carnarvon, Anglesey, and Merioneth; and four of the said twelve shires be newly made and ordained to be shires by an Act made at the Parliament holden at Westminster in the twenty-seventh year of our Sovereign Lord's most noble reign, that is to say, the shires of Radnor, Brecknock, Montgomery, and Denbigh; over and besides the shire of Monmouth and divers other dominions, lordships, and manors in the marches of Wales, united and annexed to the shires of Salop, Hereford, and Gloucester, as by the said late Act more plainly appeareth."

The evidence which these several statutes present, as regards the political geography of Wales, is that the ancient English march counties were Salop, Hereford, and Gloucester, the boundaries of which were extended by the addition of those Welsh districts which the statute of Henry VIII made to them. It may be here observed that the expression "Welsh district" must, of course, be taken in a limited point of view, since these portions of the Principality had already been much Anglicised, no less in their local nomenclature than in their inhabitants and language, and contained a mixed population in many parishes and manors where both English and Welsh laws were concurrently administered.

The parishes and townships which are enumerated in the statute of Henry VIII as then annexed to Herefordshire, clearly mark the line of boundary of the lordships marchers adjoining to this county; and the remains, either actual or

nominal, of the several castles of Penyard, Wilton, Goodrich, Pembridge, Kilpeck, Ewyas Harold, Longtown, Snodhill, Urishay, Clifford, Bredwardine, Eardisley, Kinnersley, Huntington, Lyonshall, Kington, Stapleton, Wigmore, Brampton Bryan, Croft, Richard's Castle, and Lingen, scattered from south-east to north-west along the Welsh borders, which served for the most part to protect the marches, show at the present day the jurisdiction of the lords marchers in Herefordshire, and the district which, under the statute of Henry VIII, was thenceforth to be added to it.

It would be foreign to our present purpose to enter into any minute history or detail of each particular castle, as the bare mention of their names is sufficient to delineate a general geographical outline of the jurisdiction of the lords marchers in this county; and thereby to define, at least as to this portion, the ancient boundary of the marches.

It may, however, be observed that the west and south-western parts of Herefordshire were on several occasions the scenes of contests both between the Welsh and Anglo-Saxons in more early, and between the Welsh and Anglo-Normans in more recent times. According to the Domesday Survey we learn that the district known as Lichenfield had been so ravaged by the Welsh in the time of Edward the Confessor, that the condition of this portion, with respect to its parishes, population, and acreage, could not even be ascertained.

Some of the castles alluded to are said to have been erected prior to the Norman conquest, amongst which may be noticed Wigmore, Richard's Castle, Croft, Goodrich; whilst some others, as Weobley, Madley, and Kilpeck, which were not so immediately in the direct line of what may be called the border district, were probably not connected with march-lordships.

A few of the parishes mentioned in the statute of Henry VIII, to be thenceforth annexed to Herefordshire, are enumerated in the Domesday Survey as then forming a portion of this county; and the frequent occurrence of pure Anglo-Saxon terms in the local nomenclature, affords additional evidence of English occupancy prior to the Conquest.

Such, then, appears to have been the situation of affairs in that part of the country known as "the Marches of Wales," from the period of the Conquest until the annexation of the Principality to the crown of England under Edward I, and

again to the more complete settlement of the Welsh boundaries under the statutes of Henry VIII; and although there was no new creation of lords marchers after the eleventh year of the reign of Edward I, still the jurisdiction of those already created continued until the passing of the statutes of Henry VIII. The court of the Lord Warden and the Council of the Marches, which was held at Ludlow Castle under regulations made in the time of Edward IV, was also abolished by an Act of Parliament passed in the first year of the reign of William and Mary.

The legal authority which the lords marchers possessed, and the unauthorised power which they also arbitrarily assumed, were the causes of perpetual hostility on the part of the Welsh borderers, who were cruelly spoiled and oppressed; and the abolition of the jurisdiction of these petty tyrants may be regarded as the removal of a blot on the page of our early constitutional history.

It may, perhaps, be contended that the original establishment of these jurisdictions was necessary to restrain the revolts of the Welsh, who have ever been lovers of nationality, and have always possessed an independent spirit. Without entering into any further discussion upon this point, we may conclude generally that it is an advantage to the inhabitants of these islands alike, whether they be of Celtic or Teutonic extraction, that they should be placed under one government, and enjoy the same rights and liberties, without any reference to local distinctions. The complete abolition of the peculiar jurisdiction we have so imperfectly described, and the incorporation of the several districts to which they applied into the shires which were augmented by their addition, brought them under the same laws and political regulations as the rest of the kingdom, and thus finally terminated those invidious distinctions and animosities which had so long continued between the Welsh and English, by placing both peoples upon an equality in their national government.

THE BELL-FOUNDRY OF GLOUCESTER.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM COLLINGS LUKIS, M.A., F.S.A.

BELLS from the Gloucester Foundry are abundant in the city and county of Hereford, therefore the history of this Foundry will not be out of place at this archæological Congress.

The Gloucester Bell-Foundry takes a high place among the foundries of England, and in importance follows close upon that of Salisbury. If the latter was established, as there is reason to suppose, as early as the reign of Henry III, *i.e.* about the year 1260, there is evidence to show that in the reign of Edward III there existed at Gloucester a master-founder whose reputation had spread far and wide, and extended even over the wild and marshy tracts of East Anglia. Master John of Gloucester was so renowned a founder that the monks of Ely sent for him in the nineteenth year of Edward III, *i. e.* A.D. 1346, to perform a great work. They had been the first to introduce a new feature in church architecture, and they boldly resolved to crown their achievement with a peal of four monster bells. The original central square tower of their church had fallen in the year 1322, and was replaced by the present octagon tower and wooden lantern,—the first of its kind ever erected in England, and the work of Alan de Walsingham, their sacrist, afterwards prior.

So sumptuous a work demanded extraordinary bells, and the sacrist and his associates looked around for a master-mind to carry out their grand idea. It is not improbable that at this period a bell-foundry existed at Norwich, for we meet with one there towards the close of the same century. John of Gloucester, however, was so unrivalled a master of his craft that he was sent for. It may give us some notion of the importance of the work when we consider that the largest of the four bells (which received the name of "Jesus") weighed 37 cwt. 52 lbs.; the other bells weighing 27 cwt. 4 lbs., 21 cwt. 4 lbs., and 18 cwt. 4 lbs. respectively. The smallest bell bore the sacrist's name. The Sacrist's Roll, in the possession

of the Dean and Chapter of Ely, tells us that Master John of Gloucester, "*cum garcionibus suis*," cast these bells at Ely; that he bought copper, tin, clay, and all other necessary materials for the work, and sent them to Ely; that the clay was bought at Lynn and at Erith, and conveyed by water to Ely; and that the copper and tin were also collected at Lynn as well as at Northampton and other places. It must have been no light undertaking to convey so great a quantity of metal a long distance, over bad roads, to the Isle of Ely, which at that period was probably not easy of access; and we are forced to own that, with our grand ideas about "Big Bells," and all the appliances of modern days, we have to sit at the feet of such a skilled master as John of Gloucester. What a commotion would be produced were one of our great bell-founders required to come to some out of the way place, such as a small village in the midst of Salisbury Plain, and cast a moderate peal of bells on the spot! What an excitement would be created in the village and neighbourhood! What a multitude of things to be thought of!—materials for the furnace and for the moulds, blasting power, metals for the alloy, type for the inscriptions, and so forth; and if none of these were obtainable on the spot, what an undertaking to convey all the things that would be necessary! Yet such difficulties and obstacles were encountered and overcome by the early bell-founders, who not only cast small bells in the churchyards of villages at a considerable distance from towns, but also accomplished such gigantic works as the Walsingham peal; making them, in numerous instances, real works of art that might well be imitated by us. As a work of art, what is there, for example, in the ill-fated great bell of Westminster to recommend it? It is a grand scientific achievement; it has a good outline; and its sepulchral voice is sufficiently deep and solemn to startle passers by, and to arouse the peaceful midnight slumbers of our exhausted legislators; but as a work of art it can never compare with the "Bourdon" of Paris, which was cast about two hundred years ago, and weighs 14 tons; nor with the great bell of St. Peter's at Rome, which weighs about 8 tons; nor with the glorious production and triumph of art of M. Morel of Lyons, who cast a magnificent bell in 1855, weighing $34\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.; nor with others that might be named; nor yet, I will venture to say, with the works of John of Gloucester,

whose "Walsingham" and its fellows unfortunately passed into the melting-pot about three hundred years after his decease.

Some years ago a bell-founder's seal, of an oval or vesica-form, was found in the river Thames, and its date may be assigned to about the year 1330. Upon it are the emblems of the founder's craft, viz. a laver-pot or ewer, and above it a bell; and around, the legend, *s' SANDRE. DE. GLOVCETRE.* Was John of Gloucester the same individual as Sandre? Or were John and Sandre (or Alexander) brothers? It is just possible that the founder of the Ely bells was named John Sanders, and that he was commonly known by his Christian name only, according to the custom of the period; for the second bell of the Gloucester Cathedral peal (which bell is probably as early as 1350) bears the legend, *SANCTE PETRE ORA PRO NOBIS*, and the initials *I. S.*, which may stand for John Sanders. There is also stamped on the bell the reverse of a coin which has the character of one of the reign of Edward III.

An interval occurs between Sandre and the next founder, whose name has been recorded in letters of brass. The name of Robert Hendlel is found on the fourth bell of St. Nicholas Church, Gloucester. The following is the inscription,—
 + SANCTE : EO : IANNES : BAPTISTA : ORA : PRO : NOBIS : TEMPORE :
 CLEMENTIS : LITHFILT : SACRISTA : ROBERTVS : HENDLEL : MAG-
 DALENE : FECIT : MI : IN : HONORE : MARIE. From which it appears that Robert Hendlel made the bell in the time of the sacrist Clement Lithfilt or Lichfield. I have had no means of ascertaining when the said sacrist lived; but the character of the letters employed would, perhaps, point to about the year 1400, although experience teaches us that the lettering is frequently no safe guide to the date, it being well known that the same letter-blocks were used by several successive founders. I assume that Hendlel was a Gloucester bell-founder because a foundry existed here at an early period, and it is more probable that the parishioners of St. Nicholas should employ a competent local craftsman than that they should seek one elsewhere; also, because those who have made church bells their study, have not attached him to any other locality.

It is remarkable how little information of a positive kind has come down to us respecting bell-founders prior to the

reign of Henry VIII. We have to feel our way in the dark in the pursuit of faint glimmerings of facts, and frequently meet with disappointment where we hoped to be satisfied. We should like to gaze upon a mediæval bell-founder of the west of England, to study his physiognomy, and to notice any peculiarity in his dress; and in Gloucester we meet with a disappointment. In St. Michael's Church William Henshaw was buried, and a sepulchral brass records the decease of his first wife, Alice. The brass was laid down in the husband's lifetime, and a space was left for the date of his own decease. The figures of the two wives remain, but that of the founder exists no longer. The legend runs thus: "Pray for the soull' of Will'm Henshawe Belfounder, and late Maire of this towne, and Alys and Agnes his wyfes, the whiche Will'm decessed the day of in the yer of our lord God a thousand ccccc and the said Alys decessed the seconde day of ffebruary, the yere of o' lord m'.v'.xix, for whose soules of yo' charite say a pater nost' and a ave." William Henshawe occurs as sheriff of Gloucester in 1496 and 1501, and he was mayor in 1503, 1508, and 1509.

Fortunately we have examples, at Norwich, of brass effigies of two bell-founders named Brasyer, of the exact date of William Henshawe, and from these we may form a notion of his figure. There is nothing to distinguish the bell-founder from civilians of the period. He is habited in a long furred robe, and wears very broad-toed shoes. He is represented with his hands raised in prayer; and from his girdle hang a rosary on the left side, and a *gypcièrre* or pouch on the right. His hair is flowing to his shoulders, parted in the middle, and cut square over the eyebrows.

In the north of England is another example of a bell-founder's portrait, viz. in the curious and most interesting "bell-window" in the north aisle of York Minster. This window is of three lights, and in the lower compartment of the centre one is a representation of Richard Tunnok, bell-founder, on his knees, making an offering of this window to the Archbishop of York, who is seated in front of him. A label bears the founder's name, and his craft is designated by a bell upon his pouch, and he carries a bell in his right hand. This window belongs to the middle of the fourteenth century.

As a set-off to the disappointment above alluded to, I am able to say that through the civility of Mr. Ferry, of East Gate Street, I saw, about ten years ago, a portion of William Henshawe's house, in which, if it still exists, there is a large room with a panelled ceiling of the fifteenth century, and also his coat of arms in a window of the same room. I expected to meet with a disappointment at that period, for I was told not to put any faith in Counsell's statement (see his *History of Gloucester*) that "the bell founder's arms are still preserved in two windows there." One shield, however, remains in a window, as stated above, and the other I found in a dark cellar, somewhat mutilated but in sufficiently good preservation to shew what it was, viz., *azure* on a chevron between three lozenges *argent*, the same number of bells *sable*. In my search I also met with the remnant of a third shield, viz., on a diapered field three bells *sable*, and above them a laver-pot *or*.¹ It is probable that the shield remaining in the window is a modern copy of the original one which I found in the cellar, and that the remnant is one of the two alluded to by Counsell. At a comparatively recent period the shield appears to have been repaired, and the tincture of the field, perhaps, changed through inadvertence from *gules* to *azure*, *gules* being the tincture given by Burke as belonging to Henshawe's arms.

There is an old bell in Hereford Cathedral, the ninth of the present peal, of which I have been unable to ascertain anything. All I can say is that it seems to bear the founder's name, and that it belongs to the fifteenth century. The inscription is "Gulielmus Warwick construxit me in Sanctæ Trinitatis honorem." I believe it goes by the name of "Sir Richard's bell." I cannot identify any other of W. Warwick's works.

Several founders probably intervened between William Henshawe and Abraham Rudhall, whose family carried on the business of the foundry for several generations. The Rudhalls were bell-founders from about the year 1626 to 1828; at least, we meet with the initials A. R. between 1626 and 1648, and presume that they belong to an Abraham Rudhall, whose son Abraham was born in 1658 and died² in

¹ I had these shields re-leaded, and returned them to Mr. Ferry, and I trust that they have been treated with proper respect.

² A tablet to his memory, formerly in the Cloisters, now in the Triforium,

1736, whose sons Abraham¹ and Abel carried on the business, and were succeeded by Thomas, then by Charles and John, with whom about the year 1828 bell-founding wholly ceased in that family. From this date Mr. Mears takes up the Gloucester business.

At Pipe, near Hereford, there is a bell which I think must have been cast at Gloucester—at least, it bears one feature which would connect it with that foundry. Its date is 1648. The inscription is in Latin—"Ad cultum Domini voce Sonate voco," and there is a founder's shield which is not Rudhall's, viz., a chevron between the letters I. F and a bell, but there follows a *fleur-de-lys* which I find borne by three bells at Preston-on-Wye, one of which has Abraham Rudhall's initials and the date 1705.

I think we may infer that bell inscriptions are a correct exponent of the master-founder's principles. If this be true, the city of Gloucester may well be proud of having had such citizens as the Rudhalls. They were well-wishers of their church, their sovereign, their country, and their countrymen. They were lovers of order, and desired peace with all Christian earnestness. It would seem, indeed, that these principles absorbed their thoughts and affections, for we find scarcely anything else upon their bells.

The following are their ever-recurring legends:—"God save the king." "Prosperity to the Church of England." "Prosperity to this place, or town, or parish" (at Peterchurch). "Peace and good neighbourhood" (at Eaton-Bishop). "Fear God and honour the king." "God preserve this place and all that belong to it." "Prosperity to all lovers of church and bells." "God save our queen, prince, and fleet."

Abraham Rudhall converted the Cathedral bells of Hereford into a peal of ten in the year 1697, and the following are some of their inscriptions:—"God prosper this church and all the members." "God prosper the Church of England." "Let us ring prosperity to the Church of England."

bears this inscription: "Abraham Rudhall, bell-founder, famed for his great skill, beloved and esteemed for his singular goodnature and integrity, died Jan. 25, 1735-6."

¹ The inscription on the first bell at St. Mary-le-Crypt, Gloucester, informs us that in 1749 Abraham Rudhall was churchwarden of the parish, in which year he cast both the first and second bells.



It was the custom of this family to place on the tenor or heaviest bell of a peal the following couplet :—

“ I to the church the living call,
And to the grave do summon all”,

as at Eaton-Bishop. Occasionally they used rhyming legends :

“ When us you ring
We'll sweetly sing”,

as at Blakemere.

“ Let us ring
For the church and king”,

“ Come away,
Make no delay.”

“ Come at my call
And serve God all”,

at Peterchurch.

“ All you of Bathe that heare me sound
Thank Lady Hopton's hundred pound .

Bath Abbey tenor, 1700. Once only do we find a Rudhall sounding his own praise after the failure of Alexander Rigby, a bell-founder at Stamford, viz., on the treble bell at Badgworth in Gloucestershire :—

“ Badgworth ringers they were mad
Because Rigby made me bad,
But Abel Rudhall you see
Cast me better than Rigbe.”

This family very seldom employed Latin legends, which, however, assumed this rhyming form :—

“ In Christo solo
Spem meam repono.”

“ In suo templo
Numen adoro.”

and I have met with an early form of legend—

“ Sabbata pango
Funera plango.”

One thing must be mentioned in connection with their works, viz., that there are very few instances of misspelt words or of transposed letters. Everything connected with their castings exhibits care and attention, and shows that the foundry in all its departments was well looked after. They must have been men of business ; and there is in their inscriptions clear evidence of their having been men of education. We do not meet with anything approaching to the

following specimens of vulgarity and grammatical inaccuracy, as at Himbleton, Worcestershire, 1695—

“Be it known to all that do wee see
John Martin of Worcester he made wee.”

At S. Nicholas, Ipswich, 1706—

“Henry Pleasant have at last
Made us as good as can be cast.”

At Ashfield, Suffolk, 1745—

“Pull on, brave boys, I’m metal to the back-bone,
But will be hanged before I’ll crack.”

(By Thomas Newman).

The foregoing is a brief history of the bell-foundry and of the bell-founders of Gloucester, gathered from an examination of their bells. These monuments of pious sentiments and loyalty were reared in part at a period of political disturbance, and, in part, of religious decline. When we find these men not shrinking from giving expression to their thoughts and feelings in a permanent form we may gain some ideas of the strength of their principles of religion and patriotism. The spirit of Christian sympathy and love which breathes in their monitory legends has revived in our day, and we may hope that the spirit of loyalty and order was not more deeply rooted nor more strongly felt by our forefathers than it is by us. And here, while we are met together, in this city of Hereford, at an Archæological Congress whose object is to point out how “from an accurate knowledge of the past” we may “improve and raise the present,” let us learn from bell-founders’ *epitaphs*, as the inscriptions may be called, to record in imperishable works those principles of piety and loyalty which Englishmen make it their boast to profess.

ON THE HEREFORD MISSAL.

BY E. LEVIEN, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

It is a somewhat remarkable fact that although there are so many among us who are apt to pride themselves on being "church-going people," so few are acquainted with the history of our liturgy, and of the various changes and modifications it has from time to time undergone. This is a matter which presents many points of interest to those whose inclinations may lead them to investigate it; but it would be quite beyond the scope of the present paper, were I to enter into anything like a historical account of our Church services; my purpose being only to call your attention to one of the "Uses," as they were designated, which was followed in South Wales, as the *Use of Sarum* was in the southern parts of England, that of *York* in the northern, that of *Lincoln* in the midland counties, and that of *Bangor* throughout North Wales, in the period preceding the Reformation.

Before we enter, however, upon the further consideration of our subject, it may, perhaps, be as well to mention that the word "*Use*" is here employed in the classical sense of "habit" or "ordinary custom"; so that the *Use of Sarum*, *Bangor*, *Hereford*, etc., signifies that particular usage which prevailed in the celebration of the liturgy in those different provinces or dioceses of our island which have been already enumerated.

The preface to our present Book of Common Prayer informs us that, "whereas heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in churches within this realm, some following *Salisbury Use*, some *Hereford Use*, and some the *Use of Bangor*, some of *York*, some of *Lincoln*; now from henceforth all the whole realm shall have but one *Use*." As we are then, upon the present occasion, more immediately concerned with the *Hereford Use*, we need merely remark that those who wish to see the differences which exist between that and the *Salisbury*, *Bangor*, *York*, and *Roman Uses*, both in the Ordinary and the Canon of the Mass, will find them printed side by side in the *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, by William Maskell (8vo,

London, 1844); the preface to which work is well worthy of particular attention on account of the valuable information contained in it concerning the old service and prayer books of the Church of England, and for the research displayed in treating of the origin and relative authority of the ancient liturgies from which our modern forms of worship are derived.

I will now, however, proceed to the more immediate consideration of the *Hereford Missal*, premising that the *Missal* was that book which contained the rites, ceremonies, and prayers used in the celebration of the Holy Communion; and the Rev. W. Palmer, in his *Origines Liturgicæ* (vol. i, p. 111) thus describes the Roman Missal. "It was formerly called the *Sacramentary*, or book of Sacraments, and contained a number of offices for particular days, which were to be added, in the proper place, to the Canon, in which the more solemn prayers and the consecration were contained."¹ And Maskell, in his work already quoted, says: "It has a calendar at the beginning, always, I believe, in the printed editions, if not in the manuscripts; then come the collects, epistles, gospels, secrets, etc., which vary throughout the year, succeeded by the Ordinary and the Canon; after which are the services appointed at the Communion, for saints' days, and the commemorations of confessors, martyrs, and virgins. These are followed by occasional services, to be used when required, for the king, for peace, for penitents, against pestilence, for travellers, for the newly married, etc.; and the book not uncommonly ends with forms for blessing water or bread, etc., and directions to the officiating priest."

Mr. Bohn, in his *Bibliographer's Manual* (published in 1864), remarks that, "although there are so many different editions of the Missals and other ancient service books of the ancient English Church, they but rarely occur for public sale....It may be taken as a general rule that they are all extremely valuable"; and I may add that the *Hereford Missal* is the rarest, and therefore, of course, the most valuable of them all, the only copies of it mentioned in *Lowndes* being the following,—one on vellum, formerly belonging to the celebrated antiquary, Thomas Hearne, and now in the

¹ See also *The Bible, the Missal, and the Breviary*, by Rev. George Lewis, 2 vols. 8vo, Edinburgh, 1853; and *Liturgicæ Britannicæ*, by William Keeling, 8vo, London, 1851.

Bodleian Library, but wanting a small woodcut ; another in the same collection, but wanting the title and part of the syllabus ; and a third, which is also imperfect, in the library of St. John's College, Oxford." In the summer of 1858, however, the British Museum was fortunate enough to add to its treasures a perfect copy of this *liber desideratus*, having acquired it from that learned and painstaking writer and collector whom I have already mentioned, Mr. William Maskell, who has prefixed to it the following memorandum in his own handwriting :—"I obtained this volume in the spring of 1858. It had been just found, lying open on the floor in an old house in Bristol, among some hundreds of other books which had belonged to the English Franciscans, and which had been brought by them to England from their convent in Belgium during the troubles of the first French revolution." On its title-page is the following imprint :—"Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ secundo supra quingentesimum atque millesimum die vero primâ mensis Septembris operâ et industriâ M[agistri] Petri Oliverii et Johannis Mauditier impressum Rothomagi [Rouen] juxta sacellum divi apostolorum principis Petri commorantum. Impensa vero Johannis Richardi mercatoris hoc novum et egregium opus sacri Missalis ad usum famosæ ac percelebris ecclesiæ Helfordensis nuper instanti et pervigili cura visum correctum et emendatum, necnon auctoritate reverendi in Christo patris et domini ejusdem ecclesiæ episcopi meritissimi, ac dominorum decani et capituli est in propatulo venale facili precio coram cunctis productum et exhibitum."

Thus, then, we see that this unique volume was printed at that famous Rouen press which produced so many magnificent works between 1485 and 1550. It would be beyond my present purpose, and would encroach far too much upon our time, were I to attempt to enumerate them ; but to such as would pursue the subject further, I would recommend a work entitled *De l'Imprimerie et de le Libraire à Rouen, dans les x^v et xvi^e Siècles, et de Martin Morin, célèbre imprimeur Rouennais, par Ed. Frère*. Small 4to, Rouen, 1843. The Bishop under whose care and supervision the book of which we are treating was produced, was Adrian de Castello, who was a scholar fully competent for the task. He was a Cardinal, and was at the time of his elevation to the see of Hereford rector of St. Dunstan's in the East, London.

He had also been papal Nuncio to Scotland ; and in 1498 was sent to France, to convey the condolences of Pope Alexander VI to that country upon the death of Charles VIII. Ciacconi tells us, in his *Vite Pontificum*, that by means of his pleasantry and facetiousness he so ingratiated himself with the King of England (Henry VII) that he conferred upon him first the bishopric of Hereford, and subsequently that of Bath and Wells, to which he was translated in 1504. But not only was he a Thomas Barham of *Ingoldsby Legend* celebrity, in wit and humour, but he also resembled that accomplished ecclesiastic in his classical attainments so closely, that his compositions are described as having been written "*Latinissimè et tersè et defæcatâ dictione*";¹ and he is said to have been the first "*qui memoriâ nostrâ post Ciceronis sæculum suis scriptis mortales ad perfectas literas ex probatissimis auctoribus hauriendas excitavit.*" Such, then, was the prelate who with his coadjutors, the Dean (Reginald West) and Chapter, supplied the learning necessary for superintending the production of this Missal, just as John Richard, the merchant, supplied the money. And thus in the said year 1502, by the joint exertions of the Church, the mart, and the printing press, was given to the world that "*novum et egregium opus*," as it is justly styled in the title,—that "new and notable work" which is now under our consideration.

Below the imprint is a wood-engraving representing the combat of St. George and the dragon,—the dragon being an excessively mild looking beast, with a somewhat benevolent expression of countenance, who, beyond turning his head round, and putting out his tongue at his adversary, does not appear at all hostile in his intentions. The King of Egypt and his daughter are standing on the walls of a city, both regally clad, and clasping their hands in supplication for the success of the knight ; who, however, might just as well have been without their prayers, the dragon being evidently (to use a sporting expression) "*nowhere.*" At the back of the picture is a female figure seated, habited in a long cloak with full sleeves turned up (ermine), leading a lamb by a leash held in the right hand ; and holding in the left hand a shield of arms quarterly,—France (modern) and England ensigned with a crown royal,—to the left of which is a star.

¹ Ciacconi, *Vite Pontificum*, vol. iii, col. 206.

Preceding the Canon of the Mass are the two usual wood-engravings of the Crucifixion and the Creator in glory, surrounded by cherubim; and in a border the symbols of the four evangelists, each bearing a scroll. It is a fortunate circumstance that in this instance these two pages have escaped the hand of the illuminator, for it is to this that we probably owe their preservation. In most instances of printed Missals both these subjects are illuminated, and the pages have been abstracted for the purpose of framing. The colophon runs thus: "*Finis Missalis ad usum celeberrime ecclesie Herefordensis, summa cura ac vigili opera nuper impressi Rothomagi, cum additione Accentuarii, legentibus in ecclesiis valde utili. Et hoc impensis Johannis Richardi ejusdem Rothomagi civis non immeriti juxta ecclesiam divi Nicolai commorantis.*" This *Accentuarium* is a sort of prosody, and contains on the left hand page a list of the words, with short vowels; and on the right, of those with long. No doubt it was "very useful to those who read in the churches"; for the best regulated minds, both lay and clerical, are apt to get uncertain about their quantities within a short time after their school or college days; and even among our modern senators an "*Accentuarium*" would not be altogether out of place, considering the unparliamentary liberties that some of them unconsciously take with the pronunciation of the dead classical languages.

On the *verso* of the page bearing the above colophon is a wood-engraving of the book-plate of Jean Richard. It consists of a shield with his initials hanging to an oak tree, and supported on the left side by a lady richly habited, and on the right by a one-horned goat. On the tree is a squirrel, and at the four corners of the ornamental border the coats of France, Brittany, the Dauphin, and Orleans.

There is one more point in this Missal upon which I will pause for a few minutes before I conclude; and that is its peculiarity in one of the offices, to which I am quite sure the ladies, at any rate, will not object to my referring. I allude, of course, to the marriage service. It is to be noted that, although all the rest of the book is in Latin, that portion of the interesting but awful ceremony which involves the putting on of the ring, and the plighting of the troth, is to be said in English ("*in maternâ linguâ,*" as the rubric has it, "*sacerdote docente*"), as if there was to be no mistake about

it, and in order that neither of "the high contracting parties" should be able to plead ignorance of the obligations by which they were binding themselves, on account of their want of a classical education. As the words in which these obligations were couched are different from those at present in use, you will, I trust, forgive me for trespassing still further upon your patience by repeating them. The words run thus:—"I, N., underfyng ye, M., for my wedded wyf, for better, for worse, for richer, for porer, yn sekene and yn helthe, til deth us departe, as holy churche hath ordeyned, and thereto y plyteth ye my trowth"; and the bride is to repeat the same words to the bridegroom, substituting, of course, "husband" for "wyf", and adding "to be boxum to ye til deth us depart", etc. So that, although the gentleman might have his "fits of the meagrimis," the lady undertook to be "buxom", *i. e.*, lively and sprightly, till the day of her death. This may possibly have been practicable in "merry England in the olden time," but it would certainly not be deemed compatible with "the rights of women" as they are so strenuously advocated in the nineteenth century. Besides the ring, the bridegroom was to present the bride with some gold and silver money; which ceremony, I take it, would *not* be objected to by the most ardent supporter of women's rights even now; and to say also, in the mother tongue, "wyth thys ryng y thee wedde, and thys gold and seluer ych thee geue, and wyth myne body ych thee honoure."

And now I have nothing more to add respecting this, as far as it appears at present to be, unique book; for although a copy of it, printed on vellum, is briefly noticed by Mattaire and Panzer, and a little more in detail by Dibdin in his continuation of Ames,¹ yet notwithstanding very numerous inquiries have been made about this latter volume, it has never been ascertained where it at present exists.

¹ See *Typographical Antiquities, or the History of Printing in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, begun by Joseph Ames, F.R.S., etc., and enlarged by the Rev. Thomas Frognell Dibdin, London, 1816, vol. iii, p. 5.



ON SOME RECENT DISCOVERIES OF ROMAN REMAINS AT WILDERSPOOL.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

FOR some years past our respected associate, Dr. Kendrick, has carefully watched the excavations proceeding at Wilderspool, on the southern bank of the Mersey, near Warrington, and has from time to time informed us of the more singular and important discoveries there made of Roman remains.¹ To appreciate fully the interest of these discoveries, it will be well to state briefly that Wilderspool is the presumed site of the *Condate* of the second and tenth *itinera* of Antoninus; that it is considered to have been a *mutatio*, or post-station, established (if the coins exhumed here be taken as an index of date) as early as the reign of Vespasian; and that its final destruction was effected, like that of other Romano-British settlements, by fire,—the occurrence of incinerated human bones and charcoal in sepulchral *ollæ* leading to the belief that the devouring conflagration took place ere the Christian mode of coffin-burial was introduced into North Cheshire. As yet little more is known of the rise and fall of *Condate* than is set forth in these few words; but as excavation progresses, a flood of unexpected light may burst forth, and we may be able hereafter to read its story more fully than we can in those few relics which now claim our attention.

Whenever a search is made on a Roman site, *factilia* are sure to be found more abundant than any other remains; and this is eminently the case at Wilderspool, where fabrics of divers sorts are mingled together, showing that a trade was carried on with *Cantium*, *Durobrivæ*, and other seats of manufacture. But *Condate* seems to have had its own *kerameicus*, traces of which are still discernible on the eastern side of the station. Among the presumed “home-made” wares may be included a group of highly curious vessels more or less perforated on their sides and bottoms, some of which are undoubtedly *cola vinaria*, or wine-

¹ See *Journal*, ix, p. 75; xiv, p. 269; xvii, pp. 60, 322; xviii, p. 391; xix, p. 127; xxvi, pp. 111, 241.

strainers; and others, as equally certain, thuribles or incense-pots. They are formed of a fine compact paste of a palish red hue; inclining to soft, from being rather slightly baked, but evidently wrought with much care, and with some attention to elegance of contour as well as fitness for purpose. The leading features here pointed out are well exemplified in the several specimens submitted for inspection by Dr. Kendrick, some of which demand a special notice. Those requiring fewest remarks are the *cola*, of which we have before us a portion of the side and bottom of one example showing between fifty and sixty round perforations; and another one in which the entire form may be satisfactorily made out, although it has suffered much from breakage. This *colum* is a hemisphere with a broad rim intended to rest on the edge of another vessel. Its extreme dimensions are,—height, full two inches and three-quarters; diameter at outer edge of rim, six inches and a half; diameter of outer circle of holes, four inches and a half. As usual with Roman terra-cotta *cola*, these perforations are made from the *outside*; so that slightly raised circlets of paste are produced on the inner surface, and may have aided in holding back any sediment of wine or impurities that chanced to be in the snow employed in cooling it. The *cola* discovered at Wilderspool approach much nearer in character to the fragment exhumed at Cirencester than to the London example in the Baily collection, both of which are described and figured in our *Journal* (xxv, p. 246).

The next division of our group of perforated vessels includes examples of thuribles or fumigators; and of these there are two very distinct types, the one saucer-shaped, the other bowl-formed; but of both, unfortunately, we have only portions left us. The smallest of the first named variety, when perfect, was about four inches and three-quarters in diameter, and one inch and seven-eighths in height. In the centre of the bottom rises a cone surrounded by a broad ring nearly two inches and a quarter in diameter at the outer edge; and between them is a circle of five perforations; and beyond the ring, six additional holes; and just at the part where the sloping sides blend with the base, there is a third series of holes, of which traces of only five remain; but in the perfect vessel they probably numbered from ten to twelve. These several apertures, unlike those

in the *cola*, were made from the *inside* of the thurible, so that a portion of the displaced paste protrudes on the exterior surface. There are the remains of another of these saucer-shaped thuribles, which probably measured at least six inches in diameter when entire; and in which the perforations in the sides are larger, and further from the bottom than in the foregoing specimen, and the bottom appears to have had but four holes through it. Another difference to remark is, that the cone is solid; whereas in its companion it is hollow, and may be likened to what is called the "kick" in a modern wine-bottle. These rare and curious vessels may have been employed in perfuming rooms, or for burning incense before divinities on domestic altars,—for that many a private dwelling had its *foculus* is a fact certified in many ways.

But besides these we have to describe a portion of a third thurible differing altogether in form from the foregoing, being the upper part of a bowl-shaped vessel, the contracted mouth of which seems to have been about four inches in diameter. The lip is rather thicker than the side, and the first line of perforations is about five-eighths of an inch below the lip. When perfect this thurible must have borne resemblance to a mediæval fuming-pot of glazed earthenware exhumed on the site of St. Katharine's Hospital, near the Tower, and which was provided with a tubular handle whereby to carry it.¹

In addition to these thuribles of local manufacture there are portions of other perforated vessels of less definite character, both as regards purpose and place of fabric. They are very neatly made. The paste or body is of a fine compact quality, of a dull reddish brown colour, both surfaces being covered with a black coating or *vernis*. These vessels seem to have had an outer diameter, at the mouth, of at least seven inches and a half; but their altitude cannot be pronounced with certainty, but it may be stated that the tallest piece measures full two inches and a half in height. The sides appear to have been nearly upright, and about three-quarters of an inch below the expanded lip are indications

¹ In our *Journal* (ii, p. 136) is a two-handled, vase-shaped thurible found at Upchurch, which may be compared with one discovered at Litlington, engraved in the *Archæologia*, xxvi, Plate 45, fig. 30. For a notice of domestic censers, see *Journal*, xv, p. 280; and of thuribles, xix, p. 81; xxi, p. 161; xxii, p. 448.

of a horizontal perforated diaphragm. Until we obtain a larger amount of evidence than these fragments disclose, it would be unsafe to decide whether they be portions of *cola* or *thuribles*. *Pocula*, etc., palpably from the same manufactory as these vessels, have been exhumed in London and Essex, but its site is at present unknown.

Equally difficult to localise as the above is a portion of a *catinus*, or rather a *catillum*, with convex sides, which when entire measured full six inches in diameter, and one inch and three-eighths in height. The paste is of a dingy reddish hue, and in it are mingled minute pebbles, or very coarse sand, reminding us much of some of the Keltic pottery. Both surfaces are coated with black, and the under face of the bottom is ornamented with a projecting ring with a circle of depressions within it, made probably with the rounded end of a stick.

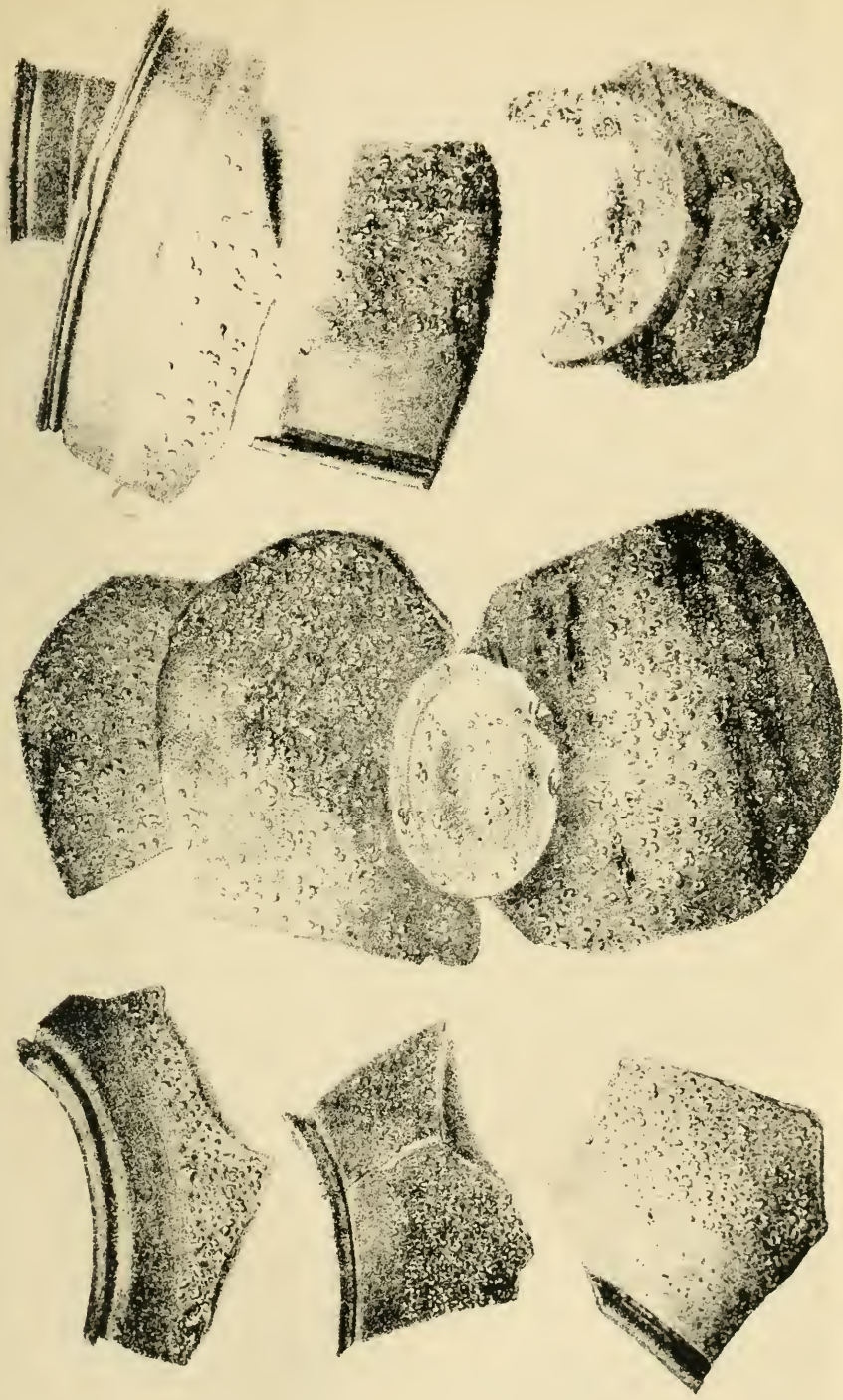
We have before us another vessel, or, to speak more truly, the remains of a trio of vessels, which ought not to be passed over in silence, but which will be spoken of more largely on a future occasion. This group of *ollæ* is three inches and four-sixths in height, each two inches and three-quarters in diameter at the mouth, and united together by three perforated ligatures; so that if one vessel were filled with fluid, all above the depth of two inches would flow into the other two receptacles. These *ollæ* are made of the same sort of reddish paste before described; and if the *cola* and *thuribles* be of *Condute* fabric, it follows that they have a like origin.

Among other fabrics claimed by the Lancasterians as home-made, is a variety which Dr. Kendrick proposes to designate "rough-cast pottery," and a description of which is best given in the words of our learned friend, who says that "The paste or body of the vessel whilst in the soft state, and whilst still upon the potter's wheel, was more or less thickly sprinkled with dry powdered clay, so as to roughen its surface. The roughness was then removed at the upper part of the vessel, and often in horizontal bands or stripes likewise, and the lip or rim was very delicately finished; after which the whole vessel appears to have been dipped in a thin "slip" or clay-wash, to fix the roughness permanently. This process is so similar to that called "rough-casting," when applied to rustic edifices, that I venture to propose the distinctive name of "rough-cast ware" to these

singular productions of the Romano-British potters. Fragments of this ware are well represented in the accompanying illustration (Plate 20), which with gratitude we record as the gift of Dr. Kendrick to the Association.

Though rough-cast ware abounds at Wilderspool, it is not very frequently met with in other localities; but it is still a kind with which I have long been familiar, both from description and examination of examples which have fallen in my way. One of the illustrations to Mr. Jewett's valuable paper on discoveries at Headington, near Oxford, printed in our *Journal* (vi, p. 64), is a *poculum*, three inches and a quarter in diameter, of this sort of pottery, of which several other fragments were found, "extremely light, and some of red, and others of chocolate colour. The rim and upper part of the vessels are smooth; the lower rough, being covered with little points." Vessels of similar ware have been exhumed in Essex, the remains of one being thus described in the catalogue (p. 84) of the pottery in the Jermyn-street Museum: "Fragments, apparently part of a vase with indentations of the sides. Body, red where most fired; dark inside. Upon the body, pounded fragments of pottery (apparently) scattered before glazing. Glaze, dark coloured. Found at Colchester. Presented by the Rev. A. C. Henslow." Perfect cups of this ware, from the same locality, may be seen in the British Museum.

Pocula of rough-cast ware have been exhumed in London. Mr. Baily has two examples in his museum; and I have one perfect specimen, and a number of fragments of different vessels. The entire cup is about four inches and three-eighths in height, and was found, some years since, in cutting a sewer through Houndsditch. The paste is of a bright red hue, and the surface has been carelessly sprinkled with pounded terra-cotta, or powdered clay, before it was covered with a buff coloured coating. This *poculum* was certainly not produced in either the Wilderspool, Headington, or Castor kilns; but was probably wrought in *Londinium*, where a *kerameicus* existed during the Roman *regime*, in a portion of the space now called St. Paul's Churchyard. All the pieces of rough-cast ware I possess were baked in the Durobrivian ovens, and discovered in Fenchurch-street in 1867. They are of superior fabric, highly fired; the paste, when broken, appearing of a whitish hue; but both surfaces of the



ROMAN "ROUGH-CAST" POTTERY.



fragments are of a dark chocolate colour. It will be observed that the parts just beneath the rims are quite smooth, as described by Dr. Kendrick, and the rest of the external surface thickly sprinkled with comminuted pottery; the rough-casting extending in some instances over the base of the vessels, as it does in the examples from Wilderspool and Houndsditch.

We not unfrequently find the exteriors of the smother-kiln ware of the Upchurch *kerameicus* decorated with dots of "slip" more or less thickly clustered together; and the query rises in the mind, whether this species of adornment suggested the rough-cast embellishment, or the latter gave a hint to the Kentish workmen. The question is not without a certain degree of interest, as it affects the relative priority of the respective fabrics.

The rough-cast decoration does not seem to have found favour with either the Saxon or Norman potters; but we meet with traces of it in Germany in the fifteenth century, though in England it was not revived until a much later period. In the eighteenth century the saucers for parlour flower-pots were adorned with rough-cast, and also the lustre-jugs once so fashionable, but now so rarely seen. But we are straying far away from Wilderspool and its Roman remains, and must return at once to them.

So large a number of *mortaria* have already been described in our *Journal* (ii, 166; vi, 57; vii, 86) that we might well believe that we had been made acquainted with all the varieties of this familiar utensil of the Roman *culina*, but the discoveries at Wilderspool add somewhat to our knowledge of its form. The novelty consists in the rim being extended on either side into an *ansa* or handle, whereby the vessel can be conveniently lifted from its bearings, and carried about. Up to this time Dr. Kendrick has met with at least ten *mortaria* with these lateral *ansæ*. The specimen before us is eleven inches and a quarter in diameter, and ere its bowl was ground through must have been close on four inches in height. Its paste is identical with that of the *cola* and thuribles, and has quantities of silicious fragments pressed in, to form a hard, triturating surface. The spout is much shorter than usual, and has a rather sudden downward inclination.

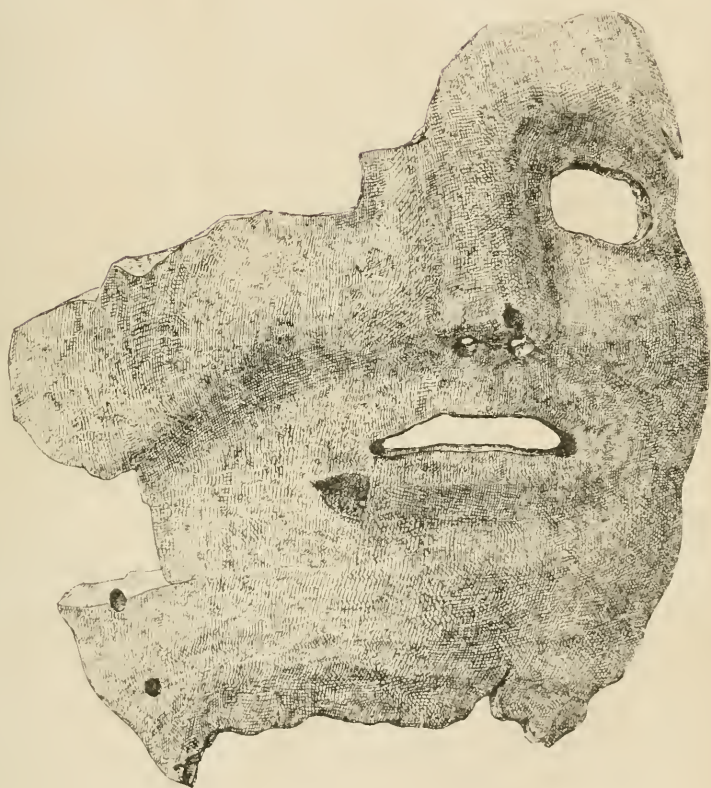
Dr. Kendrick states that a very considerable variety of

mortaria are exhumed on the site of *Condate*, from which he has gathered the following potters' marks, all of which seem to differ from those met with in London : A.R.B., BRO., D.I.I.O., DOCILIS, HF.C.S., ICO., VRILIM.

This paper has already grown to such a length that we must not dwell on several other kinds of *ficilia* brought to light at Wilderspool, however well deserving comment,—such, for instance, as the white ware of which *amphoræ* occur, with the subjoined sigils impressed on their *ansæ*, and none of which are seen on London “finds,”—A.P.M., C.S.I., L.A.L., R.AMZ. Had time and space permitted, much might be said respecting the Samian pottery, both foreign and native; but we must press on to the crowning glory of the late discoveries, the very gem of the present assemblage of relics,—in short, the rarest and most precious object which the excavations at Wilderspool have afforded,—a veritable antique *persona*, or mask of terra-cotta; to all appearance the work of some *Condate figulus*, at least if colour and character of paste be accepted as guides to locality. (See Plate 21.) Deeply must we regret that this visor comes to us in such a shattered and fragmentary state; but enough is preserved to show that it is of ample size to cover the human face; the eyes, nostrils, and mouth, being open to allow sight, respiration, and voice, to proceed without interruption. There have been two perforations towards the lower part of each cheek, and probably the same number on each side of the forehead, through which cords passed to lace the mask to a cap, hood, or wig, which covered the head of the actor, for I presume there cannot be a doubt that it was fabricated for the *theatrum*.

Among the Greek and Roman terra-cottas in the British Museum is a full-sized *persona comica* of fine workmanship, to all appearance intended for the stage; the eyes, nostrils, and mouth, being left open, and a small round hole made in each ear for cords. There is also another mask in the Museum, in which the eyes are perforated and the mouth closed; which may be a *persona muta* for a silent actor, such as would be needed in some of the comedies of Plautus and Terence.

Julius Pollux (*Onomasticon*, iv, sect. 133 seq.) enumerates twenty-five masks for tragedy, exclusive of those required for the personation of certain heroes, etc., and forty-three





for comedy; so that it seems perfectly hopeless to attempt to identify the Wilderspool visor with any special name that has descended to us; but I think we may safely pronounce it a *persona tragica*, from the grave and almost ghastly expression of countenance.

With regard to the antiquity of the theatrical *persona*, we may just observe that Horace, in his *Art of Poetry* (line 278), states that in the time of Thespis, who flourished, B.C. 540, the performers' faces were disguised by being smeared with lees of wine, and that Æschylus was the first who introduced the mask upon the stage. But if reliance be placed on Suidas (s. v. Χοιριλλος), the poet Chœrilus, a contemporary of Thespis, was the inventor of such a device; and further (s. v. Φρυνιχος), that Phrynichus added the female *persona* to those hitherto employed, and Neophron of Sicyon that of the pedagogue (s. v. Νεοφρων).

According to Virgil (*Georg.* ii, 387), some of the earliest masks were formed of the bark of trees. Pollux tells us that leather lined with linen was next employed; and we find by Hesychius they were afterwards wrought of wood.¹ All traces of antique visors of these materials have perished, and the three of terra-cotta here described must be regarded as among the few and most interesting mementoes of the classic stage which time has spared.

Although I am fully aware that I have done but scant justice to the various objects entrusted to me for exhibition by Dr. Kendrick, I trust sufficient has been said to prove that the discoveries lately made on the site of *Condate* are of a novel and highly interesting nature, and give promise that the vein of archæological wealth now struck on is far from exhausted, and may yet yield still richer treasure.

¹ Masks of carved wood have been employed by some nations in modern times. I have an extraordinary one for an Indian snake-charmer, crested with the cobra or asp, painted of various hues, which was formerly in the Dawson collection; and another worn by dancers of the Naas tribe of North-Western America, coloured "after the life."

ON LEOMINSTER PRIORY CHURCH.

BY EDWARD ROBERTS, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., HON. SEC.

ON the occasion of the visit of the Association to this church in September 1870, much discussion took place on its many peculiarities, and the difficulties it offered to the student in respect of the unusual details of construction and irregular features in the subsidiary arrangements. Naturally several views were expressed, but no one seemed satisfied with either his own or others' attempted solutions of its riddles. The several writers who had previously made the attempt, have not attained greater success, although amongst these may be named Mr. G. G. Scott¹ and Mr. E. A. Freeman,² both of whom are accomplished and accurate observers. One and all, however, agree that it is full of strangenesses and beauties, and demands careful research and study, greater than have yet been given to it. Since the Congress, feeling an unsatisfied interest in the subject, I have made another visit to the church with the view of preparing a plan of all the buildings,—no complete plan being in existence,³—and of following up the idea which I had communicated to the Treasurer immediately after our visit, that in fact the Norman church was not, in the first instance, intended to be the NAVE, but the CHOIR of the complete buildings. With fuller information at my disposal, I still think this the most reasonable solution of its difficulties and peculiarities, and with the aid of the plan (see Plate) I will endeavour to make my reasons clear.

It will be unnecessary to enter, except very generally, into the history of the Priory: a volume has been published by the Rev. T. Fyler Townsend,⁴ with an architectural chapter by Mr. E. A. Freeman, nearly exhausting the subject, to which I refer all who desire more minute particulars than need here be furnished. It is desirable, however, to shortly

¹ Report on Restoration.

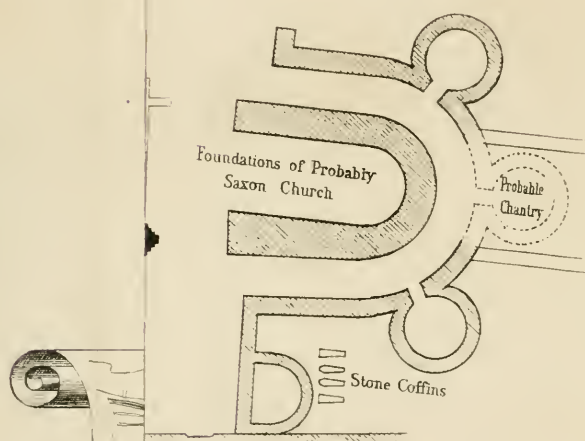
² In Townsend's *History of Leominster*.

³ I am indebted to Mr. G. Gilbert Scott for the loan of a plan of the Norman portion, and a copy of his Report containing several photographs.

⁴ *The History of Leominster*.

Leominster Priory Church.

Ground Plan.

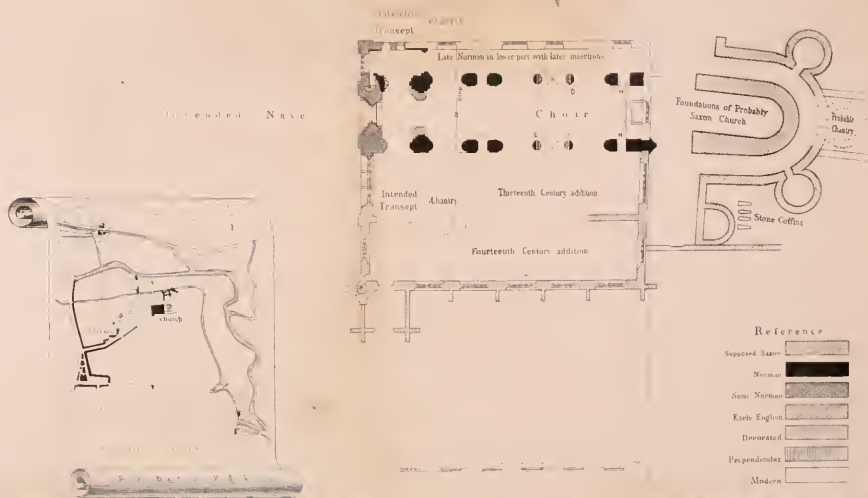


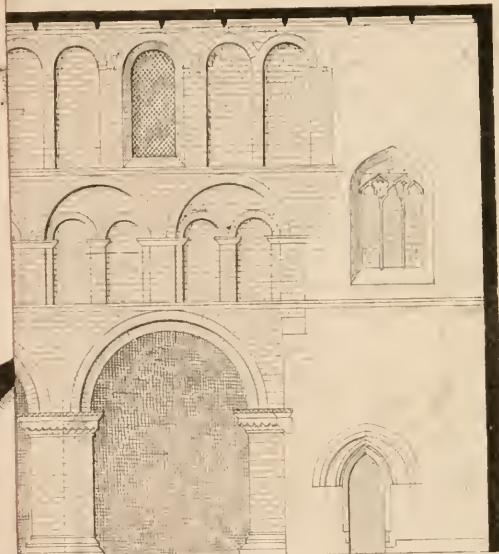
Reference

Supposed Saxon	
Norman	
Semi-Norman	
Early English	
Decorated	
Perpendicular	
Modern	

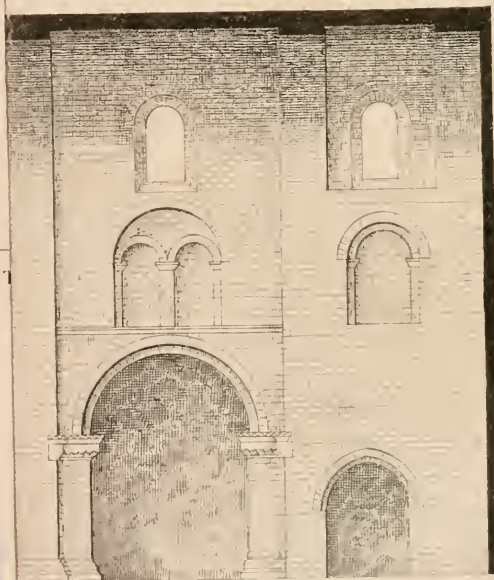
Leominster Priory Church.

Ground Plan.

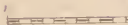




osting.



intention.



Leominster
Priory Church.



Transverse Section of

Fig. 2.



Longitudinal Section as now existing.

Fig. 1.



Longitudinal Section of supposed intention

Fig. 2.

review the history of its foundations and vicissitudes in order to comprehend the probable intentions of its later owners.

The earliest establishment may have been for nuns, founded in the seventh century. This being plundered and destroyed, it was refounded by Leofric in the eleventh century, certainly for nuns on this occasion. But we are nowhere informed how much of the previous buildings were retained, nor how much Leofric erected; nor are we able to ascertain when it was destroyed, as it appears to have been long before 1121.¹

I conceive it to be exceedingly probable that the foundation walls remaining at the east end are part of Leofric's building. The plan is of Saxon form,² and Leland refers to it as "a small thinge."³ It is clear that it does not accord with the existing portion, and therefore we must be driven back to the time of Leofric for its date. Whatever it was, however, its stated "destruction" may be taken as indicating dismantling only, to the extent of removing all that was valuable. On its being refounded, *temp.* Henry I, it appears to have been in use so soon as to preclude us from believing it to have been altogether rebuilt. Besides, it shows itself as an old, adapted building, in being narrower than the newer portion; and in the axes not coinciding, as Mr. Freeman points out.⁴ He adds, on this point, some important observations which it is right to quote, agreeing, as I do, with his facts: "It must have produced a good deal of awkwardness in the treatment of the lantern-arches,⁵ and from the further fact that it was unusually short, being only 55 feet including the transepts; and as the high altar, doubtless, stood on the chord of the apse, the space left in the eastern limb would hardly be of the size of a common parochial chancel, and would be quite incapable of containing the presbytery and choir also. It is certainly remarkable, when

¹ *Monasticon*, iv, p. 40.

² See plan of Brixworth chancel, *ante*, vol. xix, p. 294, and plan of St. Gall, *Archæological Inst. Journal*, vol. v, p. 84.

³ Leland has often been partially quoted. What he says is as follows: "There is but one paroch church in Leominster, but it is large, somewhat darke" (this certainly applies only to the Norman portion), "and of ancient buildinge: in-somuch that it is a great likelyhood that it is the church that was somewhat afore the Conquest. The church of the Priory was hard joyned on to the east end of the parish church, and was but a small thinge." (*Itin.*, iv, fo. 178a.)

⁴ *Hist. Leom.*, p. 214.

⁵ I doubt if there were a lantern.

we consider the very small size of the eastern part of Leominster Church, that so complicated an arrangement should have been chosen ; and one which in England is seldom found, except in buildings of much greater size." Of course he is assuming (erroneously, as I think), firstly, that the buildings were all built at one time, and on one plan ; and secondly, that the form was a nave, transepts, and presbytery, without a choir !

It was in 1121 that Henry I. began building Reading Abbey, adding this to its possessions ; and there is nothing unreasonable in assuming that the parent Abbey received the first attention, and that all the revenues were first appropriated to that duty. The remains of the small Saxon church at Leominster were thus not unlikely to have been forthwith adapted for the services while steps were being taken to carry out a new monastery imitating in extent that at Reading. At Leominster the lowest tier of arcading is of the date corresponding with this suggested period, namely about 1125-30.

That magnitude was constantly aimed at in those times, needs scarcely to require insisting on : it is only necessary to refer to Durham, St. Alban's, Fountains, and other enormous churches, to dissipate any objections on that score. In this case a more eligible spot for an industrial monastery could scarcely be found. Amidst a rich pastoral country, and the district of fleeces and wool-fairs (some of their own in after times), surrounded by streams of volume and rapidity sufficient to work innumerable mills, and of which they availed themselves, happiness and wealth might well seem within their grasp. Finding themselves in possession, by the gifts of Henry I, of sufficient lands, but of buildings wholly unsuited to their requirements (being insignificant, and lying partly waste), and with grand designs in their minds, I can conceive the immediate utilisation of the part of the former small church being resolved on, so as at once to bring their influence to bear on the affluent ; and that the part selected was the choir and transepts of the former church, now to be used as a presbytery ; at the same time designing the foundations of its extension westward, as was customary ; so that, on the completion and consecration of the new part, the ancient and inadequate presbytery should make way for the new one. Alas for human aspirations ! the time never

came. Even the lower arcades do not seem to have been completed, and afterwards underwent a change in order that the fragment might be turned to another use.

It has repeatedly been noticed, but never satisfactorily accounted for, that the plan of this arcade is unusual, in having at either end a block of masonry¹ (G H in plan) pierced by a smaller opening than the arcades; but it remained for this Association to discover that the central arch of the arcade also differed from both its neighbours.

It is not inconsistent with probabilities to assume that, whereas all four of the columns at C, D, E, and F, have evidently been partly rebuilt, as well as the arches at K, L, wholly so,—the arches being less lofty, and of a different and later masonry, and the pillars having clumsily matched vertical joints,—there had been at first a THIRD BLOCK of masonry² in the centre, as indicated by the dotted lines; but that, failing the means to carry out the whole work, the choir was reluctantly changed into a nave, in which the arcade would be an essential element. At all events, in my judgment, in no other way than the removal of a central block can this peculiarity be accounted for. This assumption perfectly and satisfactorily accounts for every difficulty which no other suggestion will remove; and whether the place was intended for nave or choir, this suggestion equally applies,

¹ Mr. Freeman (*History of Leominster*, p. 217) says, as regards the two projecting blocks, "The cause of this singularity I do not at all understand, and I do not remember to have ever seen anything of the kind elsewhere." "In the eastern bay, again, we find a solid wall with similar projections, containing mere doorways instead of pier-arches on both sides. This was, doubtless, because this bay was occupied by the rood-loft, which, had the regular arcade been continued, would have completely blocked up the arch."

² I have not been able to examine any other plans of Reading Abbey than those in the sixth volume of the *Archæologia*, and Man's *History* (4to, 1812); but they curiously show three or four blocks of masonry in the choir, precisely similar to my plan of Leominster; and nothing is more probable than that some imitation of the parent Abbey would be made,—indeed, the unique name of the forecourt, the FORBURY, shows this. There are not remains enough at Reading to enable me to carry the comparison farther. In the plan in Man's *History* the blocks have a small opening in them. I have since specially visited Reading, and find these masses of masonry are still several feet in height. The several dimensions may have been :

	READING	LEOMINSTER
Nave (probably) . . .	215 ft. long	120 ft. long
Choir . . .	98 "	90 "
Eastern chapel . . .	102 "	57 "

I think Sir Henry Englefield (*Archæologia*, vi, p. 65) is in error in respect of the length of the choir. I make it 120 ft., if his plan is correct, exclusive of the tower.

and I offer it as the only one which relieves the mind from doubt.

The points on which I rely for proving that it was a choir are these : firstly, the three (or two, if the third is not conceded) blocks of masonry are not improper in a choir, but would be altogether inadmissible in a nave ; secondly, that the step (*which the bases of the pillars follow*) at B could not, by any possibility, be allowed in a nave, close to the west end, while in a choir it would be perfectly proper ; thirdly, the inconceivably small east end (only 57 feet long) could never have been the choir and transept, yet as a presbytery in position and size, rebuilt or not, it would be quite consistent ; fourthly, had it been intended for the nave with its west end, the whole would have been quite uniform on each stage, whereas the west end is at least thirty years later ; and if we take it as a choir, excluding the tower, we have every story of its own era ; the intended central tower being abandoned, and its site adapted to a west end ; fifthly, had it been the nave, the Norman north door into the cloister would have remained till now, whereas there is nothing but a late insertion clumsily contrived, and another door placed farther west ; and sixthly, the rood-stair would have remained ; while as it is, the doorway appears only in the continuation of the work, showing it to be an after-thought.

And the cause of this change is not far to seek. It reminds us of Finchale Priory (*ante*, vol. xxiii, p. 73), where a foundation on a scale too great for the means had to be reduced by removing the aisles, and the materials were used in completing the nave by filling in the arcades.

In both cases the hopes entertained by the monks at the time of the foundation were not fulfilled : their pinions would not bear them the lofty flights aspired to on their first taking wing. In every case of a religious foundation, the expectations of the fraternity that they would acquire ample means for their works, were in most instances realised ; and Leominster would certainly have been able to have carried out its intentions, had it not been for the rapacity of the parent institution. It is true that there were at least one hundred monks at Reading (there should have been two hundred), and there were but ten at Leominster ; but that shows how the abstraction of the income affected the prosperity of the monastery.

We thus find that, there being no sufficient influx of gifts and wealth, the grand intentions were frustrated. The ancient presbytery remained, the choir was ready for the triforium; but no means were at hand to build the nave and transepts, nor a parish church. I can imagine that the resolution was then reluctantly arrived at to complete the choir as it then stood, and let it answer for the parish church, while the monks retained the ancient church.¹ The west end was then enclosed; and that this was an after-thought is clear, because the whole of it is a third of a century later than the side-walls, and of transitional date, with pointed arches. Mr. Freeman, alike with all others, is sorely puzzled, and goes so far as to suggest that one of the arches has been crippled by pressure, and so become pointed, while he at the same time observes the great west door to be also obtusely pointed. I am compelled to refer to Mr. Freeman's work, not in any hostile spirit of criticism, but because he, and he only, has written voluminously on the details in every part of the church.

From the first the revenues were small, probably less than £200, of which Reading absorbed two-thirds. In 1290 the income only amounted to £100 after paying the Reading share.² In 1341 to 117 marks 4s. 8d. clear,³ and at the dissolution, in 1536, to £660 : 16 : 8; of which £438 : 4 : 8 was the proportion handed over to the greedy parent, leaving £222 : 12 to the branch.⁴ These revenues, too, were not left to the free use of the monks here, for not only were severe royal perquisitions made, but the Abbot of Reading granted licenses to laymen to be maintained in Leominster Priory, in consideration of money payment to Reading. These were termed "corrodies," and Mr. Townsend recites one.⁵

In 1147, a brief period after the commencement, the Monastery had recourse to the Bishop of Hereford (Gilbert), who, on their confession of distress, invites the charitable to give aid, stating that "the Monastery of Leominster is so reduced by long and numerous troubles and misfortunes that there is scarcely enough to sustain those who may carry on divine service."⁶ Amongst these troubles were

¹ Several instances occur of sub-appropriation for parish use, even in our cathedrals, all differing in position and plan. At Hereford it was in a transept.

² Pope Nicholas' Taxation.

³ Inquis. non.

⁴ *Monasticon*, iv, p. 52.

⁵ *Hist. Leom.*, p. 41.

⁶ *Ib.*, 268, 269. See Dugdale, iv, p. 56, for transcript.

Border incursions, which frequently resulted in a plunder of its property. Gervase, Bishop of St. David's, directs the excommunication of those who take away its goods. There is evidence of these attacks as late as 1266; and it would seem that the effect was to cause internal misrule, and the failure to fill up the numbers;—the discontinuance of the services, as well as the distribution of alms.¹

Yet even about this date the means were sufficient to build the first great addition to the south. This was consecrated in 1239;² but it is more than probable this was paid for by the town as the parish church, and not by the Monastery. Whether this was so or not, in 1276 Edward I sequestered Reading and Leominster to prevent their ruin, and committed them to lay hands to defray their debts. "Since this house is indebted to creditors, to pay which it is quite unable without alienating goods unless expenses be cut down, we have taken into our own hands the house of Leominster, to pay off the debts of the said house," etc.³

The revenues were again sequestered, ten years later, by the same monarch, and by that means the principal creditors were satisfied. But still both Reading and Leominster became in debt: in 1305 Reading owing £1,227;⁴ and in the 8th of Edward II, ten years later, it was a third time sequestered.

The course of the construction appears to me to have been thus. The choir was commenced and completed to the height of the first stage and arcade, with its three projecting piers on each side, intended as the bases for simple vaulting, or to carry the sub-arches of the waggon-headed roof: then, very soon, altering the design, but slowly executing it, the middle piers were removed, and the half-columns completed, the central arches turned, and the blank triforium added. This latter was a difficulty in consequence of the irregularity in the arcading beneath it.⁵ Whether a triforium of five, six, seven, eight, nine, or more arches, it would

¹ *Hist. Leom.*, p. 269.

² *Monasticon*, iv, p. 517.

³ *Prynne's Papal Usurpations*, iii, p. 177.

⁴ *Monasticon*, iv, p. 32.

⁵ *Hist. Leom.*, p. 288: "It is to be observed that the nave-arcade is of six irregular arches; and that the triforium-arcade over it is later, and has eight arches over five of the lower arches, and a ninth at the east end, with a portion of a rood-doorway; while the clerestory, of still later date, has six bays again, though not exactly corresponding with the main arcade."

equally fail to correspond with the previous work. In the first design the arrangement would have been simple and regular : each pier would have been plain, or with one opening, and each arch would have had a double triforium-arcade over it, with seven clerestory lights. (See sketch of supposed intention, fig. 2 on Plate.) When this part was completed, the west end, curtailing the intended length, was erected soon after Stephen's time, the pointed, transitional arches clearly belonging to the period of Henry II.

The monastic buildings were evidently on a small scale, and a make-shift, with the cloister roofed with wood. What they might have been intended to be is indicated by the dotted part of the plan. It may be necessary to state, in order to prevent unnecessary criticism on this head, that the Forbury was entirely remodelled a century and a half since, and the approaches changed ; so that no inferences adverse to my view can be drawn from the present configuration of the site. The general plan is taken from the modern tithe-map in the church.

The addition of the two great churches on the south of the Norman one (both paid for, as I believe, by the town) does not seem to have been followed by the surrender of the first portion to the monks ; for Leland's description unquestionably defines the Norman part as the parish church, to the exclusion of the newest parts ; and although no evidence seems to be forthcoming of the time of the abandonment of the services there, yet it is likely to have been soon after the Reformation, for the middle part was in use at the time of the fire in 1699.

ON THE SUCCESSION OF THE ABBOTS OF MALMESBURY.

ADDENDA.

BY W. DE G. BIRCH, ESQ.

Wulfsinus.—Bishop Kennet, in one of his valuable MSS. containing various collections relating to the ecclesiastical history of England, gives several quotations from Wharton's *Collectanea* respecting Malmesbury. The MS. is among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum, No. 935, fol. 176. According to him Wulfsinus died in 1040.

Godefridus.—The same authority finds this abbot occurring under the year 1090 in the Register of Wells. A charter of William II, printed in the *Dissertatio Epistolaris* of Hickes (p. 47), dated in 1090, contains this abbot's name among the subscriptions. Kennet places his death in 1105.

Johannes.—Kennet finds him occurring in 1140, according to the continuation of Florence of Worcester's *Chronicle*.

Petrus.—Kennet finds him also in 1140, and states that, according to the same *Chronicle*, he had been Abbot of the Monastery of St. Urban the Pope, "in diocesi Catalunensi."

Gregorius occurs in 1162, according to Radulfus de Diceto. He made his profession to Archbishop Theobald. Died in February according to MS. Cotton, Nero, D. vii. (Kennet.)

Robertus.—Brompton's *Chronicon*, in Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*, p. 1105. (Ibid.)

Osbertus occurs in the *Annals of Winchelcombe*. Died on the 16th of the kalends of April, 1181. (Ibid.)

Walterus Loryng.—Died in 1208. (Ibid., in error.)

Willelmus de Colerne.—Kennet calls him *Coler*.

Willelmus (III) occurs in the Appendix to Reyner's *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, p. 143. (Ibid.)

Johannes Andover.—He was formerly Prior of Pilton in Devonshire, a cell to Malmesbury Abbey. Elected after January 1445-6, and made Abbot of Malmesbury in the next year. (Dugdale.)

Thomas Olveston occurs as late as 1510. (Kennet.)

Richard Frampton.—He is called R. Came by Kennet,

who places his appointment in 1510, and finds him occurring in 1515 and 1517, according to the *Placita Curie Regis*. He subscribed to the parliamentary letter to the Pope, 13 July, 1530. (Ibid.)

Robertus Frampton.—The letter following is given in full from the original in a very curious collection among the Cottonian MSS. (Cleopatra, E. IV, f. 27), containing much information of the method by which the dissolution of religious houses was carried out by Thomas Lord Cromwell and the “visitors” he appointed. It bears reference to the election of Abbot Robert :

“*Original Letter of Rouland Lee to Mr. Thomas Cromwell*.
(Cleopatra, E. IV, f. 27^r–28^v.)

“JH’s.

“After moste hartly Recommendacons it shalbe to aduertisse you that I haue Resauyde you^r letters Datyd the xv day of thys monthe whereby I doo well persauce the kynges plesure is I shuld bryng the eleccion at malmysbury to compromisse the treugh is that apou teuysday In the morning I cam thether and by suche police and wytt as god hathe lentt me I dyd persuaide the conent to the same trustyng the nexte day to haue fownde thame agreabe, but fynally I hade my answeere of those that were of the cosyneres party and of hym selffe that hee and they wholde not consent to doo soo But for soo myche as thay hade the kynges licens grantyd to thame for thayre fre eleccion thay wholde stonde to the same wherefor thay desyreid Instantly that the kynges licens myght be browght In to the chapter howse and Rede and thane thay wholde goe to thayre eleccion *per modum scrutinij* and all wedynsday and thys day partly I haue doyne my best but it wynnot helpe (the cosyner is of suche a number that thay may be more thane *In duplo* aboue the other you^r frende) thay seyng and consyderyng that and that frendshipe that thay haue aboue as 3ee doo knowe wholde not apply but if thay myght a gotten the *congy delyre* In to thayre handes wholde apou trust of helpe aboue a mayde thayre eleccion at thayre owne mynde and soo a frustratyde and deludyd you^r exspectacon where apou I haue the same consyderyd and thayre In consultancy with the chambereres frendes and haue contyneid the same eleccion *usque et In xviij Julij et ad quamlibet diem citra* to suche tyme I may haue ferther of you^r mynde and commandment from the kynges hyghnesse, my lorde chanceler is the grett doyr for the cosyner and for asmiche as it is my dewte to helpe to satesfy your purpose and to the same apply my selffe wiche shall not fayle of my parte during my lyffe I haue sende to you secretly a boke sende to me frome the abbot of glocestre latly visitore of thys howsse by the sayd boke and processe originall 3ee shall well understand the unthrefty and noughty facon of the cosyner aswell of hys apposticy whereby hee is *Infamis et Infamibus non dantur dignitates* as of hys dissolute lyffe wiche thynges oppenyd to my lorde chanceler and other hys frendes by your good police and wysdome shall soo stoppe thayre mothes and aud (*sic*) mynde that for shame only alle other

maters sett a part they shall noo more mell and soo thys mater shall take hys effecte to your moste hartily desyre with honeste, your man beyng a man with oute spote soe fer as I can gett knowlege consyder- yng zee haue thus ferr travelyd In thys cause and haue a good grownde the other nowght it shallnot stonde with your worshipe to lett it passe, Whane zee shall rede the processe and the counterpartes of the visitacon marke the hande sett by me and that is the cosyner and hys felew, if it plesse you to caule my cosyng doctor to you hee wyll not all the mater oute of the counterpartes for you Informacon I pray you sende me the kynges letteres to the prior and the covent wyllng them In the kynges behalfe to gyffe credens to me I wyll thys day towards burton apon trente to suche tyme I here by thys berer from you agayne thayre to execute your purpoce god send me good speede I beseche you to wrytte me your mynde at large in the premisses and sumwhat to burton that they may understond the kynges plesure my lorde chanceler wrotte me that I schuld wrytte you letteres of commendac'es towards the cosyner but I can not nor may not dissemble with you zeytt s^r if it shall plesse you zee may Rather say that your knowlege cam of a nother thane of me or not namyng me nor makyng my sayd lorde privay to my letter I pray you zeytt thys is trength as it aperes although I doo name the chamber to you zeytt here is non that shall understonde I mene hym more thane a nother I promitt you this I beseche Ih' (Jesus) longe to send you as I whold my selffe to your harttes comfurthe In hast frome Malmesbery this thursyday viz. the sixth day of June.

“Yours most bownden

“ROULAND LEE.

“And after my letter thus farr wrytten and that I whas upon my horsse a myle from the towne cam the prior after and efsonys requiryd me to have the *congy delyre* s^r I fere me thaye have sum mysshewos counsell and belyke for as miche as they knowe the lycens is grantyd they wyll attempte with oute the haveyng of the same wiche were a grett contempte this I wrytt alle zeytt I suppose they wyll tary my lorde chancelers answer.

In my account of the Malmesbury Chartulary in the Record Office I have stated that it was originally at the *Tower*. I should have said the *Stone Tower at Westminster*. A paper transcript of the early charters, and extracts from several of the later ones, in the Malmesbury chartularies, will be found in MS. Cotton, Vitellius, F. iv, fols. 58-72.

ON AN
ANCIENT BRITISH CEMETERY ON SUNBURY
COMMON AT ASHFORD, MIDDLESEX.

BY EDWARD ROBERTS, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

IT is within the memory of living man that the fields wherein now the ploughman tills a grudging soil, only with much labour and artificial aids yielding the crops which are thus compelled from the less encouraging parts of nature's bosom, were a widely extended waste of common land;—some fifty years since the first ploughshare ripped its surface. Who can say how long previously it had lain in that state? The spade shows even now, when centuries upon centuries of deposits overlie the ferruginous and flinty gravel, the crude and close nature of the thin crust of dark marl, barely of a foot in thickness, precluding the possibility of a supposition that the common lacustrine nature of the valley of the Thames spread so far as this spot; though the whole country is flat, yet the Thames itself is a mile and a half distant. The clear, even colour of this marl, varying slightly in thickness from about ten inches to eighteen, is at its lower bed in some places cleanly placed on the gravel, and in others partly mixed with it. The gravel is not so sandy as in many other parts of the Thames; but is more of a flinty kind of loose gravel, such as prevails through Shepperton, Chertsey, and other parts on the Middlesex shore.

Soon after the plough had begun its work, pieces of a dark and thick pottery were turned up to the surface; but ploughmen not being inquisitive or archaeological, until Mr. Edward Leonard, the present owner, paid attention to the subject, these fragments were unheeded. Within the present year Mr. Leonard, having occasion to obtain sand and gravel, caused them to be taken from this field (shown on the enlarged Ordnance Map, now deposited in our library), and he then brought to light sixteen urns containing burnt ashes. The subject having been mentioned to our new associate, T. Ashby, Esq., of Staines, who is desirous of preserving

the local antiquities as much as the rights of the present dwellers there,—a subject in which he has been eminently successful,—he at once, in the October of the current year, undertook the expense of further explorations, and at the same time requested this Association to superintend them, and to accept any objects which might be discovered as additions to our museum. The very friable nature of the pottery made it exceedingly difficult to preserve any one vase; and as will be seen from those and the numerous other specimens since obtained by Mr. Leonard, none has yet been found perfect. Two days were spent on these examinations by three officers of the Association, and it is my privilege to record the result.

The site of this cemetery is the field west of the by-road from Feltham Hill to the windmill, and north of the high road from Staines to Hampton. The urn Mr. Leonard exhumed was the only one out of the sixteen uncovered which could be taken out, and that has since fallen to pieces.

Having set carefully to work, and peeled off the loamy surface to the depth of eight or nine inches, we came upon many similar urns. The depth down to the gravel varied from about ten inches to eighteen inches, and in every case we found the vases placed upon the gravel. Further examination showed some unexpected appearances.

There were as many as five or six different kinds of urns, and two kinds of paste. The portions nearest the surface had in every instance (so far as we excavated) been ploughed off. A space of about fifty feet from east to west, by twenty feet from north to south, was opened; and some small trenches were extended beyond that space, but without result. In all, eight urns were exhumed, and the sites of about twenty more ascertained.

The peculiarities observed were,—1, the varying sizes of the urns, from six inches diameter to eleven inches and a half; 2, the inability to ascertain the heights; and until we were on the point of departure we failed to discover any bottom to the urns,—one bottom separated from its rim was at last found; 3, the saturation of the soil beneath the urns with a black liquid-like stain; and 4, the vermiculated nature of the earth beneath every vase.

Further examination and research proved that in every case the cremation had taken place on the earth itself, within a hole dug in the loam down to the sandy gravel; and pro-

bably the urns were of unburnt clay, and *inverted* over the embers and bones. This would produce the almost honey-combed subsoil and the black soakage. The perfect rims of the urns turned down incontestably proved the inversion, and the partial burning of the pottery may have been produced by the heat contained in the earth forming a sort of kiln. The embers and small pieces of bone were covered by the loam which had washed in after the bottoms had been ploughed off. A few calcined flints were found, but neither tools, coins, nor ornaments of any kind.

In two cases the urns were placed in a curved group; in one instance a large one occupied the southernmost place. This was ten inches and a half in diameter. The next seemed to be an upright pipe, seven inches and a half in diameter. The next a globose urn, nine inches and a half in diameter, of more elegant proportions, and finer and closer paste. And the last of the curve, another upright one, six inches and a half in diameter. And it would be easy to imagine that the parents were the two larger urns, the mother being indicated by the more refined form, and the remainder the children.

In all the other cases the urns were in straight rows, east and west, and almost all of the larger sort.

The second and subsequent day's excavations gave some different results. One or two vases were found to be not inverted, and were large, and of the shape of rough pails; but the ornamentation of simple indentations made by the finger on an annulet, were the same.

Two large basin-shaped hollows were found in which cremation had taken place, and these may have been used for burning those bodies with which the upright vases were afterwards filled.

Several flint-chips were found, but only one of them from the inside of an urn, and that probably not chipped by hand. The summary of what seems clear is this:

1. The cremation sometimes took place in a pit, and the embers were then placed in an upright urn.
2. At other times the cremation took place in a small hole, and the urn was inverted over the embers while hot.
3. In the latter case the bottoms of the urns have been ploughed off, and the loam has washed in.
4. The burials were chiefly in lines, lying east and west, with occasional lunette-shaped arrange-

ments of urns, accurately deposited in a curve, the convex side towards the east. 5. There was no tumulus nor any appearance of raised surface. 6. There are no metal implements or ornaments of any kind. 7. There are a few doubtful flint flakes. 8. There are a few bones of animals. 9. The human bones are so much calcined and broken as to deprive us of the opportunity of coming to any decision upon the race or state of civilisation. 10. The interments do not seem to have been due to a battle, but to civil life. 11. The whole of the urns, though varying in shape, appear to be of about the same era; and, with one or two exceptions, are of the same gritty paste, and either wholly unburned, or very slightly so, the extent of burning being that which the placing amidst hot embers would cause. 12. Some of the urns have nipple-like projections on four sides. Some have perforations in a single row, at nearly regular distances, and others seem capriciously and irregularly placed. Our associate, Mr. Phené, has said, as regards this, that these holes were probably for the purpose of suspending the vessel containing the heart within a larger urn. In this case, however, the urns were not within one another; and the question of the utility of these perforations remains undecided, so far as the Ashford Cemetery is concerned.

The most interesting question of the subject is the one which it is least within our power to answer, namely, who were these people? Were they the *Trinobantes* or what other tribe? That they were pre-Roman (meaning by that the being out of the influence of Roman art and usages) is tolerably clear from the absence of metal; but beyond that, except judging from the crude and badly made pottery (not turned on the wheel), it is impossible to say any more than that they belong to a period as difficult for us to define as the "six days" of Biblical history.

THE HEREFORD MUNICIPAL RECORDS AND THE CUSTOMS OF HEREFORD.

REPORT OF AN EXAMINATION MADE BY W. H. BLACK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON.
PALEOGRAPHER, AND G. M. HILLS, ESQ., HON. TREASURER.

THE charters of the city of Hereford, and patents in the possession of the Corporation, are the following, as found and identified at this examination. A paper in one of the two boxes in which they are contained, purports to be a "List of the Charters belonging to the Corporation of Hereford, 9th August, 1808." The descriptions, except the year of the Christian era now added, are taken from that list as far as it goes. Several charters found in the boxes are not named in that list. These are distinguished by an asterisk.

No. 1, a° 1 Ric. I (1189). Grant of the city in fee-farm, at £40 per annum.

No. 2, 11 Henry III (1226). Grant of a three day fair, to begin on St. Dennis' Day.

No. 3, 40 Henry III (1255-6). Grant of the return of all writs of summons out of the Exchequer, and of all other writs within the city.

No. 4, 40 Henry III. Grant that the citizens or their heirs shall not be arrested for debt in cases where they are not bail or principal debtors.

No. 5, eodem. Duplicate of the last.

No. 6, 49 Henry III (1264-5). Grant of land in Bishopgate or By-street to two of the citizens.

No. 7, 51 Henry III (1267, 23rd October; dated at Monmouth). Release from Prince Edward of all trespasses, etc., committed by the citizens during the rebellion.

No. 8, 55 Henry III (1270-1). Duplicate of No. 6, save as to date.

No. 9, 26 Edward I (1297-8). Grant of murage for five years.

No. 10A, 8 Edward II (1314-15). Inspeximus of Richard I, John, and Henry III.

No. 10B, eodem. Inspeximus of No. 4, 40 Henry III.

No. 11A, 1 Edward III (1326-7). Inspeximus of charters of Ric. I, John, Henry III, and Edward II.

No. 11B, eodem. Duplicate of the last.

No. 12, 1 Edward III. Inspeximus of charters No. 10, 8 Edward II, and of No. 4, 40 Henry III.

No. 13, 5 Edward III (1330-31). Inspeximus similar to No. 11A and 11B.

No. 14, 7 Edward III (1332-3). Pardon of felony to one John Pytman of Homelacy.

No. 15, 6 Richard II (1382-3). Grant of timber and stone for repairs of Weybridge.

No. 16, 7 Richard II (1383-4). Charter changing the name of *bailiff* to that of *mayor*.

No. 17, 6 Richard II (1382-3). Grant of pontage for ten years.

* 10 Richard II (1386). Exemplification of an Act of Parliament, dated at Westminster the 28th of November, granting a subsidy to the King.

No. 18, 16 Richard II (1392-3). Charter of feoffment from Henry de Cachepoll to Thomas Chippenham and others of a tenement called *Bothekalle*.

No. 19, eodem. License for the mayor and citizens to purchase of Thomas Chippenham and others the tenement called the *Boothekalle*, for the purpose of erecting a house wherein to hold pleas, etc.

No. 20, 17 Richard II (1393-4). Release from Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, to the citizens of Hereford, of all trespasses, etc., by them committed against him.

No. 21, 23 Richard II (1399). Grant of chattels, of outlawry, felons and fu[gi]tives, deodands, and chattels, called *Maynovre*, and cognizance of pleas of land, and of all actions real and personal, and constituting the mayor for the time being justice of the peace. Labourers and artificers.

No. 22, 1 Henry IV (1399-1400). Inspeximus of charters of Ric. I, John, Hen. III, Edw. III, and Ric. II. *N.B.—This charter has been enrolled and allowed in all the courts at Westminster.*

No. 23, 36 Henry VI (1457-58). Charter exempting the citizens from being chosen collectors of customs, subsidies, etc.

No. 24, 3 Edward IV (1462-3). Inspeximus of all the former charters.

No. 25, 23 Henry VIII (1531-2). Proclamation directed to the sheriff of Hereford prohibiting the exportation of coin.

*No. 26, 18 Henry VIII.

No. 27, 7 Edward VI (1552-3). Exemplification of pleadings and judgment in *quo warranto*, in the King's Bench, against the Corporation, as to the several liberties granted in the above charters, in which the same charters were pleaded, and the Attorney General confessed the plea; and judgment for the city to enjoy all their liberties and franchises, saving only the King's right.



No. 28, 36 Elizabeth (1593-4). Writ for levying of a subsidy.

No. 29, 39 Eliz., No. 30, a'o 17 Jac. 1. Charters of incorporation under the present (1808) form of governance. *Memdm.*—In these is the exception as to all lawful rights, etc., of the Bishop.

*No. 30, 11 Charles I. A charter.

No. 31, 9 Will. 3. Inspeximus of charter of James I.

With respect to the first charter on the list, dated 1 Ric. I, it appears that the grant was made "to the citizens of Hereford in Wales," in order that they should give aid towards the walling of the town; and so doing, that they should enjoy their then ancient customs. It is dated at Westminster, the 9th of October, 1189. Nos. 4 and 5 in the list exempt the citizens of Hereford from a custom then prevalent,—that, for instance, without this exemption, a citizen of Oswestry who had a debtor at Hereford, might seize and detain any citizen of Hereford; and as the charter of this exemption must frequently be shown elsewhere, sometimes as many as twenty copies would be made and kept for use. Here we have two copies.

A tin box contains ancient court-rolls of the following dates :—

5th Edward I.

8th, 10th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th, Edward II.

3rd, 8th, 25th, 32nd, 33rd, and 48th, Edward III.

1st and 2nd Richard II.

One of the reign of Henry IV, undated.

2nd and 3rd Henry V.

Also in the same box are the bailiff's expense-rolls of the following dates :

48th Henry I.

1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 13th, 15th, 19th, 20th, 34th, and 35th, Edward I.

1st, 5th, 13th, and 15th, Edward II.

26th and 27th Edward III.

24th Henry VII.

26th Henry VIII.

15th Charles II.

In company with these was found an interesting book, a folio MS., on paper, containing a transcript or translation of the customs of Hereford.

An authentic statement of the customs of Hereford is of

the utmost importance in the history of Wales and the marches, because these customs and privileges were the standard authority for the customs and privileges of many towns in Wales and on the border. Our associate, Mr. Wilding of Montgomery, has brought to our notice that this is the case with the town of Montgomery. "Nearly all our charters," he says, "have reference to those of Hereford, the same privileges being granted to the burgesses of Montgomery as to the citizens of Hereford." In the MS. under consideration this is made to appear with respect to other towns also. The MS. is in English, in a handwriting of the time of Charles II, and has been largely used by the late Town Clerk of Hereford, Richard Johnson, Esq., in his work entitled *Ancient Customs of the City of Hereford* (4to, London, 1868).

On inquiring into the origin of this MS., the Treasurer of the Association, Mr. Gordon M. Hills, obtained possession, from a bookseller in the city, of another, a 4to MS., which though containing precisely the same matter in substance, varies in expression almost throughout. This MS. of the customs of Hereford appears to be of about the same age as the MS. belonging to the Mayor and Corporation. The two MSS. appear to be different translations from an original in another language, for this is the most probable reason of the differences in their wording. The 4to MS. had formerly belonged to the library of John Phillipps, Esq., of Eaton, and subsequently to that of the Rev. Mr. Bird of Yarkhill, lately deceased. On the decease of Mr. Bird it was purchased by the bookseller before mentioned.

Our palæographer, Mr. W. H. Black, believes that he has discovered the common origin of the two MSS. The Rev. Dr. Vaughan, the head of the Benedictine Monastery of Belmont, near Hereford (a Monastery founded within the last twenty years by Francis Wegg Prosser, Esq.) opened to the inspection of Mr. Black the valuable library there, bequeathed to the Monastery by the late Biddulph Phillipps, Esq. In this library Mr. Black found a MS. copy in Latin, of the time of Queen Elizabeth, of the customs of Hereford. It is the opinion of Mr. Black that the two English MSS. are distinct translations of that Latin text.

As neither the late Mr. Johnson nor the Rev. J. Duncomb have attempted a complete publication of *The Customs of*

Hereford, it is deemed advisable to print here, in its entirety, the MS. obtained by our Treasurer. A few lines of preface to its contents may be useful.

The MS., in its title, professes to set forth the date at which these customs of Hereford were placed upon record, and fixes the date at 1154. In the first few lines of the text it professes to record customs in use "in the raigne of King Henrie the sonne of King Henrie the first." The year A.D. 1154 is correctly the first of King Henry II; who, however, was not the son, but the grandson of Henry I. We must descend to much later times, viz. to Henry V, the son of Henry IV, to arrive at a Henry the son of a Henry, and the date would then be 1413. The date 1154, given in the title, evidently is not, nor probably is any part of the title, coeval with the original record. It must be regarded as the addition of a subsequent transcriber, by way of heading, to his transcript, and as representing his own belief as to date, deduced from the internal evidence of the record from which he transcribed. We find from the text that John Gaunter was bailiff when the record was written; and in 1383 the title of bailiff ceased. These facts, therefore, seem to imply the date of the original customs, as Gaunter is several times mentioned as a living magistrate in the body of the work. Whatever the origin of the record, a colophon at the end informs us that the customs were newly written and renewed in 1486, John Chippenham being then mayor; and this work of 1486 is evidently the one before us, in the shape of a translation; and Henry II was probably designated as the son of Henry by the ignorance of the transcriber. The customs of Hereford at the time placed upon record were of much older date, even then of a duration from "time immemorial." They were held by the city of Hereford, as the record repeatedly expresses, directly from the King, and could not be imparted to any place which had an intermediate lord. The customs and privileges of the citizens of Hereford were an unwritten law, or only partially extant in writing, and in part ever remained unwritten; for the record itself, the first written law on many subjects, enters only into certain particulars which were demanded by inquiries addressed to the bailiff of Hereford. The King granted to various towns the same privileges and customs which were enjoyed by his burgesses at Hereford, and there-

upon the newly enfranchised corporations applied to the burgesses of Hereford to have their privileges and customs certified to them.

Thus the first portion of the record relates to the election and functions of the corporate officers, in reply to demands on that subject addressed by the "inhabitants of the village of Drusselawe." The chief bailiff, the steward, the town clerk, their qualifications, oaths, duties, and powers, are fully described, and the jurisdictions and sessions of the courts in which they acted are explained; all the facts having been duly ascertained by a jury of twelve burgesses of Hereford, composed of six men of the King's fee, three of the Bishop's fee, two of the Dean and Chapter's fee, and one of the Hospital's fee,¹ they were certified to the inquirers.

The bailiff, as chief officer, was stringently protected in his dignity and authority; yet in case of crime or malversation could be deposed. But to save the dignity of his office, this must be done "secretly," before twelve persons only. The office was yearly. The King's gaol was in his keeping; but there were subordinate bailiffs in the other fees, each keeping a gaol. The King's bailiff was charged with the defence of the city in time of siege, and the maintenance of its walls. He could appoint a deputy on certain occasions. The steward was to be a man of learning, and to assist the bailiff in his courts, and give judgment; and the town clerk to keep the writings of the courts. Incidentally a coroner and his inquests are mentioned. The courts restrained vagabonds and night-walkers. A public bell was provided, to be rung in case of fire, sedition, or hostile array. Trade was limited to free citizens and the "*Gilda Mercatoria*"; and the burgesses of the ecclesiastical fees were not entitled by birth, but only by composition, to these privileges; but nevertheless they owed obedience to the chief or King's bailiff. All citizens were armed at their own cost; and there are long regulations as to debtors.

The village of Drusselawe, which had demanded this information, has never been identified.

In the next instance a demand comes from the "village" of Kermardine, believed to be Caermarthen. It is addressed to the same chief bailiff, John Gaunter; and the village pays one hundred shillings for the information given. The Here-

¹ Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.

ford customs are stated as to the assignment and tenure of tenements, their freedom from heriots, the processes of ejection and recovery, the protection of the bailiff when he is compelled to use force, and as to a custom now in disuse, but which had prevailed before William the Conqueror, that one who struck the chief bailiff should lose his hand; and how an ecclesiastic of high rank, having become amenable to this punishment, it was remitted at the request of King William himself, and so continued in abeyance. Customs as to dangerous structures and ruinous tenements follow. Lastly is stated the remedy upon the tenements which citizens have for any damage they may sustain "in foreign parts, as in parts of Wales," by reason of being held for debts of any citizens of Hereford; and that formerly a remedy by imprisonment had existed, but which "was freed in the time of Hugh Sirard, burgesse of Dynbegh, in the time of King Henry the first." From this remark it would appear that the men of Hereford sought out for their guidance the customs of Denbigh, and perhaps of other places, when needful, to refresh or supplement their own regulations.

Robert Dureward, chief bailiff, sent certain customs to the men of "the village of Hereford," and charged them one hundred shillings for it; but a suggestion in the margin is that Haverfordwest is here intended, and the subsequent matter shows that the customs sent were those of the city of Hereford. These customs relate to merchants, both citizens and foreigners.

Next the men of Cardiff send to the city of Hereford, "seeing it is the principal citie of all the markett villages, from the sea unto the limittes of Syvarne." At Hereford it is certified that they are not bound to furnish their customs to any village that has a "mediate lord"; and then certain customs as to merchants are stated, as to suing for debt, as to transgressions against those out of their franchise, and as to such an offender going on to transgress within the franchise. And all this was certified to the same John Gaunter, the bailiff of Hereford.

He furthermore required, apparently for his own use, a record of the places at Hereford, and times for the holding of the courts, which is given with some curious topographical detail of the city, and of privileges allowed to certain

lords who had property within the jurisdiction, but did not reside, and to their tenants. Then follows some matter as to the rights of the men of the Hospital's fee, and as to the destruction by the bailiff of a tenement whose owner does not answer to the jurisdiction of the courts, and as to the authority of the bailiffs of the ecclesiastical fees in such a case.

Next, in the time still of John Gaunter, we have a disorder between the tenants of the King's fee, and of the fee of the Dean and Chapter, respecting certain vagabonds committing mischief under colour of ecclesiastical liberty, but who were now arranged to be dealt with by any citizens or watchmen of the city, and so brought before the bailiff of his fee, and afterwards punished in the King's gaol.

Regulations as to thieves follow; then a house of residence is appointed for the King's bailiff, free of rent; and incidentally some particulars occur of the King's fee-farm rent.

Regulations follow, made in the time of Robert Dureward, chief bailiff, as to the bakers and their punishment in the pillory; as to brewers, who, it seems, were always women, and the punishment of the "gomstoole" inflicted on them; and as to scolding women, by whom, "by wrangling, fighting, defameing, troubleing by night those which are att rest, and often times moveing schismes, &c.," many evils arise.

Lastly are stated further customs in time of siege and war, and the method of a solemn thanksgiving when peace is proclaimed; concluding with the date when the whole customs were transcribed afresh, under John Chippenham, mayor, in A.D. 1486.

"The Rules, Orders, and auncient Customes, before the Conquest and since vsed in the Cittie of Hereford and Liberties thereof, in the time of John Gaunter, Baylieff, in the time of King Henrie the Second, in the yeare of our Lord God 1154.¹

"At the court of our Sovereign Lord the King, holden at Hereford upon the Tuesday next after the Feast of the Epiphany of our Lord, in the year of the reigne of King Henry, the son of King Henry I, the inhabitants of the village of Drusselawe, in the Marches of Wales, brought a certain brief or warrant from our Lord the King, directed to

¹ The title only is given in its original spelling, but it has been deemed unnecessary to retain the irregularities of spelling which occur in the text of the MS., it being of so late a period. It is, therefore, here printed in modern orthography.

His Majesty's bailiff of Hereford, wherein was contained that our Lord the King by his charter had granted to the inhabitants of the village of Drusselawe aforesaid to hold the said village, to fee-farm to them and their heirs by the same laws and customs as the citizens of the city of Hereford do; and that the bailiff should search out the laws and customs formerly granted to the inhabitants, and necessary for the present; so that whensoever, and as often as the aforesaid laws and customs should be inquired for, that then, without any delay, they might be delivered, if under the common seal of the city they were extant, in any case exhereditary; if otherwise, not. To look unto which matter the bailiff's appointed six of the King's fee, three of the Bishop's fee, two of the Dean and Chapter's fee, and one of the Hospital's fee, that were, under peril, on the morrow to certify before them concerning their laws and customs held so short a time; and so from day to day until they had at full certified concerning their laws and customs aforesaid necessary for the present; who on the morrow came, and many others of the city with them; which in this case refused to take the oaths, affirming that they had formerly taken an oath, after the manner of fidelity, when first they entered into the liberty of the city; after the manner of which oath, by their custom they ought at the present to speak according to their knowledge; and that by their law or custom they were not bound to swear contrary to their will, unless it were in a matter touching the crown and dignity of our Lord the King, or against the will of their fellow citizens in a case exhereditary, saying that the laws and customs before granted to be necessary for the present, as heretofore they heard of their ancestors, and were approved and used in their days.

"Election of Bailiff.—First of all we use at the Feast of St. Michael, which is at this present, to choose unto us a bailiff of our fellow citizens, by the whole consent of the city, who is powerful to labour and discreet to judge, holding some tenements or hereditaments in the fee of our Lord the King; and he to be our head next under the King, whom we ought, in all things touching our King, or the state of our city, to obey chiefly in three things,—first, when we are sent for, by day or by night, to consult of those things which appertain to the King or the state of the city; secondly, to answer if we offend in any point contrary to our oath, or our fellow citizens; thirdly, to perform the affairs of the city at our own charges, if so be they may be finished either sooner or better than by any other of our citizens. And whosoever of our fellow citizens shall offend the said bailiff, of what state or condition soever he shall be, and shall abide in the city or suburbs, the matter shall proceed against him as against a rebel and perjured person, when he shall be convicted of these things before twelve of his fellow citizens assembled together for that intent, whensoever it shall

be necessary ; and if so be that by favour or protection of any, he shall refuse to amend, let him be cast out of the city, and let his tenements and chattels be seized upon as a rebel to the King and commonalty, and a disturber of the peace of the city, unless he shall be reformed by imprisonment, after the same manner we use to do to those protectors, because by our custom we said that he doth represent the body of our King ; and the bailiff himself (his year being finished) shall make unto us a just account of all his receipts, in our whole company, by the tolling of our common bell calling them together for that intent. And there he ought to make answer to all complaints made unto him against any of our citizens ; and if he shall refuse so to do, the matter shall proceed against him in the form of perjury, as is here before decreed, and against his protectors or upholders ; and if he doth not make satisfaction for his receipts upon accounts, or find bail, his tenements, goods, and chattels, shall be seized on to the value of the arrearages, and he shall make satisfaction as the commonalty shall think fitting. And this shall be the oath of the bailiff when he is chosen. He shall not have respect to any one's person who hath been heretofore elected. And if he shall refuse to take his oath, it shall proceed against him as against a perjured person and a rebel to his Lord the King and fellow citizens.

“The Mayor's Oath.—First, that he shall be true to our Lord the King in all things ; secondly, that as much as in him lies, as well by day as by night, he shall faithfully defend and keep the city of Hereford, the city of our Lord the King ; thirdly, that he shall defend and maintain the laws and customs of the city during his time, being in all things and through all things ; fourthly, that he shall administer justice and judgment to every one, not having respect to any one's person ; fifthly, that he shall not hold or keep the office of his mayoralty but for one year after his election ; sixthly, if so be that he be a layman, he shall do all things belonging to his office by the counsel of his faithful citizens ; and if so be that it shall happen that he shall be dishonest, or proclaimed, or suspected, or convicted of any crime, he shall forthwith be put out of his place, yet secretly, twelve of the company being assembled together (provided his accounts be rightly made, either by him or by his heirs, at three days' warning). And as we doe use to do by our chief bailiff, so likewise shall it be done by our other bailiffs and petty bailiffs upon their accounts, excepting this, that we must obey our chief bailiff as one presenting the person of the King, and excepting that the chief bailiff ought to be changed year by year ; and the bailiff himself, upon the aforesaid accounts, shall reserve the persons imprisoned by an indenture, together with the keeping of the gaol of our Lord the King, because he ought to make answer for their escape and conviction ; wherupon let him have a care that he have

sufficient bonds or interest of his sub-bailiff or keepers that shall have the keeping of the said goal under him. And the bailiff, in case the city is besieged by the King's enemies, or the wall of the city in a great necessity is to be amended or newly repaired, ought, in the behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, and for the tuition of the city, to compel, by rigour or otherwise, all inhabitants of the city and suburbs thereof, viz. the stronger and able men, to watch by night; and to distrain at his pleasure the goods and chattels of all others whatsoever, not having respect to any one's liberty or ecclesiastical goods abiding or remaining within the said city; and in such a case the bailiff himself shall do and perform as aforesaid in the sight and view of six of his fellow citizens at the least; and he ought to receive the persons of those citizens, excepting the cutlers which dwell without the city gates, with their goods and c[h]attels, to remain within the city for a certain time, and to deliver unto them void houses wherein they may dwell honestly and save their goods and chattels, provided that they and all other men of any foreign city (if any are) shall make a contribution in general of all their goods and chattels for the tuition of the city during the time of their abode within the said city; and as soon as a peace shall happen, they shall be compelled to depart out of the said city.

"And if it shall happen the said bailiff to go into foreign parts, either upon [the] city's or his own proper affairs, then he shall put in his place and stead one of his fellow citizens, for whom he shall answer if he doeth it not by the consent of his fellow citizens.

"And if it shall happen the said King or his children to come unto the said city, twelve of the discreetest men at the least being assembled together, shall make petitions if any thing be wanting, and to do all other things which belong unto the King's state, so that our Lord the King or his children have [no] cause to be aggrieved at the said city; for above all things we must beware of disobedience towards him or his, by reason of divers dangers which happened unto our predecessors, and may also fall upon us.

"The Steward to be chosen.—And after the same manner we choose unto us a steward, one of the city if he may be had; if not, a foreigner who is known of the citizens, or for whom four or six of our fellow citizens will undertake; and before the whole commonalty he shall take his oath in manner as followeth:

"The Steward's Oath.—First, that he shall be faithful to our Lord the King and to the city; secondly, that he shall conserve, defend, and keep the laws and customs approved and used within the said city; thirdly, he shall conceal the secrets of the city, and shall forewarn the bailiff of all dangers that may happen to the city; fourthly, that he shall give right judgments, and execute justice to every man, not having respect to the person of any one; fifthly, that he shall both counsel

and assist the bailiff as often as shall be needful, and especially if the bailiff be a lay or unlettered man. And the steward himself shall be at all our courts which are to be holden, and at the general inquisition held twice a year, if the bailiff shall so require.

“Concerning our courts, we use to keep them on a Tuesday, from the fifteenth day until fifteen days ; unto the which courts all citizens of our Lord the King ought to come, and chiefly all those which hold any tenement of our Lord the King ; and especially to the two first courts holden after the feasts of Michaelmas and Easter, at which two courts the assize of bread and beer shall be ordained ; and the keepers to keep the same assize, and all other statutes principally belonging to the city ; and unto the said court and other courts ; and also all others which will complain of any trespasses committed, or any other thing touching the state of the city or themselves ; and they ought to speak the truth upon their own peril, not bringing with them any stranger. If they have need, let them have one of their fellow citizens, being a discreet man, to counsel them and to speak for them. And if any stranger doth come with any one of our citizens, and doth speak any thing against the laws or our customs, the bailiff or the steward shall command him to hold his peace, and to speak no more of those matters ; and if he will not, let him be enjoined and charged to keep silence ; and if he will not, that citizen which brought him with him shall be commanded that both of them depart from the court ; and if they will not, it shall proceed against the citizen as against a rebel and so a perjured person ; and as for the stranger, he shall be cast out of the court by the petty constables, even by violence if it shall be needful ; because we do not use that strangers shall come and implead amongst us, and know the secrets of the courts, for divers dangers that thereby may ensue.

“And if any judgment be given, or any execution of writs of our Lord the King, be to be impleaded or done, or if any doubt or ambiguity shall be upon any of our laws or customs, or any thing else touching the whole commonalty, then the bailiff or steward, by all kind of rigour, may compel the discreeter especially, or any other citizen whom they have need of, to come unto them. And if any widows or orphans have received any loss, or wrong, or any injustice done unto them, the bailiff and steward ought to help and assist them at all hours, as well in court as out of court. And the pleas of the court being finished, the bailiff and steward, on the behalf of our Lord the King and the commonalty, may command that all those which are not of the liberty should go out of the house, and depart from the court ; and then the bailiff and steward may take notice if there are any secrets or business which may concern the state of the city or the citizens thereof, and let them proceed therein as they ought to do.

“Town Clerk.—And we use to have one town clerk of the city who shall write at the aforesaid courts; and likewise and likewise [*sic*] a quest being taken before the bailiff or steward, he shall take the same oath as the steward doth, saving that he shall not give judgment, and that he shall not hold courts, and that he shall faithfully enter the pleas of the court, and that he shall faithfully deliver all the court rolls upon the account of the bailiff, and that he shall not be a detainer of any parts thereof, to the disinherittance or damage of any of our fellow citizens. And the clerk himself shall be one that hath tenements and other annual revenue whereby he may be able to answer in that behalf.

“Inquest holden by the Bailiff and Steward and Coroner.—Concerning the general inquest and apprehending of others we use, that the bailiff ought and may hold it as often and whensoever that shall be needful, upon the effusion of blood and contentions, and other things done and committed against the peace and tranquillity of the city. And he shall hold the said inquest, taking with him the steward and coroner, who shall be of the discreetest and valiantest of our citizens, for whom we ought to make answer to our Lord the King and to his ministers and justices whomsoever. The general inquisitions shall be almost without the gates of the city, between the Feast of St. Michael and the Feast of All Saints; unto the which inquisition all citizens and other tenements, of what lordship soever abiding, within within [*sic*] the liberties of the city, shall come and shall swear and shall present all, every such things as do concerne the state of the city and *vicum franci pleggi* (viz. frankpledge). And unless they do come, and do as aforesaid, they shall be deeply amerced.

“Law Days.—And afterwards our bailiff, having called together the steward, town clerk, and coroner, may ordain one other inquisition more general, and shall hold it in the most public place of the whole city; and all the discreetest sort of the city, and of whatsoever hold or lordship within the city, suburbs, or liberties, they shall be of, shall be solemnly warned, and on the behalf of our Lord the King, within three or four days shall be cited to come unto the said inquisition; and at the same inquisition three other inquests shall be sworn, one of the suburbs and liberty; and other of the men dwelling within the city, in any street soever; the third of the discreetest and stoutest men of the whole city; which shall confirm the verdict of the other inquests. And then those that are so sworn being called together, that should be commanded by the bailiff and steward that none of them go from the said place, or depart from the court, without the special license of the steward or bailiff. And if any doth depart, or upon citation doth not come unto the said inquisition, let it proceed against him as a perjured person; and if any citizen hath willingly absented himself at the same day, he shall be deeply amerced at the pleasure of the bailiff and

steward, and not by his own fellows, and shall be accounted for an inobedient man.

"Towns.—And the said bailiff and steward shall hold five other inquisitions, between the Feast of Easter and the Feast of Pentecost, at the uttermost bounds of the liberties; and solemn inquisition in a place more public, as aforesaid. And if it happen at the two principal courts, or at the said solemn inquisition, any things to be proclaimed and ordained publicly touching the profits of the city by us or our fellow citizens; and if any one of our citizens shall break or infringe the said proclamation and ordinance, and be within our liberty, let him be accounted as a perjured person; and if he be of another condition, let him be taken and imprisoned; and if need shall require, he shall make satisfaction for that offence at the pleasure of the bailiff.

"Night-Walkers.—And it shall be commanded, on the behalf of our Lord the King and our commonalty, at the said solemn inquisition, that among other things it shall be proclaimed that no vagabond or night-walker be within the city, nor in the suburbs, after the ringing of our common bell; and if any one be taken after the ringing of the bell, let him be brought to the gaol of our Lord the King, and there he shall stay until the morrow, that notice and knowledge be taken of his person; and then he shall be delivered by our chief bailiff, if the men in whose fee the gaol is do require the same; and whether so or not, he shall make amends at the pleasure of the bailiff and the commonalty.

"Concerning our bell, we use to have it in a public place, where our chief bailiff may come, as well by day as by night, to give warning to all men living within the said city and suburbs. And we do not say that it ought to ring unless it be for some terrible fire burning any row of houses within the said city, or for any common contention whereby the city might be terribly moved, or for any enemies drawing near unto the city, or if the city shall be besieged, or any sedition shall be between any, and notice thereof given by any unto our chief bailiff. And in these cases aforesaid, and in all like cases, all manner of men abiding within the city and suburbs and liberties of the city, of what degree soever they be of, ought to come at any such ringing or motion of ringing with such weapons as fit their degree, etc. And it shall be commanded or told them by our chief bailiff, in the behalf of our Lord the King, what is to be done for the preservation and tranquillity of the city. And any one who shall not come at the aforesaid ringing or motion of ringing, let him be accounted for a rebel and a perjured person.

"Also we use amongst ourselves that no man, of what state or condition soever, shall not make any merchandise, nor have our common letter or test for any matter touching himself, unless he be in scot and lot with our citizens and gilda mercatoria, or freemen of the city, as



touching the selling of his merchandise, and unless he shall be dwelling in the same city with his wife ; and first of all shall have himself, with his goods and chattels, viz. up rising and down lying. And this custom ought, and was wont, to be published at the two principal inquisitions twice a year.

“ Bishops, Dean, and Chapter.—Neither were the men of the Bishop’s and Dean and Chapter’s fee wont to do among us after the same manner, unless a composition had been made betwixt us and them, which we for reverence to God and to the Church our mother had granted the same unto them ; and also for divers alms to be given to our citizens, and other poor and impotent of our city, in an almshouse, by the keeper of the same for ever. And it was not our intentions that those men, the tenants of the Bishop, Dean, and Chapter, should have nor enjoy our laws and customs, unless after the same manner as we enjoy them. And those men and their tenants, and all the tenants of the other fees living within the city and suburbs, shall be obedient to our chief bailiff for the execution of the writs of our Lord the King ; and they shall answer, and shall justify themselves before him, of all trespasses done unto them, or done by them unto others, in the King’s highway, without the doors of their houses or tenements. And those tenements of the aforesaid Dean and Chapter shall come unto our court at their pleasure, to plead and to do all other things touching their estate or a liberty ; always excepted that they do not bring any strangers with them to speak for them, unless they shall be of our citizens, unto whom our laws, customs, and secrets, do appertain ; because we use that those that are against our laws and customs shall not enjoy any of them in their necessity. And if it happen any strife or discord to arise between them and us, those that are found faulty shall make amends before the lord of their fees, our chief bailiff, our steward, and twelve of us. But we use, if any discord be amongst ourselves, or amongst certain of our citizens, by the which the peace and tranquillity of the city might be troubled or disturbed, and those which by the way of love shall refuse to unite themselves, that then, when notice of such an one shall come unto our chief bailiff, forthwith he, taking with him the bailiff of that fee, and twelve of the most of the discreetest and stoutest men of the whole city, shall cause them to come by all way of rigour, and shall compel them to come before them ; and there, for the avoiding of further danger, the discord shall be determined, and amends shall be made according to their discretions ; and if they refuse to come, let them be accounted as perjured persons, and the whole commonalty, by notice and premunition of their bailiffs, shall account and hold them as rebels ; and that they come not among them in their congregations any composition or liberty of any in this case notwithstanding.

“Concerning those which would be made freemen, or enjoy our liberty, first of all let them come unto our chief bailiff, either by themselves or by their friends, lovingly beseeching or entreating to do those things which they endeavour ; and then the bailiff shall appoint them a day to come unto the next court, and there to notify unto them the pleasure of the commonalty, and especially if the men are strangers ; but if they are born in the city, and be of good report, and if their presence may be profitable to the city, as well as for his wisdom, as also for any other validity or worth known to the citizens ; then the bailiff, having called together the steward and twenty at the least of the discreetest and ablest men, especially of the King’s fee, shall cause them to come in a public place, where our courts are kept, having with them the common charter of the city ; and then the steward shall take the book, and bid them lay their right hands thereon, commanding all those that are standing by, in the behalf of our Lord the King, to keep silence, and shall swear them in this manner: Freemen’s oath, first, that they shall be true and faithful to our Lord the King and to his heirs, the kings of England ; secondly, that they shall defend and keep the laws and customs made known unto them by the bailiff and the discreetest of his citizens ; and thirdly, that when any secrets touching the state of the city are made known unto him, he shall not reveal them to any, unless it be to his fellow citizens ; fourthly, that he shall be obedient to the chief bailiff and the commonalty of the city aforesaid, in all things touching the state of the city ; and then let them kiss the book. And it shall be told them by the steward, that in all things, and above all things, that they take great heed that they be not forsworne in any thing ; because the custom of the city is, that if any man be convicted of perjury, he shall lose his freedom altogether, and shall never come to recover it again, unless it be by the special favour of the commonalty, and by the redemption of his goods and chattels at the least for twice as much as he gave before. And it shall be charged them that they have some tenements or other yearly revenues upon the King’s fee within a year and a day next following, by the which they may justify themselves unto our Lord the King and his commonalty ; and if not, that they lose their freedom. But if the heir of any of our citizens shall be willing to enter into our freedom, that shall be forthwith done by him as by the other aforesaid, saving that they shall give and pay to our chief bailiff only twelve pence. And the names of all those aforesaid which hold our liberty and freedom, shall be written by the town clerk in a paper ; and it shall be told them, in the behalf of our Lord the King and the commonalty, that they be prepared as well by day as by night, to be armed with weapons fitting their degree, whensoever they shall be warned by our chief bailiff, or shall hear the ringing of our common bell, for the tuition of the said city or the tranquillity of the citizens abiding in the same ; and it shall be told them that neither

they nor any other, of what condition soever, shall be or ought to be quit from tollage or murage, or from any other customs of the said city, or of other cities or villages, unless they be staying and abiding among us, by the up rising and down lying.

“Debts.—Concerning our debts, we use that the creditors shall come to our chief bailiff, bringing with them two pledges at the least, or a bond for their appearance if they are impotent, or upon their credit if credulity may be reposed in their persons; and they shall ask and desire of the bailiff that their debtors may be distrained; and that the bailiff, for the profit of the city, shall not deny unto them; and then the bailiff shall give them a day upon the morrow, if they are strangers and not freemen, and may compel the debtors, by all way of rigour, that they be ready after the same manner to answer in that behalf; but, if they are freemen, let it be granted unto them to answer at the next court. But, if the debtors can find pledges to answer, the bailiff shall tell the said pledges that they are reserved for the whole debt, and for all other things belonging unto the court, or the state thereof, until the said debt be recovered. And when the creditors shall come unto the court a speedy remedy shall be made for them by the bailiff and steward; and when the [debt] shall be recovered let them go to our clerk that, all other business laid apart, an execution of the said debt may be made in case the execution must, and, if it shall be needful, ought to be, made first of the goods and chattels remaining in the hands or possession of the debtor, and he hath not wherewith all that he is able to make satisfaction, the creditor may desire that the debtor be charged not to depart from the court until he hath fully satisfied the creditor and the bailiff of all the amercements of the commonalty. And, in case that costs be recovered, they shall be adjudged by the bailiff, steward, town clerk, and the whole court; and no respect shall be had to the goods and chattels of any, of what condition soever they be, within the house or without, or in whose hands soever they shall be found, which may be turned to the profit of the creditor and of the aforesaid execution; and, if need shall require, the revenues of the creditor shall, by the bailiff or his under-bailiff, be taken in the hands of our lord the King and the commonalty; and it shall be charged the tenants of such men that they [shall] not at any time pay their rents but only to the bailiff, and by his hands to the creditor, until the execution be thoroughly discharged. And if the tenants will not so do let them be arrested and by all way of rigour compelled. And if the bailiff or his sub-bailiffs be let or hindered from performing the said execution by the creditor, or by any in his name, let them be arrested and compelled at the pleasure of the bailiff, so that [they] may be at the next court; and let it proceed against them as rebels, disobedient and perjured persons, if they be of the liberty and freedom of the city, and they have wherewith they are able to answer the creditor, he shall make satisfaction,

unless of special favour he be pardoned by the bailiff and commonalty. And if the creditor has any specialty he must prove it by his fellow citizens, or by others of whose fidelity the bailiff and those present in the court have sufficient knowledge. And if the creditor doth desire the debt by his own voice alone, then the creditor may be at his own manifest law, and he shall have a day at the next court, unto the which, if he be a freeman, he shall bring three men, if not five men, who are of a faithful condition as aforesaid.

“Debts by Bill or Book.—And if the creditor, being a tradesman, doth seek his debt by his bill or shop-book, and ought, or is willing, to prove the same, and the creditor declares that he knows not the same bill, then respect shall be had to the fidelity of either person. And if the creditor hath wherewithal, and was wont to lend his goods willingly to others, or if the debtor be accustomed very often to borrow of divers in the city by his fair speeches, or against their desires, in such a case, or in the like, let judgment be given, and let justice stand by the consideration of the bailiff and the whole court; and if the creditor hath and doth show any sealed deed or specialty, and it be deemed by the debtor that deed or specialty shall be delivered to the bailiff in the court, to be kept in the hands of the bailiff or town clerk until the court next following unto the which witnesses named in the said deed or specialty, if they are living to come and appear; but, if otherwise, twelve of our citizens, who have more credit and knowledge of the deed or specialty be found to be true and right, the creditor shall recover the debt with costs by them to be adjudged, and notwithstanding let him be imprisoned and there stay until he hath given satisfaction to the bailiff and the commonalty; and if the deed or specialty be found to be false, let it be done with the creditor as with the other, and the debtor shall recover costs by the consideration of those twelve men if he doth require the same. And if a debt be sought for by the executors of any one, first of all let him show his testimony in court; and the debtor ought not to go from the said debt being sought for unless he hath an acquittance of the debt, or that our citizens, of whose fidelity the bailiff and court have sufficient notice, have seen the demanded debt paid unto the testator, or had been so told by the testator; and if a debt be demanded against executors they ought not to answer unless their testator hath made some act or deed whereof our citizens have had knowledge, because they ought not to make a law nor to swear in the name of their testator; and if any one of our citizens doth die intestate the ordinary of the city shall appoint and make executors of our citizens who shall be answerable for debts demanded.

“Burgesses of Carmarthen.—John Gaunter, chief bailiff to our lord the King, having called unto him twelve of the discreetest men of the city, delivered the subscribed customs to the burgesses of the village of Kermardine, for the which he reserved a hundred shillings to the use of

his commonalty (viz.), upon a legacy of their tenements, and upon other things touching the state of the tenements.

“Assignment of Lands and Tenements.—First of all we say that every citizen of the city or suburbs may give and assign their tenements freely and quietly as well in health as in sickness, when and to whomsoever they please, whether those tenements are of their inheritance or of their purchasing or getting without any malicious detracting of their lord, so that they be of such an age and no less, that they know how to measure a yard of cloth, and to know and tell twelve pence. And if there be any such a one, which may have and ask for a tenement by the legacy of his predecessor which was in any manner bequeathed unto him, the executors of that testator may be compelled to bring the will or testament into the court before the bailiff, and there to show it in public before twelve of the citizens called together for the same purpose, so that the will of the testator may be known; and if it be desired the said testament shall be enrolled in the rolls of the court for fear of combustion and theft, or any alienation of the same, which might be turned to the disinheretance of those citizens to whom it rightly appertains. And if such a testament be not brought in manner aforesaid, then it shall follow that he to whom it appertaineth to go unto the ordinary of the city, and there have a copy thereof given him; and let him bring it unto the bailiff, as before is said. And we do not use to do fealty or any other foreign service to the lord of the fees for our tenements, but only the rents arising out of the said tenements; because we say that we hold our tenements by the service of burgage, or as burgesses, so that we have not any other lord between our Lord the King and us. And for so much as our goods and chattels are to be taken and taxed at his pleasure, saving unto ourselves a competent quantity for our sustentation and tuition of our city; for that the city is delivered unto us and our heirs, to be kept for our Lord the King and his heirs. And we do not so use to give any heriot nor mortuary to any one at the death of any of the citizens dying within the said city or suburbs, for any of his tenements situated or being within the said city or suburbs.

“Foreigners.—And if any foreigner shall get any tenement amongst us, he shall not give any thing for having ingress into the same, but only twelve [? pence] to our bailiff for certify and present, and for witnessing the seisin; and so much also to our town clerk, and to each of our sub-bailiffs, if they are present, it[em]. And if any foreigner had married a daughter of any of our citizens, or any widow among us, which holdeth tenements after any manner, at least for term of her life, that foreigner, by virtue of her freedom may freely buy and sell among us, without any other redemption to be made unto any; and if any foreigner hath gotten any tenement among us by way of legacy, for the term of his life, and then he suffer the same tenement to fall; or if he be a poor man, and is

not able to reedify his tenement, or hath sold away the said tenement ; in these cases and the like our chief bailiff, calling unto him twelve men, shall give them warning the first, second, and third time, that such tenements be amended within a certain day, at the pleasure of the bailiff and the aforesaid twelve men called for the same purpose ; and if they will not amend them nor rectify them, let license be given to them to whom the reversion of those tenements belongeth to go on according to the common law of our Lord the King ; because we say that the last wills of our citizens, in all cases had or to be had amongst us, by our custom ought to be fulfilled in all things. And if any one of us doth proceed contrary unto the customs, and doth not keep them, let him be held for a perjured man, and our chief bailiff shall proceed against such a person. If he be convicted upon this in open court, or before the bailiff and others called unto him in public for that intent, save only that they to whom such reversions do belong shall find fit houses for those aforesaid to dwell in, to fulfil the will of the testator, unless it be in a case of surrender of a possession. And we use that if any of our sons be called to warrant in any case touching our tenement, he shall not be held to warrantise unless he be of of [*sic*] the age of fourteen years or more.

“Also we use that if any one of our citizens or ourselves shall be put out of our tenements *vi et armis*, by force of arms, or any other voluntary manner, forthwith he that is ejected or put out shall go to our chief bailiff, and shall bring with him two sufficient pledges, protesting to persecute according to the law and custom of the city ; and forthwith the chief bailiff himself, with his under bailiffs going before, taking a white rod in his hand, publicly calling unto him any of our citizens, and if it be needful the power of the city, and shall go to that tenement, and shall cast forth those that inhabit and abide therein, and shall take it into the hands of our Lord the King ; and shall cause the door next the street to be shut, and shall carry away the key or keys openly in his hands, and shall appoint a day upon the morrow, at one of the clock, in a place where our pleas are held, for him or them which demand or occupy such tenements ; and in the meanwhile shall cause to cite so many and such men of the neighbouring citizens as that the inquisition by no means may be hindered for want of jurors ; and when he hath twelve men, let it be demanded of them, upon their oaths, and let it be inquired of the right and of the ejection, by whom it was done, and of all circumstances touching the right of that tenement ; and if any one shall willingly absent himself from that inquisition, let him be amerced at the pleasure of the bailiff, and not by his pertenders ; and we use, in such a case, one essce or¹ for the defendant ; and a day shall be given, from hour to hour, until the plea be determined ; and if by the said inquisition the right of the plaintiff ejected be found out, he shall recover his damages by the taxation of the bailiff and inquisition ; and respect shall

¹ Here there is a *lacuna* in the MS.

be had to the person of the plaintiff ejected of his injury and of his estate ; and all ejected ejectors convicted by the said inquisition, and all detainers thereof, if there shall be any, shall be amerced by the bailiff, and not by his partners ; and if the ejection shall be *vi et armis*, they shall be imprisoned, and not delivered unless it be in the presence of the commonalty, or in a full court, and this to the chastising of others. And then the bailiff, with his under-bailiffs going before, and those which were of the inquisition, shall publicly go to that tenement, and shall reach or take the key or keys, and open that, and shall put him that was ejected in his former state. And if he that was ejected can make appear unto the bailiff that his goods or his chattels were taken away in the time of his said ejection, forthwith the bailiff of his duty shall have an inquisition ; and if they find any to be culpable thereof, they shall be attached and imprisoned until they have given satisfaction to the party ejected, and to the bailiff in the behalf of the commonalty. And if any one in this case, or in any execution touching this case, shall let or trouble our bailiff, he shall lose his liberty, and shall be taken for a perjured person, and at the pleasure of the bailiff shall be imprisoned, and shall there stay until he hath satisfied the bailiff by himself, and the commonalty by themselves, to the content of both. And in this case, if any one shall violently lay his hands upon the bailiff, or shall smite him maliciously, and hath been convicted upon this, such men, before the coming of William the Conqueror, were wont to lose the member so striking, by the customs of this city ; the which custom was left in his time by reason of a certain priest, which was of great state, with him, who came to this city in the name of *anuncio* or messenger, and evil behaved himself, for that he would have taken the daughter of a certain citizen of ours *vi et armis*, or by force of arms ; and a hue and cry being raised, the bailiff came in with the power of the city, and he struck the bailiff with a sword upon the head, and fleeing away, was taken and held in prison ; for whom the said William sent a letter praying that that punishment and custom during his time, and especially at that time, might be remitted ; and it was then granted of the citizens, and in our times we have not seen such things to happen. And if the bailiff in this case shall happen to hold such a striker in prison maliciously, that hath brought sufficient amends according to the quality of his offence, in such a case, and in all other the like, touching the imprisonment of any of our citizens, the nearest friends of such a prisoner shall come in a full court, or else having called together twelve of the discreetest and stoutest men of the city, shall reveal the aforesaid things unto them ; and by the consideration of those men, the amends or satisfaction shall be adjudged and ordained ; and afterwards, in their sight, the body of the prisoner shall be delivered, and he shall find sureties that from that time he shall carry himself more faithfully as well towards the bailiff as also towards the commonalty.

“Also we use that if any of our citizens doth bequeath any tenement to his children, or if others of their parentage or friendship do bequeath them either goods or chattels for their sustentation, and those children be of such an age that they may be defrauded, the executors of he that is deceased, or the friends of those children, shall come to our chief bailiff, and shall shew him the will or testament ; and the bailiff himself, calling unto him twelve of the discreetest men of the city, or in a full court one, or two, or three sufficient men having tenements or other revenues, may be ordained to keep those children, and to keep the tenements, goods, or chattels aforesaid, so bequeathed, to the use and behoof of the said children, until those children, by their friends or or [*sic*] parents do demand the aforesaid tenements, goods, or chattels, so bequeathed ; and then he and they, in full court, and not elsewhere, shall deliver them unto him or them before the bailiff and the whole court, saving unto themselves the necessary expenses by them laid out for the said children ; and by the consideration of the bailiff and the whole court he or they shall have an acquittance thereof ; and if any refuse, in such a case, to make an acquittance, the bailiff shall make one for him and his commonalty, sealed with the seal of his office.

“And if any one of our citizens doth allege that any testator, or other man bereft of his senses, or idiot, hath alienated or put away, by any kind of means, any tenements, in such a case, and in the like, our chief bailiff, in open court calling unto him the executors of the testator, or the other citizens, their nearest neighbours, and shall examine them severally by themselves, in a secret manner, to the number of twelve ; and if those twelve upon their examination do agree, then the bailiff shall publicly show their sayings ; and if they do agree, credit shall be given to the greater part ; and by the consideration of the court, if it be found that such were of a sound mind, and not idiots, let judgment and justice be given, as become. But if they are not of a perfect and sound mind, let it be done with the tenements, if any were bequeathed, as formerly is said concerning the children which might be defrauded, etc. And if they are idiots, it shall be done after the same manner, unless they have such a father and mother living that do desire to find and to keep them, and then they shall be delivered to them before any other ; so that the manner of the delivering, and every circumstance touching the manner thereof, be enrolled in the rolls of the court, for fear of defraudation or disinheritance, which may happen to such kind of persons. Also if any one of our citizens be called to the court for the defrauding or disinheriting which might happen to such persons ; also if any of our citizens doth call to warranty any stranger from far part, by any covin or collusion to keep back the right the right [*sic*] of his fellow citizens, or doth put any issue to hinder judgment, let there be witnesses which are fit to be examined, and let them from out of the city or suburbs in

such a case and the like, our chief bailiff may take any inquisition upon such a collusion and delaying of the law. And if it appear and be found out that the delaying of such a right be done wittingly and of purpose, let the bailiff proceed by the right way, and let it be done with such men as with perjured persons; and let them remain at the pleasure of the bailiff and of the commonalty to make satisfaction, and let not any respect be had in regard of their freedom.

“Also we use that if any one of our citizens hath any tenements situate in the High Street of the city, or having over part of the pavement, and it be ruinous, so that danger may happen to us or to our children, or to others going along the city; and especially if the Lord our King, or any of his, should happen to pass along that street, or should be in such a place where there is common access; in such a case our chief bailiff shall cause them to be warned that have such tenements, that they amend them in more safer manner within three days; and unless they do so, let three days more be given him, in the behalf of our Lord the King and the commonalty; and unless it be then done, our chief bailiff, taking with him the power of the city, if it be needful, shall go to such a tenement, and in his presence let it be thrown down at the costs of him to whom the tenement belongeth, or if needful, at the costs of the commonalty; and if any one in this case doth hinder the bailiff, let it be done with him as with a perjured person and a rebel.

“Also we use amongst ourselves, that if our citizens receive damages in foreign parts, as in the parts of Wales, or elsewhere, for a debt or trespass of their fellow citizens, of what state soever they be of, that they which are debtors or trespassers forthwith, when notice and complaint shall be made unto our chief bailiff, that he, the chief bailiff, shall compel that debtor or trespasser, and their pledges, if there be any, to satisfy our citizens as well for the costs and damages as also for the principal, whilst they have in their hands their chief goods or chattels, or in whose hands soever they are. And if their goods cannot make satisfaction, or if they have pledges or tenements, our ancestors were wont to make sale thereof by the bailiff and four or six of his citizens, chosen for this purpose by the commonalty in like manner as if it were their chattels. And if any thing of the said tenement, after the satisfaction of the debt or trespass, that shall be paid to such men, or to their heirs or executors, in the presence of the bailiff and our citizens. And if such a man have not goods or chattels wherewith they are able to make satisfaction, our ancestors were wont to punish them by prison, and there to hold them until satisfaction were made by their friends, or else to send their bodies to foreign places, where they should be left; because we say that every one of us are bound to love one another, and in all things, by some good course, to amend them, and by no means to compel nor cause them to do any evil things. And this custom was freed in the time of Hugh

Suard, burgess of Denbigh, for forty shillings, in the time of King Henry the First.

“Robert Dureward, chief bailiff, calling unto him twelve men, sent certain customs to the men of Hereford, according to their petition, and for one hundred shillings, which the said men gave. These were the words: ‘To all bailiffs, burgesses, and other inhabitants of the village of Hereford, unto whom these present letters shall come, Robert Dureward and his associates, of our Lord the King’s city of Hereford, sendeth greeting. Upon a certain petition of yours, by you sent unto us and our citizens, that we for certain causes should certify you of some of our customs, to the bettering of our state and tranquillity, and we considering your petition and just supplication, as in such and the like things we are bound to, certify unto you and to every of you by these presents, that if any foreign merchant shall buy in our Lord the King’s and our city of Hereford, or in the suburbs thereof, wool, cloth, corn, or other kind of provision, or any other merchandise, whereby he may be able to live and to sustain himself, his family, ought, upon the first Saturday market next after the making or engrossing his merchandise, to pay all his customs whatsoever; and so from one market to another upon the Saturday, until he and his merchandise shall be rendered unto other parts. And unless he shall so do, his merchandise, of what sort soever, shall be taken as forfeit by our chief bailiff, to the use of the commonalty, who shall be answerable for the same upon his accounts, unless redemption be first made to the bailiff before his going out of his office.’ And thus for all their customs belonging to our Lord the King’s and our city. And if any of us, of what condition soever he be, shall any way consent to such strange merchants, or shall patronise or protect any their goods, chattels, or merchandise, by deceit or by any other means whatsoever, as if it were their own proper goods, to the hurting of our foresaid customs, let him be reputed as a perjured person, and by that means lose his freedom, notwithstanding any privilege of our city, or of what condition soever or lordship he shall be; and if he be a potent and able man, he shall be answerable to our chief bailiff; and let him give satisfaction, to his power, for all the customs and profits so taken away. And if he hath not wherewith to answer, let him have imprisonment until he hath given satisfaction for the said customs, and made amends to the bailiff and his commonalty at their pleasure.

“Also if any one of our citizens had bought any writ of our Lord the King to exclude any creditor of debts among us from any of his debts whatsoever, and if it be found before our chief bailiff and steward in our courts, that such creditors, of what condition soever they be, or of what fee soever, do demand and seek their debts faithfully, and after the wonted manner, let him proceed in seeking and demanding the said debts notwithstanding any such writ. And such men ought to lose their

freedom, because we use that all debts amongst us be truly sought for and demanded, shall be raised by all kind of rigour, as soon as may be, at the petition of the creditor ; for witness whereof, the seal of office remaining in the common custody of our chief bailiff, is put to and fixed. Dat' &c. John Gaunter, chief bailiff of Hereford, have called twelve men unto him, requested certain customs to be used during his time, and which heretofore were usual and approved.

“And what it behoved them to send and certify unto the men of Cardiff, desiring the same at the present, and for other villages whose necessity should require, in case they should be sought for of him during his time ; and those twelve men, by the counsel and assent of the discreetest of their citizens, say, as touching the customs of them sought, that although the citizens of our Lord the King, who have the keeping of this city of Hereford, seeing it is the principal city of all the market villages from the sea unto the limits of Severn, they ought to deliver those things, by reason of an ancient law and customs, to such villages when it shall be needful ; yet they are not bound to do those things after the same manner for such villages which say they are not bound of the same condition. And there are some villages belonging to our Lord the King of England and to his heirs, without a mean or mediate lord, and to such we are bound to certify concerning our laws and customs as often and whensoever it shall be needful, especially because we are of one and the same tenure. And nothing shall be taken of them in the name of a reward, unless it be by our common clerk, for his writing and pains, as they can agree.

“There are other market villages which are of divers lords of the kingdom, in which are some natives and some countrymen, which of old do do [*sic*] some corporal services to their lords divers manners of ways, and especially such and other services which amongst us are not used ; and those which may be driven out of those villages by their lords, and not to dwell with them, unless it be by the common law of England, nor be had again to their former state ; and especially those and others which dwell in such villages by foreign service, such are not of our condition, and they shall not have our laws and customs, unless by the way of redemption to be made unto our chief bailiff, as they shall agree amongst themselves, to the good content and profits of our said city. And such men shall not have our common seal, unless it be at a great price, or by the special entreaty of our citizens.

“And to the repetitions now demanded of us, we say that if any merchant dwelling in that city doth deliver his goods or chattels to any other merchant, his fellow citizen, of what condition soever he be, or to any other foreign man, upon any bargain, or before trusty witnesses called for the same purpose, and the day of payment shall not be kept forthwith, the creditors shall come to the chief bailiff, and shall find pledges,

and the bailiff shall distrain those debtors, and compel them, by all kinds of rigour, from day to day, to pay the debt; neither ought they to be allowed but one ession or [? plea], nor that unless part be without the village. And if the deed by which the debt was demanded be burnt or stolen, in such a case and the like let witnesses be examined in open court, and the debt be proved after the manner of *tallage*; so that the creditor by no means be delayed in recovering his debt, whether the debt doth exceed forty shillings or not; because we are the citizens of our Lord the King, and have the custody of his city for us and for his heirs, and for our heirs, and we ought not to go out of our city for the recovering of our debts, for divers dangers and misfortunes which might happen to our wives and children; and if we ought to spend our goods and chattels in parts afar off, by impleading and labouring for that by that means and the like, we shall be impoverished; and being made poor, we shall not have wherewith to keep the city, and so disinheritation by such ways would easily fall upon our children.

“And also we say that no citizen of the city aforesaid that is in our franchise shall give for punishment of a trespass by him committed to anyone that is out of our franchise but only twelve; but if he doth go on and be a common transgressor or a night walker, let him be amerced at the pleasure of the bailiff, and if the bailiff of his courtesy shall pardon him, it shall be told him by the bailiff, in hope of amendment, that from henceforth he behaves himself well towards our lord the King and the tranquillity of the city and commonalty thereof, using all kind of benevolence under the pain of losing his freedom: and if as yet he shall not be amended in full court before his fellow citizens, let him openly lose his freedom as a perjured man and as disobedient to the bailiff and his commonalty, and let his name be blotted out of the book of the bailiff, and afterwards if he shall not be amended let him be imprisoned and there stay until he find sufficient security at the pleasure of the bailiff in open court; and if as yet he shall not be amended the chief bailiff calling unto him four twenty men at the least in a public place before the court day or on the court day, or after the court day, publicly in the behalf of our Lord the King and the commonalty, shall command him that he depart from the city; and if he will not, let him be cast forth by force, if it be needful; and he shall by no means enter in again, unless it be by the special favour of the commonalty. And if in case he shall not care to enter in again, then his goods and chattels shall be taken and sold by the bailiff, that amend may be made by the bailiff to whom he trespassed, and the residue to the use of the commonalty. And if his goods and chattels are not sufficient to make amends, and he have a tenement among us, let that tenement be taken into the hands of our Lord the King and the Commonalty, and out of the revenues thereof let satisfaction be made; and we say that the heir of such a delinquent or

offender may enter into such a tenement by the sight and consideration of the bailiff and the whole commonalty ; and although such a malefactor hath bequeathed such a tenement to any one of the city or suburbs, he shall not enjoy nor hold the legacy, for that he is not our citizen, and hath violated, of his own accord, our freedom and his own. And we use the same proceeding to be done against the maintainers or protectors of such offenders in this case or the like, because by such maintainers or protectors a common contention might arise amongst us, and horrible manslaughter be committed amongst us, and the loss of the liberty or freedom of the city, to the disinheritation of us and our children ; which God forbid that in our days, by the defect of us, or of such as aforesaid, should happen or fall out in such a manner.

“Also the said John commanded the said twelve that they should notify unto him where and in what places he should hold his general inquisitions twice a year, as of old their ancestors were wont to use ; who said first of all between the the [*sic*] Feast of St. Michael and the Feast of All Saints, out of the fair time, your ancestors and ours were wont, in the presence of the coroner of the city and our common clerk, to hold four general inquisitions, videlicet, one without Wyebridge Gate, at Dry Bridge, or at the Zeletree, or by the other side, towards the Sickments ; the second without Eigne Gate, at Little Way, which leadeth to the Grange belonging to the canons ; the third without Byster’s Gate, otherwise called the Bishop’s Gate, nigh unto the Priory of the city ; the fourth at a tree near unto the Rough Ditch ; the fifth at the entrance of Widemarsh, at a little brook between the bridge of the Bar and of the Burcott. But those that use to come to that inquisition were wont to come without Byster’s Gate ; and they ought to do those things, unless it be by the bailiff’s courtesy ; and therefore it is called an inquisition of favour, and not of law ; and our ancestors were wont to say that our suburbs did extend from the city to those places, and all men abiding and remaining within those bounds to have the same laws and customs among us as we use them ; so that they ought not to be hindered nor grieved by us nor our bailiffs nor under-bailiffs, in any thing, because they shall be with us in scot and lot, and to be taxed and rated in all things touching the state of the city.

“And also we use that, between the Feast of Easter and the Feast of Whitsuntide, out of the days of the Bishop’s fair, there ought to be held by our chief bailiff, and town clerk, and coroner, four inquisitions at four places more, far and remote from the city and liberty. The first at a certain brook called Bailiff [? B]rook, nigh unto over Bullinghope ; the second at a certain green place towards Sugwas, and is called Kingsacre, nigh unto Huntiton ; the third upon the greater bridge in the middle, called Lug Bridge ; the fourth at a certain place which is called Adhekerdeston, nigh unto Luttely.

“And so the Bishop’s bailiff goes about the whole liberties of the city, excepting beyond Wye ; and there are some lords and their tenants who are dwellers and holders of lands and tenements within the said bounds, which they hold by a certain service which is called *liberum feodum*, because long ago they besought us that they might be of us, and they would be rated and taxed with us, and they are free among us concerning toll and all other customs and services by us made ; but concerning their foreign services which they do, or ought to do, and of old have done, their lords are not excluded by us nor by our liberties ; for we never use to intermix ourselves with us in any things touching those tenures, but only with those which concern us, or their tenures which for a time hath been of our condition.

“And we have used of old, by their lords which do so hold, interruption, that all things touching *vicum franciplegii*, which have been presented by the tenants of such lords before our chief bailiff at the aforesaid inquisitions, or which could not be amended in the courts of such lords, or in due manner to make any convenient end that our chief bailiff to our use may take amends, and that such they may be amerced by their fellows ; and that they may be corrected before the said bailiff, which in the courts of such could not be corrected. But if they cannot be corrected before the bailiff in our court, the lord and tenants aforesaid being called upon, if they are willing to come, and there let it be determined according to the laws of the city, and not according to the customs, unless it be by the special favour of the commonalty, and some custom which shall be necessary ; and such men shall not come into our counsels as those of our suburbs, unless they are called by the bailiff, or have any things to be said which concern our state or their own. But if it shall happen them to be impleaded by any one concerning lands or tenements within the bounds aforesaid, being within our liberties they ought to be determined by us and the citizens of our suburbs, because in such a case, and to the disinherittance of any of them, we are to avoid it altogether ; and every one of us, by our custom from the time wherein no memory is extant, ought to have one law. And such men ought not to be called citizens or our fellow citizens ; neither ought we, after that manner, to write or to send for them, if there be occasion, because they are natives, or born in the behalf of their lords, and do hold their tenements by foreign services, and are not burgesses ; and so between them and our Lord the King there are other mediate lords, and so they are not of our condition ; and also they have not the custody of our city, as those of our suburbs have ; neither ought they to be compelled to the keeping thereof against their wills, unless it be in the time of¹..... and then we ought to receive their goods and chattels before any other foreigners ; and if any one of them shall buy any tenement in the said

¹ Here there is a *lacuna* in the MS.

city, or shall place himself and abide in the same, and be in scot and lot among us, he ought not to be sought again of his lord by any kind of means, because whilst he dwells with us he is free, and of our condition ; but let him take heed to himself that he depart not from the city to any place into the power of his lord ; and if such an one hath gotten any tenement among us, his lord, nor any one by him, ought to claim it as their right ; because such an one may and ought at his pleasure to buy and sell without the reproach of any of us, or of their lord, or of any other whatsoever, as long as they remain in the said city ; and if he or they, or any other which by our assent and consent have entered into our liberty or freedom, and hath committed any offence for the which he shall be adjudged some punishment, as the pillory, tumbrell, or the like, let him be reputed for a perjured person, and by that means let him lose his freedom ; but afterwards, by the special favour of the bailiff and his commonalty, he may be redeemed, unless he be a baker or a common brewer, who, after judgment done unto them, shall swear that they shall not bake nor brew for one whole year next following, unless it be by the special favour of the bailiff and commonalty, and then they ought to redeliver their freedom anew for twice as much as they gave before. And such men and others, tenements of any lord whatsoever, if they do their merchandises, and are dwelling or abiding upon the fee of our Lord the King, and have done any offence to our chief bailiff, they shall make amends, although they had or have more tenements¹ upon the fee of any other lords whatsoever, whether they are of the city or not.

“ In the time of John le Caunter, chief bailiff, before whom a certain man of the city, of the fee of the Hospital, brought a certain writ of right into the court of our Lord the King, and he not knowing in what manner he ought to proceed, asked of his citizens how and in what manner he should proceed by the law and custom of the city used in former times ; whereupon the said citizens said unto him, that first the party plaintiff should find four or six pledges to the chief bailiff, who were sufficient men of the fee of our Lord the King ; and if he be a poor man, let him be allowed to prosecute upon his faith or credit publicly, before the citizens ; and then the party defendants, of what fee or lordship soever he be, ought to come to the tenement demanded by the testimony of our under-bailiff and by two of his fellow citizens, to answer the extremity of the law ; and if he shall not come to that court, let him be arrested by our under-bailiffs, with all his goods and chattels, of what condition soever they be ; and if he shall not come to that court by our bailiff's and the testimony of their nearest neighbouring citizens, there ought to be taken from the tenement demanded one [post], and to be brought unto the court, and delivered to the bailiff ; and the second time, two ; and the third time, three ; and this to be done always towards the street,

¹ *Sic in orig.* ? tenants.

in reproach to him, and to the noting of his fellow citizens ; and if he shall not come, the house ought to be thrown down, by taking one post towards the street, and so forward and forward until the whole house be thrown down to the ground ; and this ought to be done in the presence of our chief bailiff, having called unto him the bailiff of that fee, and two more of that fee dwelling and abiding near unto that tenement or house. And if as yet he shall not come, our chief bailiff, calling together his commonalty, shall take a solemn inquisition, from the which no one of the city ought to absent himself ; and if they shall, let them be accounted for perjured persons, or else let them be amerced by the pleasure of the bailiff, and not by their fellows. And if it be found by the inquisition that the plaintiff hath right in the tenement or house, the seisin shall be delivered unto him by the bailiff, especially for the disobedience of the defendant. And if the parties shall personally come unto the court, the defendant shall have no esson, nor the party after their appearance ; and forthwith it shall be commanded them that they prosecute by all courses necessary for them, excepting a combat which ought not to be assigned between them nor any other of our citizens, by reason of perpetual enmity of us the parents and of our children, which might turn to the ruin or perdition of the city and other innumerable accident dangers.

“And if the tenement or house demanded be upon the fee of the Bishop, Dean and Chapter, or of any other lords having lordships within the liberties of the city, it ought not to be thrown down before premunition or warning be first given unto them or to their bailiff. And if the bailiff of the Bishop and Dean and Chapter shall in this case willingly or of purpose absent themselves, then our chief bailiff, calling unto him six or more witnesses of his citizens, shall go to the Cathedral Church, and there, before the Chapter, shall notify or declare the disobedience of their bailiffs and of their tenants, if it be needful ; and if the Canons will not assist nor agree, let it be notified by our chief bailiff in the face of the Church, and the cause of his coming, and of the witnesses, his fellow citizens, making protestation that it behoveth him to proceed by doing and administering full justice to the parties, as upon his oath he is bound to do to every one of the city ; and that by his will or knowledge he would not do any thing touching that plea to the hurting of the liberties of their mother the Church. And it was not wont so to be done, but that there was a composition had between us, which we, for the reverence of God, and the tranquillity of their tenants and our citizens, had granted unto them.

“In the time of this John there was a disorder between the tenants of our Lord the King and the tenants of the Dean and Chapter, as to how and in what manner it ought to be done concerning the taking of vagabonds, which by night did commit many mischiefs under the colour of

ecclesiastical liberty ; whereupon it was agreed by the whole commonalty of all the liberties, that if any one should be taken by night leading any company, or by himself, making a noise, who shall be a vagabond, to the terror of his fellow citizens, that any one of the city may take him, not offending in any thing the officer of the bailiff, or his sub-bailiffs, or other watchmen ; and when such an one shall be taken, he ought to be brought to the gaol of our Lord the King, and there he ought to stay until the morrow ; and upon the morrow, at one o'clock, he ought to be led publicly to a public place by the keepers of the gaol, to the terror of others the like, before the chief bailiff of our Lord the King, and of what fee scever he be, within the city ; and especially if he shall be of the fee of the Bishop or Dean and Chapter, then he ought to be delivered, with his weapons, if any were taken with him, to the bailiff of his own fee, if he doth demand him, by the premunition of the bailiff of our Lord the King made to the other bailiff : and although he will not, in such sort, demand such an one, by the reason of some enmity or the like, yet notwithstanding he ought to be led by the under-bailiffs of our Lord the King to the gaol of the fee whereof he is, in respect of our reverence to the Church our mother, and there he ought to stay for one day and one night ; and afterwards, by the said under-bailiff he ought to be returned and led to the gaol of our Lord the King, and there to stay until he hath made amends, as the bailiff and commonalty shall think fit. And if the keeper of the gaol of that fee will not receive him, let him be brought back to the gaol of our Lord the King. And after the same manner let it be done with those which by day are taken in the King's streets of the whole city, for any evil deed by them done or committed, for which they are imprisonable. But if thieves are taken in the deed, whether by day or by night, let them be led to the gate of that fee wherein they are taken, and there let them have their judgment, without any reproach of the bailiff of our Lord the King, unless they were taken in the King's highway, because that such shall have their judgment before the bailiff of our Lord the King ; and this for a prerogative of our Lord the King which he hath, and which for a long time the tenants of our Lord the King, in his name, have had above others, and above all other liberties granted by our Lord the King to any one in the city or suburbs. And he hath it in all his cities of his whole realm of England, for that it was told unto us of our ancestors, that our Lord the King could not grant any liberties in his kingdom more freely, and especially in his cities, to any other than that which his own proper tenants of his own proper fee have formerly held, or from ancient times ought to hold. And this custom hath been allowed in full Parliament at Lincoln, held in the fourth year of King Henry the Second, and this at the petition of the men of York.

“Also we are wont that if malefactors, or especially any thief doth

decline or withdraw himself to one fee sooner than to any other in the city or suburbs, and there would make delay, or if he shall lie hid for to fly away, in such a case, or the like, all bailiffs of any fee whatsoever ought to take him and to send him to the gaol of the fee to which he is to be sent.

“One House of the King’s Fee for the Bailiff.—Also we use that our chief bailiff be quit of his rent. If so be he ought to pay any rents for the tenements wherein he dwelleth, and not for any more, because it may be he possesseth divers tenements upon the fee of our Lord the King to the value of the one half or third part of the rents for the which it behoves us to pay unto our Lord the King for our fee-farm, which might be a great evil to us and to our citizens. And if the bailiff doth die within one complete year, he shall not pay the rent of the first year after the day of his death; and this of a courtesy. And in such a case his executors are bound to give an account to the commonalty for his time; and if they allege that they have not wherewith, and that his goods and chattels are not sufficient for satisfaction, then his heir shall answer, and shall have his rents or tenements wherewithal to do it. But if the commonalty doth expect otherwise, to make choice of such an one; and if it happen unto us to choose us a foreigner bailiff, we have by a custom that he ought not to receive any moneys for any thing touching his office; but he shall have one under-bailiff, by us elected, who shall be answerable to us, of which and for which he shall find unto us security.

“A Baker to be pilloried.—And also in the time of Robert Dureward there was a discord between the tenants of our Lord the King and the tenants of the Bishop and Dean and Chapter about the state of the bakers of their fees; whereupon it was agreed in manner, that if the baker doth dwell upon the fee of our Lord the King, he shall only leave off in doing ill; but if he be stubborn, and doth flee, or of purpose removeth upon the fee of the other lords of the fees aforesaid, and there doth exercise his office or trade; and his bread, of what condition soever it be, is taken upon the fee of our Lord the King, yet ought to be sent to the bailiff of his fee wherein he makes his abode or delay; and this to be done for three times. But if he be found defective after the third time, and the bailiff of our Lord the King in the King’s street or highway, he shall apprehend him for whole, and shall cause the bailiff of that fee to punish him, if he shall be found present, and then he shall have the judgment of the pillory; and after his judgment had, he shall be brought back to his own house, and his lord or lords shall take an oath and amends, as the manner is. And if the bailiff of that fee will not be present, and shall willingly absent himself, the bailiff of our Lord the King shall bring or send the bread found defective to the abiding place of the Bishop or Dean and Chapter, showing them the disobedience of their bailiff and ministers, for whose defect judgment had been adjudged

by him ; and it was agreed upon that those which ought to keep the assize of bread should be honest men of all the fees aforesaid ; and also the bailiffs, if any, of the said fees shall have the amends of their own proper bakers abiding upon their own fees ; so that at all times the pillory of our Lord the King be prepared ready, and common to all the bailiffs of the fees aforesaid, as often as it shall be needful for them for the saving of their liberties.

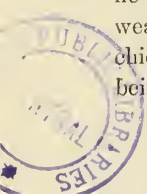
“Brewers to the Gong[Cucking] Stool.—Concerning common brewers it was agreed upon to be done to them as to the bakers ; but it was decreed that any one of the city, of what fee soever, may brew at their pleasure, as often and whensoever it shall please them, without any redemption of the bailiffs of their fees to be made, so that they be the wives of citizens of the same city, or that their husbands were in the freedom of the city, by the way of redemption, or by the right of inheritance, because they are not any other way ; neither ought they to hold it, nor to be called citizens, but tenants of our Lord the King, or of other their lords whatsoever. And if such brewer, of any fee, hath brewed and broken the assize of our Lord the King, allowed and publicly proclaimed in the said city, she ought, by the bailiff of that fee, to be amerced at the pleasure of the bailiff, and not by her fellows, the first and second time ; and if she brake the assize the third time, she ought to be taken by the bailiff of that fee, and to be led to the judgment which is called the Gonggestole, which shall be and is upon the fee of our Lord the King, and there she ought to choose one of the two ; that is to say, to undergo that judgment, or else to redeem the said judgment at the will of the bailiff. And if she choose the judgment, let it be done unto her publicly, and let her sit there so long time as the baker did upon the pillory ; and her judgment being finished, let it be done with her as with the baker, and she shall make her redemption anew for having a license to brew. And if the husband of such a woman will not permit the judgment of our Lord the King in such a case or the like to be done, let them lose their liberty and freedom, even as perjured and disobedient men. And notwithstanding, the bailiff shall execute judgment upon such with the power of the city, if it be needful. And if it happen any to brew ‘read,’ or corrupt beer, they ought to lose¹.....and the value or the price of the beer, as the bailiff shall think fit, and let them be amerced for the trespass committed as the bailiff think fit. And if it happen such brewers to sell by any measure made to the deceiving of them which abide in the city, or of those which come into the city, let those measures be taken by the buyers and brought to the bailiff of our Lord the King, or of any other fee ; and the bailiff himself shall burn such measures before their doors, or else in the most public places of the whole city, and those to whom

¹ Here there is a *lacuna* in the MS.

they did belong shall be amerced or led unto the judgment aforesaid, if they refuse to be corrected or punished as the bailiff and commonalty shall think fit. And the custom is that those which sell by such measures shall by no means be redeemed before judgment be done unto them.

“Scolds.—Also it was agreed upon concerning scolding women, that by them many evils do arise in the city, viz. by wrangling, fighting, defaming, troubling by night those which are at rest, and often times moving schisms between their neighbours, and by contradicting the bailiff and ministers and others; and in their prison, by speaking ill, or cursing them; and often times by their cries and clamours breaking the peace of our Lord the King, and troubling the tranquillity of his city; wherefore, at all times when they shall be taken and convicted, they shall have their judgment, without any redemption to be made; and there they shall stand, with their feet bare, and their hair hanging about their ears, by so much time as that they may be seen of all those which pass by that way, according to the will of the bailiff of our Lord the King, and not of any other bailiff of what fee soever; and afterwards, the judgment being finished, let her be brought to the gaol of our Lord the King, and there stay until she hath made redemption at the will of the bailiff whose tenant she was. And if she will not be amended by such punishment, let her be cast out of the city; and this by the bailiff of our Lord the King, with the power of the city, if it shall be needful, for divers evils and dangers which may often times arise by such persons, and by their maintenance. And if any such be, let it be done with them as with a perjured man and perturbers of the peace and tranquillity of the city.

“In time of troubles or wars.—When a city shall be besieged by the Welshmen, or by the enemies of our Lord the King, then our chief bailiff, calling unto him all the bailiffs of the other fees, and the constables of the peace, and twelve of the discreetest and most powerful men of the city, with all speed shall send to our Lord the King, and to his justices of peace, and to the sheriff as keeper of the Castle, lest by him the city be any way grieved or molested; and in the meantime our chief bailiff, by the assent and consent of those aforesaid, shall cause to be proclaimed that every one, of what condition soever he be, which doth dwell in the city, or would be assisted by the city in any thing, that they be ready, as well by day as by night, to the premunition of the city, and to watch and ward when they shall be warned by the constables of the peace. Also that no one, of what condition soever he be, shall hide, or cause to be hidden, any armour or any manual weapons, but shall deliver them to the constables in the presence of the chief bailiff, and shall put a price upon them before his neighbours, being called for that purpose; and after the siege he shall choose either



the price or the armour, at his pleasure ; and if he refuseth the armour, they shall remain to the bailiff and commonalty. And if by the inquisition it be found, before the chief bailiff, that there be any such an one which doth hide armour, or weapons, or goods, or chattels, as meat, drink, beef, veal, or the like, wherewith the city might any ways be helped, they shall be forfeited before the commonalty of the city called together to that purpose, and their bodies shall be kept without bail or main prise until the commonalty of our Lord the King or his justices.

“Also it shall be proclaimed that no one, greater or lesser, shall disclose by any messengers the secrets of the city in any thing, or send to the enemies of our Lord the King and ours any letters, or any victuals, or any weapons or armour, or any other things necessary for them ; or shall receive letters or messengers from them, unless he reveal them to our chief bailiff, and to them which by the commonalty shall be deputed and ordained for the keeping of the city. And if any such an one shall be upon this convicted, or that a manifest suspicion is had by our citizens, let him be forthwith apprehended, and led by our chief bailiff to the cross in the market ; and let the common bell be three times moved, to call the whole commonalty, as well the greater as the lesser, and there solemnly let him be made to abjure the city, with his wife and children, and they shall never dwell in the same again ; and let him be sent to our Lord the King, with the seal of the commonalty testifying his fact ; but by the special favour of the whole commonalty may dwell among us if the aforesaid things were not done by their assent. But by no means they shall not dwell where they were wont, for the premunition and warning of other offenders in the same kind.

“And if dissension be moved among us during the siege, forthwith the parties shall be attached by the chief bailiff and the aforesaid twelve men ; and if they will not, the whole commonalty being called together by the warning of the common bell, let them be attached before them, and led to the gaols, and there they shall be stayed, without bail or main prise, until they shall be willing to agree, and the means shall remain unpaid until after the siege.

“Neither do we use among us to levy any debts of our Lord the King, or of any whatsoever, during the siege, unless those debts are for the tuition of the city.

“Churchmen and Widows to find a Watchman.—And we use in such a time that widows and all men of Holy Church, whatsoever, ought to find their ablest men, if they have any, for the tuition and safeguard of the city ; and if they have none, they must place or appoint of the ablest of the city, as well by day as by night.

“And we use, after the siege is done, that all the armour shall be

delivered to our chief bailiff by indenture; and he, upon his accounts, shall be answerable to the commonalty for them. And we use that during the siege, if the bailiff be an unable and impotent man, or unlearned, to choose us one other for the time being; but not a far dweller, unless by the pleasure of the commonalty.

“And if any foreigner shall come among us during the siege, of whom there is any suspicion of evil, although it be but a light suspicion, let him be taken by the chief bailiff, or by the constables of the peace, or by any other of our proper citizens, whether by day or by night, and let him be brought to the gaol; and if he shall be convicted, let him be publicly sent to our Lord the King, or else let redemption be taken of him as we think fit, or let him be cast beyond the walls.

“And we use after the siege to pay debts, if there are any, and for victuals bought in the mean time for our use; and if our chief bailiff hath not wherewith to pay, in such a case let him make an assessment by himself and the aforesaid twelve men; and then let every one of the city pay, as well widows as also other ecclesiastical persons, because they and all others living in the said city are bound to the preservation of the city. But we use that those which made dissension among us in the time of the siege, and the goods of them which were suspected, because such goods and chattels of theirs do belong unto us, and as forfeitures ought to be paid of us, to the encouraging of the aforesaid assessment.

“And we use that when a peace is proclaimed, that all ecclesiastical persons, of what condition soever they be, do go with a solemn procession through the whole city, and to pray for the peace of the Church and for the kingdom, and for all those which in any thing had been helping to the keeping of the city either by counsel, or by aid, or by any other means by the which we and our heirs have escaped disinherittance.

“The Customs of the City of Hereford, newly written and renewed by John Chippenham, Esquire, then Mayor of the City aforesaid, viz. in the second year of King Henry the Seventh, after the Conquest, anno Domini 1486.”

ON THE CHURCHES OF KILPECK AND ROWLSTONE.

BY THOMAS BLASHILL, ESQ.

THE western part of the county of Hereford still retains, to a great extent, the churches which were built there in the century which immediately followed the Norman conquest. Amongst them the most remarkable is that of St. David at Kilpeck, which, from its excellent preservation, and from the profusion of its ornamentation, has attracted much attention, and has furnished materials for many curious, not to say wild, speculations in relation to early mediæval sculpture.

About the year 1134 the benefice was given by Hugh, the son of William Fitz-Norman, lord of Kilpeck Castle, to the Abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester, to which church it still appertains. It has been assumed that the present fabric was then already in existence; but there is no proof of this. The mixture of the ordinary twelfth century arrangements and details with others of an exceedingly archaic character, leads us, however, to place it within the first half of that century.

We have, besides, at Shobdon, in the north of the county, some remains of a church which was designed under the same influence, if not by the same hand, and the date of which we know. It was built, in 1141, by Oliver de Merlemond, who while it was building made a pilgrimage to the famous shrine of St. James at Compostella (Santiago) in Spain; and as his journey would also take him through all those districts of France in which ecclesiastical architecture was then most successfully practised, it may fairly be conjectured that his travels influenced the general style of his new building. Unfortunately there is little now left of it beyond some sculptured archways; but these sculptures are of a most remarkable character. They are very similar to those of Kilpeck, and have one or two points of resemblance to those at Rowlstone; but their execution is much more excellent, and the design more striking and elaborate. While,

however, the sculpture at Kilpeck is much inferior, the general design of that building is all but completely preserved, and we are thus able to compare the architecture of this group of churches with the contemporary style in England and abroad.

We observe, in the first place, that the plan and general arrangement of the fabric, with the positions of doors, windows, and other leading details, are of a type which was quite common in the twelfth century. Churches so far apart as East Ham in the Essex marshes, and Dalmeny in Linlithgowshire, are of the same type; and I have met with many similar ones in various parts of France and in the north of Spain. The very interesting church at Moccas, in this country, is the nearest similar example. The flat pilasters on the exterior faces of the walls, which were first attempts at buttresses, and the corbel-table which runs round the eaves of the building, are features common to the whole of western Europe. I recognise many of those quaint little figures and faces as almost identical with examples of the same period in Normandy, at Poitiers, at Bordeaux, and southward to the confines of Christendom.

The general idea of the columns at Kilpeck, in which human figures, monsters, and birds, are mixed up with foliage and knot-work, is consistent with the ordinary practice of the twelfth century sculptors. A remarkable example of this may be seen in the church of St. James at Compostella, executed in 1116, five-and-twenty years before the pilgrimage of Oliver de Merlemond. The columns in the west front of the Cathedral of Chartres are excellent late examples of similar work executed about 1155; and, indeed, there is nothing in the idea which might not have been found in a great number of churches scattered all over England and France. The chancel-arch is of ordinary Norman character. Its jambs, usually ornamented with columns, are here carved into the forms of saints carrying their various attributes, amongst which is St. Peter bearing a key. In the arch of the south doorway the general design is quite consistent with ordinary English work of the twelfth century. We have the Norman zigzag and star-shaped sinkings. The outer ornament of the arch is composed of medallions joined together by grotesque masks, as used in the font at Stottesdon in Shropshire. Some of the medallions contain birds

exactly like those on the twelfth century font at Winchester Cathedral. The tympanum is filled with a carving representing the vine. The rim of heads and grotesque figures which surrounds it is a remarkable adaptation of the common twelfth-century ornament called the beak or cat's head. The little spur on one of the bases is exactly like one at St. Peter's, Northampton. Many of the little pieces of sculpture, particularly in the corbel-table which runs round the eaves of the building, represent such subjects as the Lamb, mixed with the signs of the zodiac and grotesque heads of men and animals. The apse is vaulted with ribs ornamented with the Norman zigzag, and having a central boss composed of grotesque heads very similar altogether to the work at Elkstone in Gloucestershire, which we visited at our Cirencester Congress in 1868.

But though the general design is of an ordinary type, the style of the sculpture has a character of its own; for while the twelfth century sculptors generally in England adopted eagerly that mixture of Romanesque and Byzantine ornament which was introduced from Normandy, developing it in a fashion of their own, the man who did this work evidently set himself to adapt the ancient style, which was then dying out in these islands of the west; and although we see frequent instances in which that style peeps out in the late Norman work, yet this was the only part of the country in which any determined effort was made to work in that old manner, which was doomed to disappear before the great artistic revival then taking place in Western Europe. Both Kilpeck and Shobdon lie outside the ancient boundary of England as defined by Offa's Dyke. They were anciently in the diocese of Llandaff, and thus would be much under the influence of the old Welsh and Irish traditions. Now there had flourished in Ireland for several centuries a style of ornament applied to works of a religious character, distinguished by the great use of fabulous monsters mixed up with lines or stems curiously reticulated and intertwined. We see many small remains of it in the sculptured crosses of Ireland, Wales, the Isle of Man, and the north and west of England. But it became somewhat plentifully spread over Europe in the splendid MSS. in the production of which Ireland then excelled all the world. That style of ornament, which was then dying out, was seized by

the carvers of Kilpeck and Shobdon, and applied to the purposes of decoration of those otherwise Norman buildings.

While in Shobdon Church we have this style of carving executed with remarkable vigour, and even beauty,—indeed, as excellent in its way as the best work of the twelfth century sculptors,—in Kilpeck the execution is more like that of a man who had not been accustomed to carving in stone, but who copied from MSS. such as the “Beastiaires,” or books of natural history, then in use. It is questionable which of the two churches is more ancient. I am inclined to think that Kilpeck is of later date than the other, in spite of the rude and ancient appearance of its sculptures.

Decidedly the most remarkable feature of the building is the pair of grotesque heads which project from the west end, just as in old timber constructions the ends of the wall-plates were made to project, and were carved into fanciful shapes. Indeed, this feature seems like a reminiscence of some previous timber building. These strange heads may be compared with the monstrous snake-like figures which twine about the doorway. The prevalence of such grotesque forms is highly characteristic of the Celtic school of ornament. They were, indeed, afterwards adopted, and largely introduced in all the succeeding periods of Gothic art, the belief in dragons being quite common down even to the seventeenth century, the learned classifying them in species as confidently as a zoologist would now classify a particular genus of animals. The ornament in the west window is almost purely Celtic, and may be compared with that in the Irish crosses and carved stones. The columns at the sides are of the same size as the roll which is above them. This is quite an Irish feature, and betrays a want of knowledge of the relation which a column with its capital bears to the arch which it carries. A Romanesque architect would have made the column smaller, and the arch more square in section, with a small roll moulding or zigzag ornament on the edge. The small figures amongst the foliage on the jambs of the doorway are said to be in Anglo-Saxon costume. An ordinary carver of the period would have put them in Norman armour or in some more graceful shape, as in the west doorways of Chartres Cathedral.

The font is one of those large, shallow bowls of twelfth century workmanship, of which several still remain in this

county, as at Bredwardine. There is also a water-stoup having a pair of arms clasped round it, which appears to be of very ancient date, probably as old as any portion of the church.

The main portions of the church at Rowlstone appear to belong to the period between 1130 and 1150. Its twelfth century work, although possessing some peculiarities which I shall have to point out, is generally consistent with the Norman type, and free from ornament of the Celtic class. Yet there is a piece of foliage on the south doorway similar to some that I have pointed out at Kilpeck, and exactly like that which is used in a similar position at Shobdon. The sculpture in the tympanum of this door, which represents Our Lord in an aureole supported by four angels, is also like that at Shobdon, except as to the position of two of the four angels. This carving has been said to have reference to the text, "I am the door." But it is really and solely that most favourite subject with all early mediæval artists which is known in England, France, and Italy alike as a "Majesty." We find it as early as the fourth century in the catacombs of Rome, where Christ is represented blessing, with his right hand open, and having a roll in his left. It was used profusely, and with many varieties, in sculpture, painting, stained glass, and MSS., and of course over doorways also. Sometimes, in large churches, an attempt was made to represent, in some measure, the striking scene described in the fourth and fifth chapters of the Revelations. There is the Lord sitting on the throne surrounded by the rainbow like unto an emerald. At the four angles of the subject are the four beasts, which in process of time were considered to be symbolical of the four Evangelists; and on the arch above and the lintel below, encircling all, are the four-and-twenty elders. Here we have simply the Lord in an aureole supported by four angels. The sculptor, for the sake of increasing the size of the tympanum, has brought it down below the upper line of the capitals, and has also adopted the heavy roll-moulding of the arch, of the same thickness as the column below. These were local peculiarities, of which other instances may be given, as that of Bredwardine; and they were also adopted in Ireland and in Wales in the twelfth century. Two remarkable pieces of sculpture exist at the sides of the chancel-arch. In each of

these is the figure of a saint with an attendant angel, in the traditional flowing costume used in early sculpture, and with bare head and feet, and the flat nimbus behind the head. Those on the north side carry each a cross and book. The practice of placing the attributes of the Apostles in their hands, as the keys in that of St. Peter, was of recent introduction at the time these figures were cut; and it would not be easy to identify them if those on the south side were not placed with their heads downwards,—a plan indicating that the figure on this side, if not the other also, is intended for St. Peter, to whom the church is dedicated. This was a very favourite subject with the mediæval artists, Peter having been, by tradition, supposed to be crucified in that position by his own desire. Samuel Dowsing, who was authorised to go through Suffolk in 1643, breaking all the pictures and figures which he could find, makes this entry in his journal in reference to the church of Allington: “In the chancel was Peter pictured, and crucified with his heels upward; and there was John Baptist and ten more superstitious pictures.” The best known instance of this subject is the remarkable altar-piece painted by Rubens for the church of St. Peter at Cologne. In the reversed figure at Rowlstone the saint carries in one hand a long label, in allusion to the tradition which attributed to each of the Apostles one sentence of the Creed. The cocks, which are finely sculptured on the adjacent capitals, doubtless refer to Peter’s denial of our Lord. The birds carved on the stringcourses are of the same kind as those already seen at Kilpeck. They are set amongst tufts of herbage, and are excellent specimens of twelfth century carving. The two iron brackets fixed to the walls of the chancel seem to be of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and they are hinged so as to fold against the wall, and have each five prickets for holding the ends of long candles, which would go through the rings above. Alternate ornaments of cocks and fleurs-de-lis, cut out of thin iron, are fixed on both sides. The two brackets differ both in size and in design, and were probably not the work of the same hand. They are the only examples of this kind in England. The chancel is ceiled with an oak ribbed and panelled ceiling of the ordinary type, though there are not many specimens in Herefordshire churches. The old porch of this church had a similar one, very much decayed.

On the day when the Congress visited Leominster I had the opportunity of showing that carvings of almost precisely the same pattern, and certainly of the same workmanship, as those on the doorway at Rowlstone, exist on the sides of the west window of Leominster Church. Now beneath this window is the large west doorway *which has a pointed arch*. The existence of this feature, which indicates late Norman work, in conjunction with work similar in all respects to that which forms the subject of this paper, tells strongly against the views which some hold as to its extraordinary antiquity.

To the archæologist this district possesses unique attractions. In the church of Kilpeck we have the very last struggle of the decaying style of Celtic ornament. In Rowlstone we see the Norman work of the twelfth century with perhaps Byzantine influences. In the neighbouring church of Garway, built by order of the Knights Templars, the sub-arch of the chancel opening is of a pattern which, if not Saracenic, is at least quite foreign to the native Norman style. Besides these, few village churches are without substantial remains of the later or transitional Norman; and in the remains of Abbey Dore we see how the native English architects, although greatly under the influence of a foreign order of monks, knew how to throw aside the influences which then prevailed in France, and to work out for themselves a beautiful style of architecture which as the Early English in its own way rivals the choicest specimens of continental art.

The sculptures at Shobdon and at Kilpeck are very well illustrated in Mr. G. R. Lewis' works on those churches: the letterpress, however, conveys very inaccurate notions of the art of the twelfth century. Excellent photographs of all the more interesting parts of Kilpeck and Rowlstone churches have been produced by Mr. T. Jones of Hereford, who attended the Congress of the Association.

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THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ., HON. TREASURER.

(Continued from p. 84.)

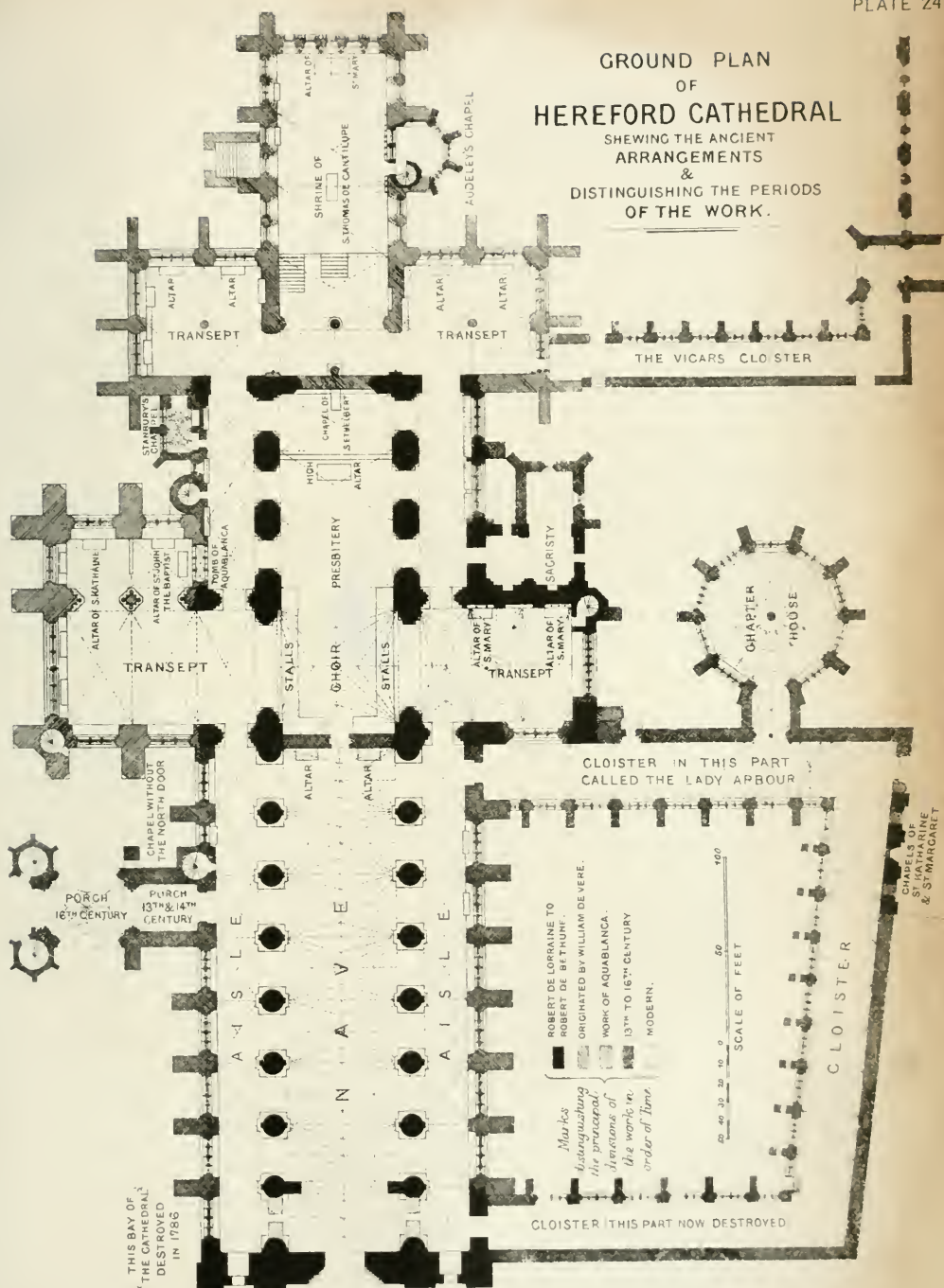
REFERRING now to the ground-plan (Plate 24), let us consider the destination of the several parts with reference to the services of the church and the devotions of the people, limiting our observations to such points as are suggested by the architecture or by the records, so far as the latter have been made available.

The nave for congregational and processional purposes appears to have been anciently coextensive with the structural nave. In the older descriptions there is nothing to show that the arrangement differed from what is shown in the plan of Walter Merrick, made in the first half of the last century, and the similar arrangement shown by John Britton's plan in the first half of this century. Thus the nave was divided off from the choir by a screen which partly occupied the eastern bay of the nave. The choir embraced the whole space under the central tower, in which portion the stalls for the clergy were placed; and the eastern part of the choir, viz. the presbytery, occupied two bays east of the tower, at the eastern part of which bays stood the high altar. The wife of one Robert de Furches was celebrated in the obits of the church¹ for her benefaction which maintained the lamp perpetually burning before this altar,—suspended, it may be, from the boss in the centre of the vault of the centre bay of the three which form the structural choir, or from a beam bearing a cross placed between the two first piers east of the tower. Before this beam, probably from the centre of the vault of the western bay, hung another lamp, maintained by the benefaction of Peter the Canon, priest of Madeley, and of Henry de Beystan.² In their obit the high altar is spoken of as the altar of the Blessed Mary and St. Ethelbert; to whom, in fact, the Cathedral was dedicated, and the feast of the dedication was

¹ Rawlinson, *Antiq.*, obits, 13 kalend. Mar.

² *Ibid.*, 8 kalend. Apr.

GROUND PLAN OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL SHEWING THE ANCIENT ARRANGEMENTS & DISTINGUISHING THE PERIODS OF THE WORK.





celebrated on the 11th of May.¹ The church also celebrated the memory of one Robert le Grent for a benefaction of books for the high altar.²

The high altar must have been placed just before a screen which traversed the choir, shutting off its eastern bay, as is still the case at St. Alban's. Of this screen not a trace occurs. It enclosed the eastern bay for a chapel, of which also there is singularly slight record or mention; but in this enclosure whatever belonged specially to St. Ethelbert, the founder of the church, would be kept and revered. Here would be enshrined the relics of St. Ethelbert which William of Malmesbury saw (1141-58); but the only fact on record concerning it, is that this bay was decorated with a figure of St. Ethelbert when Bishop Mayew was interred on the south side of the bay in 1516.

The extreme eastern wing formed, as usual in the thirteenth century and subsequently, the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The earliest notice of the chapel I have seen is that found by Mr. Black for us in the Dean and Chapter archives. On the 21st of October, 1271, John le Breton, Bishop of Hereford, granted an indulgence to all attending Mass in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and contributing to the maintenance of the chapel or of the clerks administering there.

Beneath the Lady Chapel, under its whole extent, is a crypt. This was the chapel of St. Anne, the mother of the Blessed Virgin. It is not always possible to distinguish notices of the altar of St. Anne in this chapel from those of another altar dedicated to the same saint in another part of the Cathedral. The earliest notice to be identified with the subterranean chapel is in the year 1382. Dr. Rawlinson's extracts from charters of Hereford, in the Tower of London, prove that in this year a chantry was founded in the chapel of St. Anne, "beneath the shrine of St. Thomas";³ and the shrine of St. Thomas, as we have already had occasion to show, stood in the chapel of the Virgin.

Returning now to the principal transepts of the Cathedral. There were two altars in each transept. In the north transept, the one to the north, dedicated to St. Katherine, a writer found to exist in 1358.⁴ The north transept came

¹ Rawlinson, *Antiq.*, obits, 5 id. Maii.

² *Ibid.*, Pat. 5, R. 11, p. 1, m. 16.

³ *Ibid.*, non. Maii.

⁴ MS. Harl. 6726, 168 b.

in later times to be called St. Katherine's Aisle;¹ but this transept was also used as the parish church of St. John. Robert le Grent was celebrated in the Cathedral obits² for a benefaction of books to the altar of the parish of St. John the Baptist. Leland found this parish church within the Cathedral. He also speaks of the altar of St. John the Baptist, before which, he says, had stood the bones of Cantilupe from the time of Bishop Swinfield to that of Trilleck.³ Tradition, difficult to trace, points out this part of the north transept as the position of the Cantilupe relics at this time. In the seventeenth century Dingley found the space above the altar decorated, as I have before mentioned, with a painted figure of St. Thomas de Cantilupe and of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

In the south transept were two chapels, the altars placed against the east wall. That to the south was dedicated to St. Anne, as is made evident by the directions in the will of Bishop Trevenant⁴ (1403), desiring "his body to be buried in the south chapel in the Cathedral of Hereford, called St. Anne's Chapel." Here Leland saw and recognised his tomb, and it yet remains to identify the spot. After the Reformation this transept was sometimes called St. Anne's Aisle.⁵ But we can trace an altar of St. Anne nearly a hundred years before Bishop Trevenant's death. It was endowed in 1317, as appears from Rawlinson's extracts from the Hereford charters in the Tower of London. Again in 1380 and in 1404. One Agnes le Gaunter was also celebrated in the obits for an endowment to the chaplains serving in commemoration of St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin. The north altar of the two in the south transept was dedicated to St. Mary. It was endowed, in 1314, with a house and eight acres of land, by Hugh de Bruce. The license for so doing is recorded in Bishop Swinfield's Register at Hereford (f. 191), and the original was seen by Rawlinson amongst Hereford charters at the Tower of London. In both records the altar is expressly described as in the south part of the Cathedral. It is the position of the ancient altar of the Virgin before the more sumptuous chapel was erected at the east end of the Cathedral.

Within the Cathedral, viz. in the eastern transepts, stood

¹ Dingley.

² Rawlinson, obits, non. Maii.

³ Leland, *Itin.*, Hearne, 2nd edit., vol. viii, f. 78A, 79A.

⁴ Lambeth, *Regist. Arundel*, f. 207.

⁵ MS. Harl. 4046.

four altars, of which considerable traces exist in the form of the stringcourses, etc., against the east wall. In the nave, against the choir-screen, on either side, near to the choir-entrance, it is probable (according to custom) that two more altars were placed. In the aisles of the subterranean chapel are some marks of two more altars. Thus we have the places of eight more altars. Besides the altars already named and allocated, I meet with the names of eight others; but I am not able to identify the names separately with the eight places pointed out. The names of the eight altars are these:

1. St. Francis. It was in existence as early as 1288, when William de Hay was prebendary of Pyon Parva and canon of Hereford. He gave to this altar some silver cups, relics, and other things necessary for the altar and for the vicar administering there, he having constructed the altar in honour of St. Francis.¹

2. St. James. It was endowed in 1403.²

3. St. George. According to a brass, now lost, William Lochard, canon, died in 1438. The Chapel of St. George was called the Lochard Chapel,³ and was endowed in 1440. William Lochard and John Russell were jointly founders.⁴ An ancient figure of St. George, in stained glass, remains in the church.

4. St. Agatha and St. Agnes. A vicar of the Cathedral, Nicholas Boteler, was celebrated in the obits for a gift of books and vestments to this altar.⁵

5. St. Helena. The same person and circumstances are connected with this altar. An ancient figure of this saint, in stained glass, still remains in the church.

6. Holy Trinity. Absolon, the clerk, for the souls of himself, his wife, and children, first constructed this altar, and provided a perpetual vicar in the Cathedral.⁶

7. St. Nicholas. Stephen Bandoire, canon, instituted a vicar to celebrate his mass⁷ daily at this altar; and it is named in a rent-roll of the vicars of the choir.⁸

8. Holy Cross. The sole notice of this is by the enthusiastic author of the *Gests of St. Thomas*.

¹ Rawlinson, obits, 11 kal. Maii; also Rawlinson's Appendix, p. 31; and Le Neve's *Fasti*.

² Rawlinson, Hereford charters in the Tower of London.

³ Ibid.

⁴ MS. Harl. 6726, f. 168 b.

⁵ Rawlinson, obits, 13 kal. Jul.

⁶ Ibid., 2nd id. Jun.

⁷ Ibid., 19 kal. August.

⁸ MS. Harl. 6726, f. 168 b.

The chantries of Bishops Stanbury and Audeley,—the first built out from the north aisle of the choir, and the second from the south side of the Lady Chapel,—have been noticed, pp. 77 and 78.

The chapel of St. Mary, outside the north door of the Cathedral, was founded in 1367, as shown at page 80, the only remnant of the chapel left being the door which led to it. Two other external chapels we have also mentioned as occurring before 1234, viz. of St. Katherine and of St. Mary Magdalene (p. 83). Leland calls them “two chantries in St. Katherine’s Chapel, of the south side of Hereford Church cloister.” In the time of Stephen Ledbury, Dean (*circa* 1325), the Dean and Chapter confirmed and approved, and apparently renewed, the foundation “for two chaplains in the chapel of St. Katherine, near the Palace of Hereford”; and at this time Walter de la Beche, a vicar of the church, added to the endowments certain lands in Kentish Burcote and Nether Chelwyke, and a messuage in Castle Street, Hereford. John de Aka and John called Le Peer de Ballymare were appointed chaplains. Richard de Havering, precentor, and Thomas de Chaundos, architect, are witnesses.¹

Thus far we have considered the arrangements for divine services which were embodied in the plan and structure of the Cathedral,—a consideration which in the imagination peoples the place with generations of men and women who for four hundred years poured out at these spots their cares and heartaches, their hopes and thanks; spots hallowed first by their dedication to some name revered for piety, or some object designed to honour the majesty of God; and surely still specially hallowed by the memory of four hundred years of such reverence.

One other altar or shrine requiring particular consideration yet remains for notice in this place, the shrine of St. Thomas de Cantilupe. Unlike the rest, it had no place in the design of the Cathedral; but it has been believed, and is believed, that of all the shrines or altars, it alone has been preserved; and the beautiful monument in the north transept is believed to be the pedestal, or more substantial part of the shrine. I am obliged to combat this belief, and to suggest that the monument in question is more likely to

¹ Mr. Black exhibited the original deed found by him in the Dean and Chapter’s archives. Index, No. 391.

have belonged to the chapel of St. Ethelbert. The history of the relics of Cantilupe¹ is this, from contemporary writers. In 1282 they were placed in the Cathedral. In 1287 they first attracted the attention of devotees; and at that time probably lay in the Lady Chapel, though this position is not pointed out to us till two hundred and fifty years later, in which interval two removals had taken place. In 1288 the relics were removed into the chapel of St. John the Baptist; and in 1350, beyond all doubt,² they were translated to the chapel of the Virgin, the Lady Chapel, and there remained, being noticed in that place in 1382; again, about 1400, by Bishop Audeley and by Leland, just before their final degradation by the dissolution. Of the act of degradation we know nothing, nor of the act of removal of any part of the shrine, nor is any other fact whatever known concerning it. In 1634 it was gone,³ though this was still popularly known as the place of it.⁴

About seventy years after the dissolution, Bishop Godwin calls the monument now in the north transept the tomb of Cantilupe; not aware that the shrine had stood for nearly two hundred years, and to the last, in the Lady Chapel. He came to this conclusion because he found the monument in question in the chapel of St. John, where he knew the shrine was placed in 1288, and believed it had ever since remained. Because he entertained this false conclusion and belief, it has ever since been entertained and promulgated.

For drawings of the monument I must refer to the admirable representations of Stothard and Britton. An examination of it will show that it is singularly deficient in emblems or symbols relating to an ecclesiastic. The fourteen sculptured figures upon it are wholly military. The one symbol of an ecclesiastic is on the top of the table-tomb, where is the indent for a brass bust of a bishop; and to connect this with Cantilupe, there is an appearance of indents on the field about this brass, as if it had been semé with leopards' heads in brass,—one of the indents showing the leopard's head perfectly; but this one, nor any others, showing or not showing the fleur de lis issuing from the leopard's mouth,

¹ Pp. 66, 67, 68, *ante*. ² Pp. 73, 74, *ante*. ³ Lansdowne MS. 213.

⁴ It would be a mere waste of time to discuss the confusion caused by later writers, who introduce King Edward III at a translation of the relics in 1287! and who produce another translation from the Lady Chapel to the transept in 1320.

which was a distinctive armorial bearing of Cantilupe. If this distinctive mark of Cantilupe were perfect, it would prove nothing relative to the connexion of this monument with the Bishop, because from his time his coat of arms was adopted for the see. The bust only of a bishop, in brass, seems hardly a fit memorial for a renowned saint of the Church ; and it and the indents of three rectangular plates of brass lower down on the stone, are more likely to refer to a bishop (with inscriptions relating to the fact) who raised this monument for some purpose of his own design. The architecture of the monument agrees sufficiently with the date which the supposed connexion with the Cantilupe relics in 1288 would require ; but it is scarcely credible that the Cantilupe monument of that date could have survived the subsequent removal, "at a great expense," of the relics to the Lady Chapel, (it would have work of 1350 upon it), the renovations continued for two hundred years, and the desecration and destruction of the shrine. Another circumstance adverse to its connexion with Cantilupe, is that the monument in the north transept was evidently never intended to be exposed to view at its east end. It is there altogether rough and unfinished ; and it never was so exposed till Mr. Scott, tempted by observing that it could not have been designed to stand where it has been since Bishop Godwin's time, removed it from its place against the wall four or five years ago. This circumstance is at variance with the circumstances of the real Cantilupe shrine or tomb in existence at the Dissolution ; that had stood for nearly two hundred years in the centre of the Lady Chapel, where unquestionably all four sides were in view, and must have been wrought and beautified with an equal treatment.

The most likely supposition is that the so-called Cantilupe tomb is a shrine of St. Ethelbert. The military figures upon it might well relate to that prince. Its blank east end would be accounted for by its having touched at that end against the blank wall, built up in the eastern arch of the Ethelbert Chapel a hundred years before Cantilupe ; and the date of the workmanship of the monument would show that when honour was done to the relics of Cantilupe, the honour of Ethelbert, the patron of the church, was not forgotten. It is singular that the only perfect mark of a religious character about the monument is a little figure of

St. Ethelbert himself in brass, which, though loose, is still preserved, and fits into an indent in the stone, to the right of the indent of the Bishop's bust.

In conclusion I come to some purely architectural and descriptive observations.

The Norman Cathedral commenced by Robert of Lorraine in the latter part of the reign of William the Conqueror, and in continued progress till completed by Robert de Bethune in the reign of King Stephen, now remains in the choir to the top of the triforium; in a considerable portion of the wall of the south aisle of the choir; and in the transverse arches at the east end of the choir, and its aisles; in the four great arches of the central tower; in the entire side-walls of the south transept, and in a sacristy forming an aisle to the east of that transept; in the foot of the south wall of the south transept, and in the great arches on both sides of the nave. During the extensive works of repair recently conducted, considerable portions of this work about the great tower arches and their abutments have been reconstructed. Thus the four *quasi* Norman arches opening from the transepts into the aisles are new; and the rich arch at the east end of the choir, when discovered by Dean Merewether, was so dilapidated, that after replacing its own stones as far as possible, a considerable portion had to be made anew, and the enrichments cut to correspond with what had been found of the old. This arch had been blocked from the time that William de Vere built the new chapels to the east of it, about 1190, placing one of his columns right in the centre of the blank wall with which he filled it. When Dean Merewether took up the floor of De Vere's work, he found beneath it parts of the foundation of the Norman work of Robert of Lorraine. I have now before me the drawing which the Dean made of those parts, showing also his own suggestion for their completed form. The foundation shows unquestionably that the east end of the north aisle of the choir was terminated by an apse, semicircular in plan, inside; its outside shape not definitely remaining, but probably square. Of the foundation at the end of the south aisle very little remains, but it may be assumed that it was like the north. Outside of the main arch of the choir, for four or five feet, the massive foundation of the side-walls continued straight eastward, and then was broken up and

lost; but the Dean's conclusion was that the part broken up had been an apse, and thus it is shown on my plan.

In the architectural design of the choir and nave there is some variety of treatment. The piers to the great arches of the choir are in plan rectangular masses with slender shafts cut on the angles, and grouped on the faces. In the nave the piers are cylindrical, with a pair of shafts attached to each end of their transverse diameter; the said shafts terminating at the caps of the main columns, whilst in the choir the inner shafts continue the whole height of the Norman wall. The enrichments applied to the arches are several varieties of the chevron. The balance of enrichment and richness of effect is in favour of the nave-work. Above the great arches of the choir, the Norman triforium is perfect; a semicircular arch in each bay springing from immense semicircular columns, and enclosing a pair of semicircular arches; the arches, and caps, and the tympana, enriched with carvings and diapers. The nave-triforium is a weak and poor design by Wyatt, miserably copied and debased from the clerestory of the choir. By far the greater part of the Norman nave-triforium survived the calamitous fall of the west end in 1786, as may be seen in the drawings published at that time by Wathen, and in one of John Britton's plates. The drawings do not perfectly harmonise, but they show that the nave-triforium differed in design from that of the choir; and with respect to the clerestory, that it differed from that of the south transept, yet had some points of resemblance. With these points, and by a study both of the clerestory and triforium of the south transept, the Norman design of those parts in the nave could easily be restored. Nor would the work of restoration be so serious a matter as at first sight might appear; for the walls of Wyatt's work in these parts are substantial enough, and it is easy to insert in the openings the original Norman designs in lieu of his weak translations of thirteenth and fourteenth century work now in the triforium and clerestory.

One cannot here avoid regretting a work of Mr. Cottingham's in the clerestory at the east end of the choir. A new window there was a matter of necessity among the earliest of Dean Merewether's works; but how the architect could have designed so ill-proportioned a work is marvellous, with admirable lessons at hand in the sides of the choir-clerestory,

of the style of the thirteenth century ; which style he rightly fixed on for the east window, but utterly spoilt the idea in the execution. The wonder is the greater seeing the remarkable success of his dealing with the very difficult circumstances which the opening out of the eastern arch below had brought upon him. It exposed to view, from the choir, the rude and rough spandrel of the vault of William de Vere's work obtruding itself in the very centre of the elaborate eastern Norman arch. This rude work Mr. Cottingham covered with one of the most elaborate and admirably designed pieces of carving of modern days. The effect of it and its position is surprisingly happy and satisfactory.

Very little of Norman work remains in the aisles, and yet we know exactly what their Norman design was. On the wall of the south aisle of the choir, near its west end, the marks of the Norman vault, which once existed, are plainly visible. Pass by a doorway through the aisle-wall into the sacristy, or aisle of the south transept, and there is found existing exactly such a Norman vault, in perfection, as has left its traces in the aisle. This is a simple groined vault without any ribs, and was evidently applied throughout the aisles of the church. In the choir-aisles later vaults have been substituted ; and on the south side, in order to relieve the darkness of the choir, the vault of the aisle was at last raised up above the triforium, whereby light is admitted from the aisle into the choir, through the arcade of the triforium.

In the south transept some interesting features of Norman design occur. In the main part, that is, up to the triforium, the east wall is divided into three parts by a large and lofty semicircular-arched panel nearly in the centre, and occupying the whole height from the floor, with a space on each side filled at the bottom with arched panelling, and having a blank arched panel above. Up to the Dissolution there existed here an altar to the Virgin, and for this the central space was designed ; though probably the addition of an altar to St. Anne had caused that of St. Mary to be removed northwards, after a more perfect chapel to the Virgin had been erected at the east end of the church. The transept has a very simple triforium eastward ; but westward, where no aisle or roof existed outside, the triforium was lighted by a rich and lofty Norman window. Owing to this light in the triforium, the clerestory above, in the western side, was merely a series of

blank panels. Eastward the clerestory had three windows; a large enriched arch, stilted, and window, in each case, between two little arches. All the Norman windows of the transept were disturbed in their use by the vaulting inserted in the fifteenth century, and some of them are now best seen above that vault. The interference with the light caused by the construction of this vault (for there was no vault here before), led to the introduction, in the fifteenth century, of a large window in the west side, at or near the time that the south end was reconstructed.

I have just noticed that the Norman design did not include a vault to the south transept. I believe that originally the north transept and the centre of the nave were alike without a vault; but the method of the shafts inside the choir would seem to show that a Norman vault was there intended, if not actually made.

In the choir, the stringcourse at the foot of the clerestory, the entire sides of the clerestory, and the vault, as we see them, were rebuilt soon after the period of William de Vere.

Although the west end of the nave, which completed the Norman work under Robert de Bethune, was totally destroyed by its fall in 1786, and Wyatt's reconstruction cut short the building at that end by one bay, yet the original form and character are perfectly recorded in the valuable drawings made by Walter Merrick before 1742,—so perfectly that the restoration would be no difficulty, if the funds were forthcoming. The drawings show that the Norman west front bore a very close resemblance to the corresponding front of Rochester Cathedral. In the centre of the nave is a large Norman door, deeply recessed, in five orders. The nave front is flanked by two large square Norman turrets, which each carried a pinnacle, and the aisles are flanked each by a smaller square turret and pinnacle. For a little space above the base the walls are plain ashlar, but higher up they are covered with arcaded panels. The Norman windows of the nave had been superseded by a large window of six lights inserted in the fifteenth century, whose history has already been given.¹ Even the full description of the glass in this window is preserved to us in a MS. in the British Museum,² and this description has been printed.³ Upon the summit of the Norman walls of the

¹ P. 77 *ante*.

² Harl. MS. 4046.

³ Malcolm's *Excursions*, 1814.

nave is a tower, evidently strictly agreeing in the characteristics of its architecture with the still existing central tower, and therefore to be identified as an addition of the fourteenth century. There is first a stage of tabernacle-work, the Norman panelling curiously adapted to canopies of the later date; and four of the panels filled with effigies of St. Thomas de Cantilupe, St. Ethelbert, St. Peter, and St. Paul. On this rises the new construction, a stage of low elevation; and then a lofty stage surmounted by a parapet and pinnacles, and adorned profusely with the ball-flower ornament, precisely as the central tower. Each stage has four two-light windows. Perhaps two in each stage ought to be blank, as they are in the great tower. Walter Merrick drew two north views, from which the design of the side of the tower, differing but little from the west side, can be recovered.¹ The simple cause of this ruin was that this weighty tower had been added on the Norman work without any preparation in the substructure for the added weight, except a slight pier on each side of the nave, which must have carried an arch under the east side of the tower; and then, after bearing the added weight for four hundred and fifty years, the Norman substructure became disintegrated till it completely broke up under the pressure. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,² soon after the catastrophe, says that for twenty years and upwards the state had been ruinous. There had lately been an extensive attempt at bracing it together with iron cramps; and to add to the supports under the tower, the two western arches at the sides of the nave had been filled up with masonry at a cost of £200, leaving only a small opening in each of the new masses of masonry. The work thus introduced may be seen in Wathen's view of the

¹ Walter Merrick's west elevation is reproduced in Duncumb's History, although the origin is not there acknowledged. Wathen's four plates of the Cathedral owe all their value to what they borrowed, unacknowledged, from Merrick. Wathen's view of the west end, "taken on the morning it fell, 17th April, 1786," bears this presumptuous falsehood on its title. It is true the fall was not without notice or warning, but this warning was quite unheeded; and Mr. Wathen had not the wonderful foresight to draw the view in the morning before it fell, but simply copied it afterwards from Merrick. The drawings are not Mr. Wathen's own, although they bear his name; for on the 29th of Nov. 1786, he wrote a letter, published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* the next June, in which he apologises for the rudeness of two sketches of the ruin sent by him, on the ground that it is his first attempt at an inside sketch. One of the sketches is published in the *Magazine*, from which Mr. Wathen's inability to accomplish what is attached to his name in the other plates is fully established.

² *G. M.*, 1787, p. 958.

ruin. The preservation of the great west window up to that moment we owe to Browne Willis, who, visiting the Cathedral fifty to sixty years before, in the time of Dean Harris,¹ found an iron window framed all ready to take its place. He prevailed to have the ironwork laid aside, and the window repaired in stone.

The great central tower, until its substructure was fully restored under Dean Merewether, had been in a like threatening condition for two hundred years, and under continual treatment. As the masonry of its piers showed a disposition at various times to crush in the heart of the piers, and to burst out the facing, a band-work of facing stone had been added, cramped together with iron, to bond round and confine the old masonry,—at the best a very weak expedient. Also, under the centre of each of the two great side-arches of the tower a pillar of masonry had been raised carrying a tympanum of masonry, which filled up the semicircular arches. Yet this second expedient never had any useful effect, for the new columns and masonry thus erected settled down whilst their mortar was fresh and soft; so that it was found in Dean Merewether's time, they were quite separated from, and clear under, the masonry they had been intended to touch and support. Thus, with all its threatening, the old tower lasted on with little benefit from the supports provided. Dean Merewether, by the advice and direction of Mr. Cottingham, his architect, got rid of these useless supports; and with great ability the architect reconstructed the ancient supports at the four corners of the tower, got rid of their casings, and brought to view the original Norman work: all being completed between March 1843 and February 1847,—a success achieved under most critical circumstances.

Of the origin of the superstructure forming the central tower, and its progress in the middle of the fourteenth century, we have already spoken. It is highly probable that the designer of this work, as well as of the western tower, was that Thomas de Chaundos, architect, who under Dean Ledbury (1325-52) witnessed the grant, already quoted, to the chapel of St. Katherine adjoining the palace. The exterior of the great tower is well shown in our view (Plate 1, p. 60, *ante*); and of its interior I will only say that the archi-

¹ British Museum, Addit. MS. 5811, f. 102b.

tect avoided, as far as possible, weight in the work which he imposed on the Norman arches, by constructing the upper walls in two thicknesses, with a capacious hollow between; and yet further to avoid weight and gain strength, his first story of the inner wall is wholly of cut stone; by the use of which, instead of unwrought stone, he was able not only to make the wall thin, but he built it in narrow piers (about fourteen on each side) several inches apart; thus producing a sort of stone lattice, and saving the weight a continuous wall would have caused. The exterior of the central tower is not in all respects as its architect designed, for originally the four roofs which abut upon it were of a much higher pitch than now, and all the engravings down to the end of the last century show that it was designed to have windows only in its upper stage. Since Wyatt lowered the roofs, the weathercourses of the old roofs have been done away with, and windows have been introduced in the lower stage. Moreover, the pinnacles and parapet at the top are not as the original design, but were erected with some departure from it in 1827. This tower was roofed with a timber spire covered with lead: when erected is unknown. The spire was described by Grose, in 1774, as looking extremely crooked when viewed from the Castle Green, and was taken down twenty-three years afterwards. Numerous views showing the spire exist.

Although the roofs had everywhere lost their original high pitch, this has of late years been restored on the Lady Chapel; and it is worth mentioning that throughout the Cathedral and its cloisters, although the whole of the roofs are modern, they are covered with lead; a reproof to those—more especially to such as act for so great a body as the Ecclesiastical Commissioners—who have been accustomed, in a vast number of instances, to rob churches of their lead coverings by the meaner substitution of slate or tile.

Having pursued the Norman work through its chief modifications, we may now take in hand the additions to the plan originated by William de Vere at the end of the twelfth century. The architecture shows that his plan embraced the whole of the eastern transepts and Lady Chapel, in extent exactly as they are now. The ante-chapel, designed with the forms of the pointed style of architecture, yet retaining the chevron ornaments of the then expiring Norman style,

is an admirable specimen of the architecture of De Vere's time. A similar style appears in the external porch of the crypt to the Lady Chapel; and as there is no vertical break in the work, it is evident that the walls of the Lady Chapel, under the windows, subject to later touching up, are of De Vere's period, the windows and upper part following a little later. In the north-east transept, below the windows, the stringcourse of De Vere's time may be traced in most parts; and the respond which he built on the north side of the Lady Chapel, midway in the width of the transept, although wholly cut away now, may be clearly seen in its bond-stones still left in the wall. Then in the centre of each eastern transept are the bases which he designed for a large grouped column, instead of the small later octagon column now standing thereon. In the south-east transept, against the east end of the choir, are yet the bases of a group of his shafts, but the shafts are gone; and the door from the same transept, going into the vicar's cloister, though of a later period, has at the foot of its jambs bases for the shafts of an earlier door of De Vere's time. Thus we see, over the whole extent of the eastern additions, traces of the commencement of the work by this prelate. Of the failure of a portion of this work, one evidence is the inclination outwards, especially on the north side of the old arches into the choir-aisles. Thus a failure of the work led to the reconstruction of De Vere's transepts, beginning about a hundred years after his time, on the north side, not completed for a hundred and fifty years on the south, and vaulted later still; the reconstruction extending to the choir-aisles.

Aquablanca's work in the south transept possesses much excellence. The boldness of the lofty design of the windows north and west is very striking and peculiar. A less satisfactory peculiarity is the imperfect segmental form chosen for the arches throughout,—a peculiarity from which the beautiful tomb of this prelate in this transept is free.

After Aquablanca's time the reconstruction of the nave-aisles was carried on till, as their style marks, an advanced period of the fourteenth century; yet there is a continual mixture in minor matters, in caps and bases and carvings, of the manner of work of the previous century. This mixture is very marked in the north porch of the nave, particularly in its inner door and the ornaments there. This

door, viz. that which opens directly from the porch into the church, has two distinct periods of work. The nook-shafts and the moulding to the outer order of the arch, with the carved ornament in the front hollow, are pure Early English work, *i. e.* of the thirteenth century, as early as Aqualblanca's time; whilst the inner order of the arch is cusped, is of later work, and is decorated with *paterae* and ball-flowers, matching the work in the bishops' tombs of the beginning of the fourteenth century. The vault of the inner bay of this porch is Early English, except its keystone, which is of the next period. The arch which now divides the outer from the inner porch was originally in the external front of the porch. Throughout the Cathedral the ornament is so unobtrusive as to impart a general character of severity. This archway is adorned with exceptional enrichment. It is of three orders. The details are transitional from the Early English period, except the carving of the arch, which appears to have been executed after the construction of the work, and at a time when the succeeding style was completely established. The outer order is carved with thirty-four figures,—human, birds, animals, and monstrosities. The middle order is, perhaps, a stem of Jesse: a figure at the foot, on each side, holds a branch, which winds up, and thirty-two human busts appear amidst foliage,—fern, oak, maple, etc. The inner order has a bishop at the foot, on one side, and a dean on the other, with winding foliage above. The addition made to this porch, of an external porch, about 1519, is noticed at pp. 79, 80, *ante*.

The Chapter House, a decagon in plan, is a total ruin. Three sides of its southern part retain its design and construction, as high as the window-sills; in the rest only the form of its plan is traceable. Dr. Stukeley saw it ruined, but yet in much better preservation than now. He made a drawing of its interior as he believed it to have been when perfect. Such a drawing, giving a very excellent idea of what its original state must have been, is in the possession of Mr. Townsend Smith at Hereford. It is an old drawing, and not unlikely to be from the hand of Dr. Stukeley, or a copy.¹ From a description² of the building written in the time of Charles I, we learn that the Chapter House was approached from the cloister by a porch 10 ft. wide and 14 ft.

¹ Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum*, 1724, p. 67.
1871

² Harl. MS. 4046, f. 19.
68

long, in which a monument, then seen, to Thomas Birington, sub-treasurer of the Cathedral, dated 1375, seems to show that the work of the Chapter House must have been complete at that date; and the nature of the architectural remains warrant this conclusion. One of the ten sides being occupied by the entrance, the nine others were each divided, beneath the windows, into five panels, every panel containing a painted figure,—forty-five paintings in all. To the left of the door were painted, first, two kings, conjectured to be St. Ethelbert and King Melfrith; then a bishop holding a church in his hand, which reminds us of the stone monumental effigy of a bishop in the Cathedral having the same symbol; next, two ladies in maidenly habits. On the right hand of the door, the first five panels each had a female figure, three or four of the figures having a babe in the arms, probably representing the Virgin Mary with different attributes. Beneath one of them was the figure of John Prat. Of the next five, to the right, some of the figures bore their names, St. Chad, St. Winifred, a king, a black nun, St. Edward: over each an escutcheon,—three lions' heads erased. The next series of five, to the right, were a knight in a habit of mail, St. Thelya, a nun in black, St. David (bishop), St. George: over them three escutcheons, each quarterly—1st, *or*, maunch *gules*; 2nd, barry of ten, *argent* and *azure*; over all, seven martlets *gules*. The remainder of the panels were then much obliterated; but the figures of Christ, some of the apostles, and primitive saints, were distinguishable. When a survey of the Castle was made in 1652,¹ it was then found that the Castle keep had been covered with lead taken from the Chapter House. This fact marks the period when the Chapter House was abandoned to ruin.

The cloisters leading to this building and to the double chapel of St. Catherine and St. Margaret, are of the fifteenth century, or even, it may be, of the sixteenth. The most noticeable feature about them is in the buttresses of the south walk. Each buttress is perforated by a small archway, which suggests the notion that this work and the buttress of the north porch, perforated with a doorway, and bearing the date 1519 sculptured upon it, are nearly coeval; the arches having shadowed out the idea for the doorway, or the doorway for the arches.

¹ Duncumbe, vol. i, p. 287.

The remaining wall of the chapels of St. Margaret and St. Catherine shows distinctly the nature of their architecture, and is complete for their north side. There are three bays both on the ground and the upper floor, with marks of a semicircular vault to each. Dr. Stukeley's description, in 1724, shows that the body of the building was exactly square in plan; so that from this remaining side the main part could be reconstructed. To the square was added a small projection eastward, in the centre of the east side, forming a chancel; and on the west side a very massive projection, making a wall 14 or 15 feet thick, in which a very deeply recessed door was set, under semicircular arches,—an imposing piece of Norman design. In the mass of the wall on each side of the doorway a cylindrical stair led from the lower to the upper chapel. Dr. Stukeley found remains of much decorative painting on the walls. I have already said that this building must be regarded as forming a part of the Norman work of the Bishop's Palace; and that it was the episcopal chapel there is no doubt. At his death Bishop Swinfield bequeathed to the chapel of the Palace "his Pontifical and all the books commonly used by him and his clerk in the chapel, being all which he bought of the executors of the Lord Thomas, of holy memory, his predecessor; also the silver chrysmatory which he bought in London, two large silver phiolas, a silver thuribulum, an incense-ship of silver, and spoon, in order that to the Most High his successors may celebrate the offices with less expenditure of time, oftener and better, he having frequently experienced inconvenience before he procured the articles named."¹

¹ Regist. Orleton, f. 11A.

Proceedings of the Association.

24TH MAY, 1871.

G. M. HILLS, ESQ., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

THANKS were returned for the following presents :

- To the Society.* Royal, Historical, and Archæological Association of Ireland, for vol. 1, Fourth Series, No. 5. 8vo, Dublin, 1871.
- „ „ Cambrian Archæological Association, for *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Part VI, Fourth Series. 8vo, London, 1871.
- „ „ Society of Antiquaries, for *Archæologia*, 40, ii. 4to, London, 1870.
- „ „ The Transylvanian Museum, for *Az Erdél Yi Museum,—Egylet Evkönyvei,—Ötödik Kötet Harmadik Fuzet, and Ötödik Kötet Masodic Fuzet; Szerkesztette Brassai Samuel. Kolozsvartt, 1870.* (Miscellaneous Transactions of the Transylvanian Museum, vol. 5, Parts II, III. Edited by Samuel Brassai. 4to, Klausenberg, 1870.)

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited the following objects,—glass bowl, two fragments of glass, one bead, one bronze key, Roman; from the site of No. 27, Mark Lane. Fragment of bronze, from Aldersgate Street. Pliers, fragment of glass; from Barge Yard. Bronze candlestick. Battle-axe head or blade, from the Thames shore, opposite the Carron Wharf, Upper Thames Street.

Mr. Edward Levien, Hon. Sec., read the following paper on “Roman Remains at Beddington, Surrey,” by E. P. Loftus Brock, Esq.:

“I beg to report to the Council and associates of the British Archæological Association the discovery of the remains of a Roman building at Beddington near Croydon.

“The great increase of the population of Croydon has rendered the question of the disposal of the sewage of the town a matter of considerable importance, and recently the utilisation of this has taken practical form. A large tract of land has been obtained at Beddington, about three miles from Croydon, for the purpose of forming a large model farm, to be irrigated entirely by the sewage of the town. The site

formed, I believe, a portion of the Beddington Park Estate, belonging to the Carew family, and had long been used for agricultural purposes. It lies very low, and extends from Beddington Lane to the Hackbridge Railway Station, being almost on a level with the river Wandle, which runs near to its southern boundary.

"In March 1871 I heard casually from Mr. Addy, who is superintending the formation of the Model Farm for Mr. Lathom, C. E., who has designed the works, that some old foundations had been cut through, and some fragments of pottery found, during the formation of one of the irrigating trenches which will cross and recross the land at right angles through its entire extent; and he showed me several modern coins, of no interest, which had been found in various parts; but among these were three Roman coins in very poor condition, but which I recognised as being of Commodus (second brass) and Constantine the Great, and Constans, of third brass. The inscriptions were quite gone, but the portraits could be made out by comparison with other coins.

"Having an appointment at Beddington three days later, I was able to visit the spot, and found that the walling was undoubtedly part of a Roman building, and the paving tiles of a small chamber (the eastern one) resting on the well known concrete of hard mortar formed with pounded red brick. The contractor of the works being present, some men, by his courtesy, were set to work to clear the earth away from where another wall appeared to have been cut through by one of the trenches, and immediately the fragments of a scored flue-tile were brought to the surface, and some fragments of pottery.

"The work of clearing the site was then proceeded with, and in a short time the large chamber was uncovered. This is 16 feet 5 inches long by 9 feet 11 inches. The longest sides face north and south. On the northern side, and close to the western extremity, there is a semi-circular apse leading from it by an opening 4 ft. 4 ins. wide, carried down to the foundations. It will be noticed that while the larger chamber is paved with flat tiles, many of which remain, yet the flooring of the apse has been at a higher level, and carried by a series of small piers formed of the same square tiles, and as if a hypocaust, or at least a receptacle for hot air, had been beneath; but no entrance remained. Hot air might have been brought into it from elsewhere by the flue-tiles, but none of the fragments met with were *in situ*. The walling here, although beneath the level of paving, was plastered internally down to the foundations.

"A second chamber was discovered eastward of the larger one on the northern side. This is 7 ft. 9 ins. by 3 ft. No sign of entrance was visible, owing, doubtless, to the inconsiderable remaining height of the walls; but the floor here also had been carried, on brick piers,

to the higher level. When these two small projections were opened, the tiles forming the upper portion of the piers were supposed to be remaining parts of a paving of tiles, but subsequent research showed their construction.

"Eastward, and quite apart from the others, a separate detached building was uncovered. This measures 11 ft. by 6 ft. 6 ins. within the walls, and is paved with flat tiles bedded on the concrete first met with. No appearance of doorway was found.

"To the west of the first chamber a small passage, 5 ft. 3 ins. by 4 ft. 9 ins., paved with tiles, was met with, which widened into a chamber 7 ft. 6 ins. by 6 ft., having two recesses. At the angle of the first of these, and about 1 ft. above the paving, a projecting rebate was formed in the wall by thick, ribbed tiles, to form a ledge, as if to receive the edge of the paving at the higher level, as before. We have thus four recesses on the north sides of the larger chambers, the paving of which must have been at a higher level, and with spaces beneath.

"The foundations also showed another small chamber westward, 8 ft. by 3 ft., but with no sign of entrance. It may be concluded, therefore, that the pavement was at the higher level, and approached by a step or two from that of the larger apartment. —

"The foundations came to an abrupt conclusion here; but two projecting masses on the south side may warrant the supposition that other foundations extend in this direction.

"Several fragments of hard plastering were met with during the excavations, having broad bands of dull red on a white ground, and remarkably fresh in colour. Many fragments of pottery also were discovered, mostly of very coarse ware; minute pieces of thin, black ware with small dots of a lighter colour; and two fragments of Samian ware. One of these has a pattern indented from an ordinary cockle-shell, impressed when the clay was wet, and alternating with what appears to be the potter's monogram. Although the rebated ledge in the small recess seemed as if formed to receive the edge of a tessellated pavement, no fragments of any were met with.

"A third brass coin of Allectus, of the ordinary type, and in very good preservation, was found, and also a silver penny of Ethelstan; thus indicating, in all probability, that the building was occupied in Saxon times.

"The position occupied by these remains affords another example of Roman buildings having been often erected in what are now most unpromising sites. The land is so low that it is difficult to comprehend why this somewhat marshy position was selected for building rather than the rising grounds around Beddington Church. The walls have a remaining height of only about 18 inches from the level of the paving, while the ground-level is about 3 feet above the paving. The walls

are about 15 inches thick, average; and are composed of rubble with a plentiful admixture of the usual flat Roman bricks, and are plastered internally and externally. The position is about a third of a mile from Beddington Church and Hall, and almost exactly north-east.

"In all probability these relics would never have been met with but for the very exceptional nature of the works in progress. The land may have been turned up by the plough for centuries without disturbing the remainder of the walls lying so close to the surface. The course of the trenches before referred to has alone revealed them.

"Shortly after the discovery of the site of this building, a piece of Roman brick was noticed about a furlong to the south-east; and some excavation revealed the existence of a hard, concreted platform about 20 feet square, and about 1 foot in thickness. This was composed entirely of fragments of large bricks 4 inches thick, and pieces of coarse earthenware of 1 inch in thickness, being portions of circular vessels of large size. These were found in considerable quantities. No foundations of walls were met with. Had any such existed, they have been completely removed.

"It may be stated that the appearance of the remains warrants the supposition that the superstructures were taken down for sake of the building materials, since but very few fallen fragments have been found.

— An urn of rough description was found in another part of the field, and a considerable number of bones have been found in various directions. Some other urns were afterwards met with, and are referred to in the list of objects exhibited.

"The progress of the works has required the cutting through of the walls to complete the trenches, and the remainder of the excavated portions have again been filled up. The record of the buildings exists, therefore, only in the plans.

"Leaving the question aside as to whether this building was not of much larger extent, I feel assured that many Roman remains are to be met with in this locality. Eastward from our new church at Wallington, and about a mile distant from the site of the Roman building, a raised bank, which has every appearance of being part of a Roman road, extends north and south; and I have found one or two fragments of Roman glass during the other building operations here.

"I have the pleasure of submitting for the inspection of our members some of the antiquities discovered in the foundations of the building just described, and also in the early sepulchres near it. These are referred to in the list at the end.

"I take this opportunity also of recording the discovery of another ancient place of sepulture in this locality, made on the Wallington Manor Estate. In February 1869 the erection of several houses was commenced, partly facing the Manor Road, Wallington, and partly

fronting the new roadway called the 'Alcester Road,' and only about twenty-five yards north from the new church of the Holy Trinity, Wallington, then just completed.

"In course of the excavations for the foundations of the houses, and in the spaces of the land between them, several graves, neatly cut out of the solid chalk, were discovered. They were about 3 feet below the ground, and there were no signs of any tumuli above the ordinary surface. The graves were exactly east and west, the heads lying to the west. One of the skeletons was extremely perfect, and was measured by the builder whose men discovered it, and it was over six feet in extreme length. A bronze spear-head was found with this skeleton; but nothing else was noticed, although other relics may have been there, and heedlessly scattered. The graves do not appear to have had any covering more than the earth.

"In various positions, not far from where the large skeleton was found, the builder met with traces of other interments, and the distinct positions, more or less perfect, of six at least. Unfortunately these were cut through, or otherwise obliterated, without careful attention, and every possible attempt was made to prevent their discovery being known. The houses being erected by a builder of the "speculating" class, he feared lest the news of the discovery of skeletons on their site should prejudice their letting. The whole of the land on this estate will be built over under our direction, and any other discoveries shall be carefully chronicled.

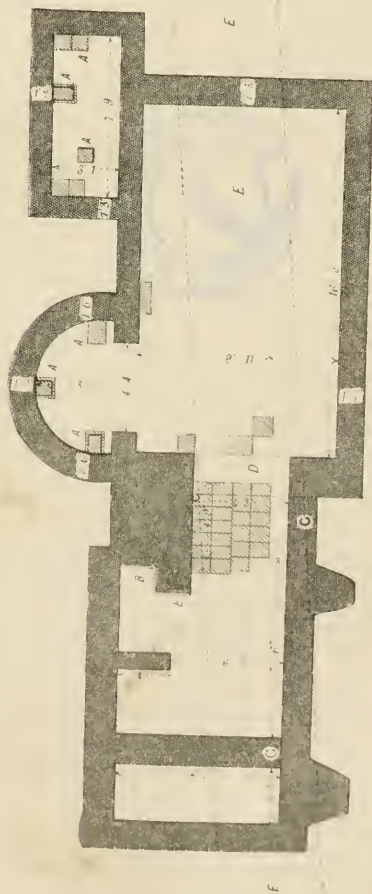
/" "The raised bank previously referred to runs parallel to the Manor Road, through the whole extent of the estate, and east of the site of the interments. This ancient roadway is shown, on an old survey, to run almost up to *Woodcote*, about a mile distant to the south-west, where Camden notes the existence, in his time, of traces of a small walled town. The bank, however, has now been very considerably cut into by the recent building operations in the neighbourhood of the Wallington Railway Station.

"Roman fragments have also been met with in the field known as 'The Windmill Field,' on the course of this roadway. Our new building operations may open out these.

"Considerable interest is directed in the neighbourhood to the long, ancient passage commencing in a cave formed on a raised bank opposite the old Plough Inn at Beddington. It is cut in the hard, sandy soil, and follows pretty closely the course of the public road to Wodmansterne, Its course is partially indicated on the large scale Ordnance Map by dotted lines; and many, doubtless, very exaggerated stories are told of its extent. It is stated to extend to Woodcote, nearly two miles distant, and its course certainly extends in that direction. The Cave is on grounds belonging to Mr. Watney, and is well known in the district.

Plan
of the Roman Building at
Beddington.

DISCOVERED APRIL 1871



NOTES The Retaining AA denotes brick piers to support paving at a higher level than that of the other chambers

B Shows retained steps to raise pavement also at the higher level

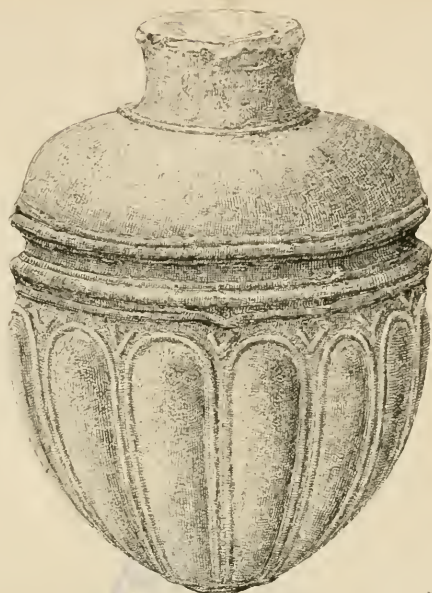
CC Tiles set there by the Workmen

D Also opened by the Workmen but an opening is believed to have existed as shown

EEE Course of the Irrigating Trenches

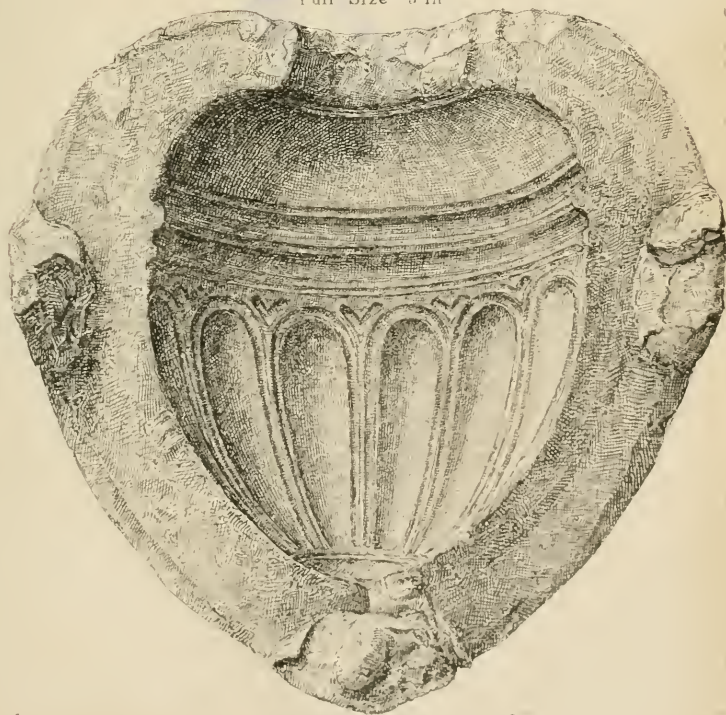
Scale 1/2 inch to the foot





Full Size 6 in.

Full Size 5 in.



Full Size 7 1/2 in.

Full Size 8 1/4 in.



List of objects exhibited.—1. Packet of Roman plastering, red lines on white ground (with red and black lines on one of the fragments), from the Roman building.

“2. Packet of fragments of Roman Samian ware, and imitations of ditto. From the same.

“3. Packet of ditto, ditto, marked with curious shell-indentations; and alternately shell-indentations and *potter's mark* on one of the fragments. Found in the Roman building.

“4. Fragments of a small urn of thin black ware, with lighter stripings. Found in the Roman building.

“5. Two fragments of the scored flue-tiles from the Roman building.

“6. Fine, large, circular cinerary urn found in the field on position marked on plan No. 2. This is of dark colour, and has curious indented patterns. Anglo-Saxon (?).

“7. Another ditto, found near the above, and of similar description, but less perfect. Anglo-Saxon (?).

“8. Two spear-heads of iron, and two other fragments, found with the above.”

Mr. Gordon M. Hills remarked that the plan of the Roman buildings excavated at St. Alban's resembled that described and figured by Mr. Brock.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a tracing, by Mr. Watling, of the figure of King David on the painted screen¹ in the south aisle of Southwold Church, Suffolk,—a work of about the middle of the fifteenth century. The “sweet singer of Israel” is in royal array. A long green mantle with golden borderings and ermine cape forms his outer covering; beneath which is a red garment reaching to the feet. On his head is a rich golden crown; and with his left hand he supports a golden harp, the strings of which he seems about to touch with his right fingers. Beneath the effigy is a label which once, doubtless, bore the king's name, but the inscription is now much defaced. In the “*Clog Almanacs*” the festival of David, the patron saint of Wales, is marked by the device of a harp; but the figures of the Bishop of Menevia and the King of Israel cannot be confounded, though the same instrument of music may be regarded as the emblem of both of these royal personages. The Jewish monarch is always crowned, the Cambrian prelate never wears a diadem.

We learn from tokens, that in 1658 John Stonyer, in Church Lane, Whitechapel, had for his sign King David with the harp; and that in 1667 the same sign existed in Northumberland Alley, Fenchurch Street. In Hotten's *History of Signboards* (p. 262) it is stated that “Goliath's conqueror, King David, liberally shared the honours with his victim;

¹ For a notice of a figure of Baruch from the same screen, see *Journal*, xxv, p. 178.

and he still figures on various signboards. There is a King David's Inn in Bristol, and a David and Harp in Limehouse; whilst in Paris the Rue de la Harpe is said to owe its name to a sign of King David playing on the harp." A curious sedent figure of King David playing on five pendent bells with two hammers, is given in Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes* (ed. 1830, p. 293), from a MS. in the Royal Library, No. 20, B. xi.

Mr. Edward Levien, Hon. Sec., read the following letter, dated St. Mary Bourne, Andover, 22 May, 1871:

"DEAR SIR,

"As an associate of the British Archæological Association I write to inform you that I have just made the discovery of interesting Roman remains at Finkley near this place.

"On Friday Mr. Longman, a son of the proprietor of the land, called and said some bones had been dug up in a field. On visiting the spot I found sheep's bones and some stones and Roman roof-tiles just ploughed up. After considerable search we found an outside wall, which having followed during Friday and Saturday, left us in possession of the part of a villa. The field containing the remains is the site selected by Sir Colt Hoare for *Vindomis*; and the building is about four hundred yards south of the Portway. I cannot at present state minute particulars, but hope to do so when our diggings are completed. We found, however, a good many interesting relics, such as stone roofing tiles and nails, flanged tiles of brick, pottery of various kinds, a bit or two of good glass, several pieces of plaster showing mural painting, all of bright crimson; but no tesserae. We may, perhaps, be more successful when we trench the rooms. We found, further, bones of various animals, oyster-shells, etc. All the relics will be taken the greatest care of.

"I should say that we have nothing but foundations, all the superstructures having been removed, so that we are not likely to find more than outlines. In the dry, thin soils on the chalk, buildings of any depth would long since have courted observation.

"We also discovered what we considered might be a Roman-British interment. It appears at present to be within the precincts of the building. The grave was filled, to the depth of about four feet, with broken roof-tiles, bricks, lumps of sandstone, flints, and other *débris*, apparently, of the building; which would seem to show that the interment must have been later than the building. Proceeding cautiously we came to two heavy slabs of sandstone covering a small hollow or cist in the chalk, beneath which we found and removed the broken materials of four different vessels, of thin, well made Roman ware, with ashes, and the blade of a small iron knife. A platform of chalk, two feet in length, raised seven inches above the level of the bottom of the cist, occupied the east end of the grave; for the use, apparently, of the person conducting the operations. The length of grave is about five feet; depth, five feet.

"I made a partial opening of a similar grave in this field some years ago; and from the irregular nature of the ground in places, richness of the soil, etc., conclude that others are present.

“Further, I have no doubt that two or three other villas, at all events buildings of some kind, remain undisclosed in different parts of the same field.

“Trusting you will excuse this hurried note, I remain yours truly,
“JOSEPH STEVENS, Surgeon, etc.

“I should have stated that the grave contained remains of a deer (roe deer, I think) and sheep. These were above the covering to the cist, and were not blackened or burnt.—T. S.”

JUNE 14TH.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following members was announced :

A. M. Brown, Esq., 269, Camden Road, N.

Professor Samuel Brassai, Director of the National Museum, Klausenburg, Transylvania, as an Honorary Foreign Associate.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

To the Society. Canadian Institute, for Journal, vol. xiii, No. I. New Series. 8vo, Toronto, 1871.

„ „ East India Association, for Journal, vol. v, No. I. 8vo, London, 1871.

Mr. Edw. Levien exhibited, as a specimen of caligraphy, a small Hymnal executed in France *circa* 1600. On vellum, and in the binding of the period.

Mr. Blashill exhibited a collection of pottery from *Magna Castra*, now Kenchester, co. Hereford, consisting of portions of a Roman mortar, a colander, and a dish of apparently about thirteen inches in diameter; also lumps of iron slag from a furnace, four tessere (one black, and the others white) from a pavement, numerous pieces of Samian and black ware, and fragments of coarse Roman pottery.

Mr. Gordon Hills also exhibited specimens of pottery from the same locality, one of them being a portion of a dish ornamented with a sort of fern-leaved pattern arranged in a small square, which probably contained the name of the potter.

Mr. Cuming remarked that one of the specimens exhibited by Mr. Blashill was seemingly a fragment of the upper portion of a grave-stone.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited part of a set of chessmen of pipe-clay, found in excavating for the foundations of the Holborn Viaduct, probably of the seventeenth century; with a terra-cotta lamp, and fragments of two statuettes of the same material, from the site of the Mausoleum at Budrum, the ancient Halicarnassus. They were brought home by one of the crew of H.M.S. *Industry* (Captain Balliston) in 1858, and were given by a sailor to one of the policemen who was on duty at the ship's side on its arrival in London.

Mr. J. W. Baily also exhibited the greater portion of the antefix of a lion's face, wrought in a bold and effective style, in red terra-cotta, discovered last April, with other Roman remains, on the north side of the Strand, near Temple Bar, in excavating for the foundations of the new Law Courts.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said he regarded the object produced by Mr. Baily as of considerable interest, and, so far as London is concerned, of great rarity. He had no doubt that it was an antefix, once attached to the front of the cornice of the entablature of some Roman building of importance; and that when perfect there was an aperture through the mouth, to permit the rain which fell on the roof to flow off into the street; that it was, in fact, a classic gargoyle, of which examples are not unfrequently seen among the architectural remains of Greece and Italy. Those who desire to examine such ancient waterspouts may do so in the British Museum, where there are three elegant cornice-tiles of terra-cotta from Athens, the fronts of which are embellished with the honeysuckle pattern, and each having in its centre the head of a lion with the mouth perforated.

Mr. Cuming exhibited a mutilated lion's head from the front of a tile similar to those in the national collection, and which was brought from Athens by the Earl of Guildford; it was formerly in the possession of the famous sculptor Joseph Nollekens, and subsequently in the museum of Mr. Powel Charles Blacket. This antefix is of drab coloured terra-cotta; more carefully finished than the London specimen, but less effective in execution. It has been conjectured that such *antefixa* as the above were made in allusion to the rising of the Nile, which occurs when the sun enters the sign Leo; but the classic gargoyles do not always assume the shape of animals' heads, for those of the Temple of Isis at Pompeii represent comic masks.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills exhibited two vases belonging to G. B. Ackworth, Esq., and said: "These vases have been in their present owner's possession since 1849, and before that had been in the possession of his grandfather for fully thirty years. There is no record of their being brought to him, or of where they came from. What, then, is their origin and intention? Mr. Cuming informs me that they are from Spain, and that they are refrigerators. He has two specimens in his own collection, brought from Malaga in 1837, differing in shape, but agreeing in character with the present specimen. One of his is a water-bottle, the other a vase raised upon a foot. *Alcarazzas* is the Spanish name for porous, unglazed earthenware coolers. (See *Dictionary of Trade Products*, by P. L. Simmonds, F.R.G.S., etc.) Mr. Cuming also remarks, that though not articles of antiquity, they have elements of Moorish design about them; and he adds that Marryat, in his *History of Pottery and Porcelain* (ed. 1850, p. 226), says: '*Alcarazza* (Sp.), from

al-karazah, the Spanish-Moresco term for those vessels of porous texture used for cooling water, which M. Brongniart classes under the term of *hydro cérames*. The *alcarazza* is called in Portugal *alcaradza*. Large numbers of *alcarazzas* are manufactured at Andujar in Andalusia. For a notice of Eastern water-coolers, see *Journal*, vii, p. 170."

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew said that he had in his possession a water-cooler found in the Holborn Valley, which precisely resembled in texture those now exhibited. It was thought that it had been imported from Africa during the reign of Charles II, when, as is well known, there was considerable trade carried on with that quarter of the globe.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills, Hon. Treasurer, read the following letter addressed to Mr. Thos. Wright, in reference to two small 16mo. printed books exhibited by their owner, M. Henry Davenport:

"MY DEAR MR. WRIGHT,—I send herewith the two little books I named to you as having been found recently in an old Elizabethan house I have lately repaired at Horsepath, a small village lying on a spur of Shotover Hill, about four miles south-east of Oxford. The house still contains chimney-stacks sufficiently capacious to have harboured in safety the priests who, it may be conjectured, secreted the books in question, since they are translations of some of the prohibited productions of Cardinal Bellarmine, and their possession would doubtless have subjected their owner, soon after the date of their publication at Douay (1604), to condign punishment.

"A friend at Oxford, after ingeniously mending the title-page of the more perfect of the two, gives me this rendering: '*An Ample Declaration of Christian Doctrine*, composed in Latin by Cardinal Bellarmine, and now made into English by Richard [Haddock, Doctor] of Divinity. Imprinted at Doway by Lawrence (?) Dellam, at the sign of the holy Lamb, 1604.'¹

"The more dilapidated book is of older date.

"Yours very truly,

HENRY DAVENPORT.

"The Grange, 23rd May, 1871."

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited:—1. A fine and perfect battle-axe of iron, of the thirteenth century, found in London. 2. An indented tool of split bone, for leather-work, found in London. 3. A very ancient shuttle of beech wood, eleven inches in length, found with some other implements at Swan Wharf. 4. A fine Roman horse-bit of three links of iron, found in London. The cheek-pieces are in the form of the Greek Ω. 5. An elegant pomander of ancient Moorish work, plated, and perforated in patterns. 6. A mould for a *thyrsus*, and cast from the mould. (Plate 27.) Mr. Mayhew said the mould, together with some Roman grass, was found near Smithfield in 1865. Messrs. Hunt & Roskell had taken a very careful cast from it, which was now on the table. For what the mould had been intended, remained until very lately an

¹ See Dodd's *Church History*, vol. ii, p. 69, where Richard Haddock is said to have translated Bellarmine's large Catechism, 8vo, Douay, 1604.

enigma ; but a solution was found amongst the Palestine relics in the South Kensington Museum. Captain Warren had excavated at Sidon several bottles of terra-cotta of similar design with the cast before them, and one of these contained quicksilver ; two or three were broken, disclosing the thickness of the walls and comparative minuteness of the orifice. The mould on the table was, doubtless, for modelling a bottle,—a *thyrsus*, in fact, for purposes similar to those of Sidon. Attention was drawn to the deep and accurate lines as well as general beauty of the pattern. The mould is in shape of a pine-cone, with greatest breadth of seven inches ; of length, eight inches ; and is made of a stone-like composition.

Mr. Grover admitted the antiquity of the mould, but suggested that the cast might have been an oriental finial.

Mr. Blashill rather inclined to the idea of compensating weights, on account of the presence of quicksilver, by which great accuracy might be obtained.

Mr. Baily said that whatever the ancients might have done, modern practice consigned quicksilver to bottles of wrought iron.

Mr. Mayhew said that, taking a review of the subject, and considering the points of connexion brought out by comparison with the relics from Sidon, he must adhere to the fact that the example on the table was an ancient terra-cotta bottle, in model, for a use similar to those in the South Kensington Museum, adorned with a prodigality of art.

Mr. Oliver exhibited a brass Russo-Greek crucifix of the ordinary type, having engraved on it various texts in reference to the passion and death of Christ. (See *Journal*, xxiii, pp. 113-123.)

Mr. Edward Leven, Hon. Sec., read the following account of a Druidical circle in the township of Turton, parish of Bolton le Moors, South Lancashire, by Thomas Greenhalgh, Esq. :

“The township of Turton, like many others in South-West Lancashire, is largely occupied by lofty moorland hills,—the home of the grouse and the lapwing. Amongst these wilds is a range of high ground standing more distinct from the other moors than is usual with hills of this nature. The range is divided into two parts by a slight depression. That portion to the north is named Turton Heights, and is stated by the Ordnance Survey to be 1,100 feet above the sea. The southern half is known as Chetham Close, from its having been the property of that old Lancashire worthy, Humphrey Chetham. This part is twenty-five feet lower than Turton Heights, and the depression spoken of above sinks about thirty feet lower still. The summit of each is a sort of table-land, sloping gently towards the depression just named ; and extending, both together, about a mile from north to south, by a quarter of a mile from east to west.

"Nearly in the centre of the northerly slope of Chetham Close, and at an elevation of 1,060 feet, stand several stones of a Druidical circle. This circle, I should judge, originally consisted of eleven stones. Of these, seven are still standing in a more or less perfect state. The diameter of the circle is small, being only 51 ft. 6 ins.; so the stones are, as might be expected, small likewise. The tallest is 55 ins. by 18 ins. wide; and the shortest, No. 4, 8 ins. only in height. At the distance of 45 ft. south-west from the outside of the circle, stands a solitary stone, 19 ins. high by 10 ins. wide; and south-south-east, at a distance of 102 ft., another stone, 35 ins. high by 17 ins. wide. The stones vary in thickness from 9 ins. to 15 ins.

"The position of the stones is circular, with vacant spots, and their dimensions and shapes vary. The table-land gradually rises from the circle in a south-south-easterly direction; and a short distance past the outlying stone, a height of 1,075 feet is attained; and a quarter of a mile further on a view is to be got, with a clear atmosphere, which towards the south is bounded only by the powers of vision. From this spot the ancient people who erected the circle must have often gazed on a scene which persons now familiar with South Lancashire would find it impossible to realise. The valleys, and even the sides of the hills, were clothed with trees, the oak and birch predominating, whilst the margins of the numerous streams and swamps were overhung by the alder; the wild boar, and doubtless the wolf, roamed in the woods, and smaller game abounded in the more open parts. The numerous waters throughout the district would be alive with fish, amongst which the salmon might be numbered; for when the country was better wooded, and entirely uncultivated, the large rainfall of the district (now about a mean of 55 inches) would be still more copious, and keep the streams full of water.

"The last few centuries have, however, wrought a wonderful change in the scene, which has been the most rapid since the introduction of machinery into the county; and from the same spot may now be seen the habitations, comprised in towns, villages, and farm-houses, of hundreds of thousands of human beings. Unfortunately, however, there are still to be found amongst us persons as barbarous, in some respects, as the rude people who erected the circle. These were rude in their ideas of building; the others barbarous in wantonly destroying that which time had made more interesting than the modern palaces of kings. Up to the spring of last year the circle appeared to have suffered little for ages; but at that time rambling over the moors I turned aside to take another look at the circle. Not that I thought of anything having happened, but for old acquaintance sake; when, to my surprise, I noticed a framework of wood within the circle; and upon reaching the spot itself, what my disgust and astonishment

were may be easily imagined, when I found two of the stones broken almost to fragments, and several others damaged. This could only have been effected by the aid of a heavy hammer, as the stones broken were before strong and sound. Fortunately they were not rooted up, so their places are still seen in the group. One very small one has apparently been in the state it now is for a long time.

"I at once communicated my unpleasant discovery to the owner of the land, James Kay, Esq., of Turton Tower, who instituted an inquiry, and traced it to some members of a picnic party who had made use of the ground without asking leave. A few more such wanton pieces of mischief, and this interesting relic, like many others of its class, will be irrecoverably destroyed.

"About a mile from the circle, north-west from it, and on a much lower level, 890 ft. above the sea, is a flat piece of bog called 'Charters Moss.' Here was found, about 1810, a bronze British celt. It was discovered by a man whilst digging turf; as I was told, at 4 ft. from the surface. Having taken a careful drawing of it, I found, upon comparing it with similar objects in the British Museum, that in cases Nos. 13 to 20, 'British Antiquities Department,' there were several closely resembling it; and one, No. 315, SZ, the all but exact representation of it. The Rev. Mr. Probert, in whose possession it had been for nearly half a century, and who resided a few hundred yards from the spot where it was dug up, died recently, and bequeathed it to New College, Gordon Square, London.

"Population has not yet encroached upon the circle, and a person standing in it is as solitary as though no human habitations were anywhere near: in fact, taking a radius of two miles, there are only a few moorhedge-farmsteads; and in a northerly direction, the strictly preserved grouse-moors extend a dozen miles or more."

NOVEMBER 22.

REV. W. S. SIMPSON, M.A., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following members was announced:

Wm. Thompson, Esq., Gloucester Road, Weymouth.

James G. J. Templer, Esq., Lindridge, near Teignmouth, Devon.

Rev. Prebendary Talbot H. Baker, Preston near Weymouth.

W. R. Brodie, Esq., Longton Maltravers, near Swanage, Dorset.

Capt. F. J. Butts, The Salterns, Parkston, Dorset.

H. S. Mitchell, Esq., 5, Great Prescott Street, Whitechapel, London.

Mrs. Reginald Smith, Dorchester.

T. Jackson, Esq., M.D., Arbenic Lodge, Leamington.

Thomas Ashby, Esq., Staines, Middlesex.
 G. Wingfield Digby, Esq., Sherborne Castle, Dorset.
 Rev. A. H. Bull, Cerne Abbas, Dorset.
 Rev. Francis Warre, Bere Regis.
 G. R. Crikmay, Esq., St. Thomas Street, Weymouth.
 G. E. Eliot, Esq., Belvedere, Weymouth.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

- To the Society*, Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society, for Proceedings, vol. xvi, 8vo. Taunton, 1871.
- „ „ Canadian Institute for Journal, vol. xiii, No. 2. New Series. 8vo. Toronto, 1871.
- „ „ Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, for vol. i, Nos. 6, 7. Royal 8vo. Dublin, 1871.
- „ „ Council of the East India Association, for Journal, vol. v, Nos. 2, 3. 8vo. London, 1871.
- „ „ Cambrian Archæological Association, for Journal, Nos. 7, 8. Fourth Series. 8vo. London, 1871.
- „ „ Royal Archæological Institute, for Journal, Nos. 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110.
- „ „ To Royal Society of Copenhagen, for Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord. New Series, 1869. 8vo. Copenhagen. And for Aabøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie udgivne of det kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab, for 1869, 3rd Part; for 1870, Parts 1, 2, 3, 4; for 1871, Part 1. 8vo. Copenhagen, 1869-71. And for Tillæg til Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, for 1869, 1870. 8vo. Copenhagen, 1870.
- „ „ Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts, for Bulletins, vols. 1, 2; 8vo; Salem, 1869, 1870; for Proceedings, vol. 6, Part 2; 8vo; Salem, 1871; and for Historical Collections, vol. 10, Parts 1, 2, 3, 8. 8vo. Salem, 1869, 1870.
- „ „ Smithsonian Society for Contributions to Knowledge. Folio. Washington, 1871. And for Annual Reports of Board of Regents for 1869. 8vo. Washington, 1869.
- „ „ American Ethnological Society, for Analytical Alphabet of the Mercian and Central American Languages. By C. Hermann Berendt, M.D. 8vo. New York, 1869.
- „ „ Board of Indian Commissioners at Washington, for Second Annual Report of the Board. 8vo. * Washington, 1870.
- „ „ Society of Antiquaries, for Proceedings, vol. 5. No. I. Second Series. 8vo. London, 1871.
- „ Verein für Kunst und Alterthum in Ulm und Oberschwaben, for Verhandlungen. Parts 1, 2. New Series. 4to, Ulm, 1870, 1871.

To the Authors, Robert Edmond Chester Waters, B.A., for "Parish Registers," reprinted for private circulation; with Additions and Corrections from the "Home and Foreign Review." 8vo. London, 1870.

" " Rev. John Bannister, LL.D., Vicar of St. Day, Cornwall, for "A Glossary of Cornish Names, Ancient and Modern, Local, Family, Personal, etc." 8vo, London and Edinburgh, 1871.

" " Gaetano Cara, Director of the Archæological Museum at Cagliari, Member of the Commission for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, etc., for "Cenno sopra diverse armi, decorazioni, e Statuette Militari rinvenute in Sardegna ed esistenti nel Museo Archæologico di Cagliari." Folio, Cagliari, 1871.

" " George Gilbert Scott, Esq., R.A., for Report on the Restoration of St. Alban's Abbey. 8vo, 1871.

" " Rev. Edward W. Blyden, Professor in Liberia College, for "Appendix to Benjamin Anderson's Journey to Musadu, an exact *fac-simile* of a letter from the King of Musadu to the President of Liberia in 1868, printed from photographic relief plates, with a translation." Small 8vo, New York, 1870.

" " Mayor and Corporation and the Board of Health of Weymouth, for a series of Photographs illustrative of the Congress of the Association held in that town in August, 1871.

Edward Roberts, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Sec., gave an account of the Weymouth Congress, and said that the results obtained by the visit of the Association had been most satisfactory in an archæological point of view. He also communicated the substance of a letter received from M. Simon, the Minister of the Interior of France, thanking the Association for the interest it had taken in endeavouring to secure the preservation of the walls and other antiquities of the town of Dax.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., gave an account of excavations at Warrington, and exhibited several of the objects found there, which had been forwarded to him by Dr. Kendrick. A description of these will be found in Mr. Cuming's paper on the subject, which is printed at pp. 430-37 *ante*. Mr. W. Sparrow Simpson remarked that some of the specimens seemed of a remarkably rare type, and one of the vessels containing a perforated diagram was, as far as he knew, unique.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., read a paper on an ancient British cemetery at Sunbury Common, at Ashford, Middlesex, which will be found at p. 449-52 *ante*. Mr. Leonard supplemented Mr. Roberts' paper by a short description of some vessels exhumed since the discovery of those now exhibited, and said that Mr. Ashby and himself would have much pleasure in presenting to the Museum of the Association all the specimens which were before the meeting. Mr. G. R.



Wright, F.S.A., who, in company with Mr. Roberts and Mr. Black, assisted in the investigation of the cemetery above referred to, observed that the most striking feature in connection with the discovery was the absence of any tumulus or mound, as in almost all the examples where sepulchral urns had been found there existed over them mounds more or less large. This, he thought, was a very important feature, as the field in which the cemetery was situated was on a low level, and seemed, with the country about, always to have been of a flat nature. In the recent works of Mr. Bateman, Mr. L. Jewitt, and Sir J. Lubbock, the best examples given of sepulchral urns from early burial places are taken from small caverns under tumuli, surrounded by stones, and then covered over by earth, making the mounds or tumuli so frequently met with all over our country.

After remarks upon the various objects exhibited had been made by the Chairman, Mr. H. Syer Cuming, and Mr. J. W. Grover, the thanks of the Association were unanimously voted to Messrs. Leonard and Ashby for their kindness in allowing the excavations, and to the latter for the valuable presents made to the Association.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said it was highly gratifying to see such a display of *Britannic fictilia* as that now before the meeting, and to listen to the able and lucid paper by Mr. Roberts descriptive of their discovery. It was patent from the quantity of urns met with at Sunbury that the locality was set apart as a burial-place for a tribe of some extent, and although no trace of mounds, nor even of a mound, is now discernible, he felt confident that earth had been originally heaped upon these sepulchral deposits. We know full well that many "grave-hills" have disappeared within the memory of man, and that, too, so entirely that a stranger passing over the flat surface-soil would never suspect that beneath his feet rested the ashes of the dead. The absence of tumuli in the present instance could not, therefore, be regarded as any new or extraordinary circumstance. There seemed to be an idea that the cinerary urns lately exhumed were simply *sun dried*, or at best were fired by accident and chance, and not at all by design. With this idea Mr. Cuming said he could not in the least coincide, for these vessels, like all others of the same epoch he had examined, from various parts of England, had been more or less baked before receiving the mortuary *reliquiae*. It was clear that in many instances the archaic savage placed the glowing ashes in the urn, or inverted it on the remains of the deceased whilst burning, and the effects of this practice might be detected by the discoloration of the interior of the vessel, which in parts decidedly is biscuit in the strict sense of the word. The Sunbury urns, both in contour and paste, resembled in general "finds" made in other parts of the country, and specially the Dorset pottery. There was one fragment of peculiar interest, from the neat *chevron* wreath which surrounded the

drum of the vessel ; and others presenting the rare feature of the upper edge of the mouth being decorated in the manner occasionally seen in the British *ficilia* of the north of England. The flints associated with these urns show nothing but accidental fracture, but we may fairly expect that implements wrought of this material will be met with, for no one acquainted with ancient British interments can for an instant doubt that the sepulchral deposits at Sunbury belong to that remote era known to archæologists as the stone period.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, M.A., F.S.A., V.P., exhibited a Russo-Greek Cross of silver gilt, and a plaque of mother-of-pearl representing the *Pietà*.

John Gray, Esq., Q.C., exhibited twenty silver coins recently found in an earthen vessel at Hinkley, near Leicester, viz. :—Vespasian, 2 ; Domitian, *rev.* Pallas to r. ; ditto, Pallas to l. ; Nerva, *Æquitas* ; ditto, *Libertas* ; Trajan, *Danuvius* ; ditto, *Victory* ; ditto, *Æquitas* ; ditto, *Virtus* ; ditto, *Triptolemus* ; ditto, *Fortuna redux* ; Hadrian, *Copia* ; ditto, *Concordia* ; ditto, *Female with Victory* ; ditto, *Salus with patera* ; ditto, *Æternitas* ; ditto, *Salus* (?) ; M. Aurelius, *Emperor* ; ditto, *Victory* ; Faustina jr., *Lætitia*.

13TH DECEMBER.

GEORGE GODWIN, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following members was announced :—

G. B. Welsford, Esq., Weymouth.

Miss Fothergill, Hensol Castle, Cowbridge, Glamorganshire.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited two coloured drawings by Mr. Watling of Roman vessels discovered at Etaples, Pas de Calais, and which are of much interest on account of their ornate character. One is an *ampulla* of dark grey terra-cotta, with a band of graceful scrolls round the middle in white slip or *barbotine* ; and on the shoulder, in the same material, the word *VIVAS* (May you live). Other allusions to life are seen on *ficilia* of this description, as, for instance, *VIVA*, *VITA*, *VIVE BIBE MULTIS*, and this elegant *ampulla* belongs to the class of convivial vessels described by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson in our *Journal* (xxiii, 100). It may be remarked that whilst the majority are *pocula* from which the wine can be drunk, the example under review is a bottle for holding some *liqueur*, regarded, perhaps, as an *aqua vite* by the ancient toppers. The second sketch represents a pretty little jar or pot of red ware, with a bird, scrolls, etc., in relief. It is of superior design and fabric, differing much from the Arezzo ware of Italy and ordinary Samian exhumed in England, but is in accord with pot-

tery met with at Cologne and other Roman sites in Germany, which may probably have been wrought at Rheinzaubern on the Rhine.

Mr. Kettle exhibited a small parcel gilt steel corkscrew of the seventeenth century, of peculiar and very elegant construction, and elaborately engraved.

Mr. Benjamin Tabberer exhibited three earthenware crucibles and a jug, probably of the fourteenth century, found at a depth of about thirteen or fourteen feet below the surface in Aldersgate in the years 1869 and 1871. Also a Dutch tile representing Samson slaying the lion, of the second half of the seventeenth century, found in the same place. Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that when crucibles were found they generally occurred in considerable numbers together, and had probably been used by the alchemists.

Mr. George R. Wright, F.S.A., read a letter from Mr. Thomas Ashby announcing the further discovery of urns at Ashford, Middlesex (see *ante*, pp. 449-52, and p. 528), and stating that they would, perhaps, be exhibited at some future period.

Mr. Roberts announced that, by order of the Council, a letter had been forwarded to the Earl of Warwick condoling with him on the loss he had sustained by the fire at Warwick Castle.

Mr. Edward Leven, Hon. Sec., read the following communications from Mr. T. H. Cole, of Hastings, giving an account of the discovery of a fossil tree in the bed of the sea near that town.

Hastings, Oct. 6, 1871.

MY DEAR SIR,—The point at which the tree was discovered was about 780 feet from the parade wall, about the limit of low water mark, near the end of the pier. The depth of water is consequently about 20 feet (high water). It was about two or three feet below the surface. The portion of the trunk extracted is about 22 ft. long, and about 9 ft. in girth. The soil beneath the sand is gravel and mud, and for a considerable distance parallel to the shore, two or three feet below the surface, peat is met with. The remains of a forest are distinctly visible at very low tides, and it is no unusual occurrence for stumps of trees, oak, yews, to be grubbed up from the sands. The hazel-nuts which are continually met with have been thought to indicate that the forest must have been submerged in the autumn. It may be mentioned that though the timber scarcely to the sight or touch differs from ordinary timber, yet it was so hard that it broke the pile which was driven against it. A similar submerged forest is met with five or six miles to the eastward at Pett. There is an old map of this part of the coast in which an island is marked in front of the modern town of St. Leonard's, but even the tradition of such an island has been lost by the inhabitants themselves. The disappearance of the island may have been contemporary with the submerging of the forests. During the last four or five years the sea has gained much, both on the cliffs to the east of our town and on the low lying lands to the west.

Yours very truly,

T. H. COLE.

Hastings, Oct. 12, 1871.

MY DEAR SIR,—Just after sending off my letter some more exact details about the “tree” came to hand. I find the exact distance is 780 instead of 900 feet from parade wall; the exact depth from surface was about 5 ft.; the depth of the surface 25 ft. below high water mark, so that the tree itself was 30 ft. below high water mark. The soil was clay (pipeclay) and peat. The trunk was lying flat, and appeared to be only a portion of the tree; probably a great deal had decayed before it assumed its horizontal position. There are many other trees around the spot. The date of discovery was early in July, 1871, but the record of the exact day seems to have been lost. I had been endeavouring to get this more exact information, but had waited so long for it that I thought it best to give you the particulars as nearly as I could ascertain them without waiting any longer.

I remain, yours very truly,
T. HOLWELL COLE.

Mr. E. Roberts read a paper on “Leominster Priory Church,” which will be found printed at pp. 438-45 *ante*. Mr. Blashill remarked that he thought it was clear that the centre arch on each side had been introduced in place of one of the projecting piers, but he found it exceedingly difficult to account for all the peculiarities of the building, especially as regards the irregular arrangement of the triforium arcade. He thought, however, that Mr. Roberts’s suggested restoration of the old arrangement was, on the whole, very probable. The Chairman said that he entertained some hesitation in directly endorsing all Mr. Roberts’s opinions, which, however, might be perfectly correct. The building was most interesting, and deserved grave consideration. He had every confidence that when Mr. Roberts’s paper was printed in the *Journal* the members of the Association would examine the matter carefully with a view to its satisfactory elucidation. Mr. Roberts explained what had appeared to be difficulties to those gentlemen who felt some diffidence about accepting his views, stating that he had paid great attention to the subject, and was perfectly convinced of the correctness of his conclusions.

The Chairman called the attention of the Association to the rapid decay of a Roman villa at North Lee, near Oxford, on the property of the Duke of Marlborough; and suggested that a letter should be written to His Grace requesting him most urgently to protect it.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 398.)

FRIDAY, SEPT. 9, 1871.

A LARGE party was conveyed by railway to Llanvihangel Station, where carriages were in waiting. A drive of about eight miles, through a picturesque valley of the Black Mountains, brought the company to the Priory of Llanthony. The beautiful and venerable remains were described by Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., whose paper on the subject will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*. The journey and the examination of the Priory ruins occupied the entire day.

At the evening meeting at the Assembly Rooms, the President, Chandos Wren Hoskyns, Esq., M.P., delivered a paper entitled "A Walk through Rome." He disclaimed all idea of treating of so vast a subject as the antiquities of Rome in the limits of a lecture, and proposed to give merely a glance at the aspect which the renowned city now presents. It is to be hoped that an opportunity will be found for publishing the address, which excited the highest interest.

At the conclusion the Rev. Prebendary Scarth expressed the gratitude felt by all present to Mr. Hoskyns* for his eloquent and scholar-like lecture, in which a vivid picture of the Eternal City had been drawn in a most interesting and impressive manner. Mr. Scarth paid a tribute to the energy of Mr. Hoskyns in the pursuits of the Archaeological Society of Rome, and to the importance of the work carried on by that Society.

Mr. J. Severn Walker followed with an account of a peculiarity found in some churches in Herefordshire, viz. the detached belfries. His remarks were illustrated by drawings. He described the belfries of Bosbury, Garway, Holmer, Richard's Castle, Pembridge, Yarpole, and Ledbury. Mr. Walker has since elaborated his description, and published it in the *Transactions* of the Worcester Architectural Society, to whose pages we therefore refer for the detail of the subject. Mr. Walker includes in this list all the detached belfries of Herefordshire, and says that this feature of church architecture occurs, in England, only in Herefordshire and Norfolk.

Mr. H. F. Holt then read his paper, entitled "The Iconography of the Black Virgin," etc. He alluded to the words of St. Ambrose of Milan, showing the tradition that her personal beauty was the reflex of the beauty of her soul, as, perhaps, the earliest attempt on record to describe the appearance of the Virgin, and to the hieratic pictures of the Virgin in the Catacombs at Rome, and a painting of the fifth century in the church of St. Prassede at Rome. Certain representations are claimed to be actual representations taken from life, or derived from such. One, probably the most ancient, is in the Dominican monastery at Bologna, painted on wood, about twenty inches by fifteen. Mons. Didron mentions another portrait which he describes, and there is one mentioned by Nicephorus Callistus, a monk of Constantinople, who died 1350, but the marked difference in these portraits destroys all possibility of faith in their authenticity, even though all have been attributed to the hand of St. Luke as the artist, a tradition which has made St. Luke since the fifteenth century the patron of artists and academies. Although the tradition concerning St. Luke can be traced to the sixth century in the works of Theodore the Lecturer, we shall probably stand by the words of St. Augustine of Canterbury, who simply says "*Neque enim novimus faciem Virginis Mariæ.*" In saying that the black portraits are mostly attributed to St. Luke, we admit a great antiquity for them; and as to the origin of the black complexion, Mr. Holt argued that it was derived from an age anterior to Christianity, and from a custom of vast antiquity of representing black that which was held in the utmost veneration, taking examples from the mythology of Egypt, of India, of Greece and Rome. Mr. Holt referred to the black figures of the Virgin at Lisse, near Laon, in Picardy; at Lyons; at Boulogne-sur-mer; at Dijon; at Chartres; at Meaux: in Italy, at Milan, Pisa, Genoa, Naples, Padua, Rome, Loretto and Venice: to instances in Sicily: in Spain, at Saragossa and Toledo; in Russia, at Moscow and Rostoff: at Einsiedeln in Switzerland: in Germany, at Augsburg, Munich, and Alt Oettingen.

Mr. W. H. Black, palæographer of the Association, then, by the kindness of the Rev. F. Havergal, the Librarian of the Cathedral Library, was allowed to exhibit and make some remarks on volumes belonging to that library.

Mr. Black first called attention to the appearance of the manuscripts, and stated that their subjects are doctrinal, and not such as on this occasion to call for minute consideration and examination. The volumes have covers of vellum and wooden boards, and they are for the most part closed with clasps, or have been so; they are each provided with a chain, which chain secured the book to the shelf upon which it was placed, there being a desk immediately underneath; so that the book was not called upon to go beyond its tether. He briefly stated

the nature of a few. First, a MS. which belonged originally to the church of St. Mary at Cirencester. Press mark in the Cathedral Library, P. 4.8. It is the work of Robert de Cricklade, being a very fanciful series of religious contemplations on Scripture subjects. It is of elaborate workmanship of the twelfth or thirteenth century. There is at the end an enigmatical triplet:—

“Auctoris nomen qui quæris junge vocales
Cum prece, cum libris ; hoc ordine quarta secundam
Precedat, finis[que ?] erit ultima sillaba libri.”

The MS. P. 5.10 is of the thirteenth century, and by the same author. It is an epitome, in nine books, of the Natural History of Pliny, with some other subjects, dedicated to King Henry. It belonged to the Friars Minor of Hereford.

The MS. P. 1.3 is a small folio of the eleventh or early part of the twelfth century, commencing “Aurelii Augustini liber incipit de Agone X'piano,” etc. There are epistles of Popes Paschal and Calixtus, and of Anselm to a Bishop Willielmus and to Thomas, Archbishop of York, on canonical subjection. At the end of the text are entered some documents by a contemporary hand, one of which is the following remarkable letter from Henry I to Archbishop Anselm, relating to the battle of Tinchebray. It is entered under some religious epistles of Anselm on the fly-leaf of the manuscript :

“H. rex Anglor' Anselmo archiep'o Cantuariensi : Sal' & amicitia'. Paternitati & Sanctitati vestræ significamus Rob'tu' Comite' Normannie cu' o'ib's copiis militu' & peditu' q' p'ce & p'cio adunare potuit, die nominata & det'minata mecu' ante Tenerchebratu' acrit' pugnasse : & tande' sub misc'dia D'ni uicim', et sine multa cæde n'ror'. Q'd plura ? Divina misc'dia Ducem Normannie & Comitem Moritonii & Will'm Crispinum & Will'm de Ferreres & Rob'tu' de Stutevilla senem & alios usq'ceee milites & x milia peditu' in manus n'ras dedit & Normanniam. De illis aut' quos gladius peremit n' numer'. Hoc autem n' elationi vel arrogantie nec nirib' meis, sed dono divinæ dispositionis attribuo. Q' circa pater nenerande supplex & devotus genib' tue S'ci'tatis aduolut' te dep'cor ut n' sit m'i ad da'pnu' & detrimentu' sed ad initin' bonoru' op'u' seruitii d'i & ad sce' dei Eccle' statu' tranq'lla pace tenendu' & corroborandu' ut amodo lib'a uiuat & nulla concutiatur te'pestata bellorum. Teste Wald'[rico] cano' ap' Wellebof.”

The binding of this book is modern.

The MS. marked P. 2.6 is of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. At the end there is a note in Latin to this effect : “Bought the 20th day of February, 1459, for twenty-one shillings. It contains sermons of Nicholas de Aqua Villa. The first is curious from the questions it discusses concerning the Friars or mendicant orders, set forth, it

would seem, by Richard, Primate of Ireland, in a consistory court held the 8th of November, 1357.

Next, a fine large manuscript of the fifteenth century, containing an extensive series of provincial constitutions or articles of the canon law of this country ; followed by articles relating to the confessional. One of these is most curious, intended to scare men away from vices and crimes, by representing the fiend as advising them how to be damned, and the counter advice of religion as to how they are to be saved. The advices are in English verses, the authorities in Latin, partly scriptural and partly patristic.

Mr. Black examined the book belonging to the Cathedral Library commonly called an *Antiphonarium*, which is preserved under a glass case in the Cathedral vestry. It opens with a table of Easter from the year 1158 to 1681, twenty-eight lines long and nineteen spaces broad, and appears to have been written between 1158 and 1177. In the middle of the book is a psalter with canticles ; amongst them the *Te Deum*, differing in many parts from the common version of that canticle. The book must be described as a breviary with psalter, according to the use of Hereford of the twelfth century, undoubtedly written before the year 1177.

The Gospels preserved in the same case with the last, at the end of which are entered certain Acts of the time of King Canute, Mr. Black pronounced not an Anglo-Saxon MS., but, what is far more curious, a British MS. of the seventh century.

A vote of thanks to the Rev. F. F. Havergal and to Mr. Black concluded the proceedings of the evening.

SATURDAY, 10TH.

On arriving at the church of Ross the party was received by the Rev. Dr. Ogilvie and the churchwardens.

Mr. T. Blashill undertook to describe it. He said : " This church has been extensively renovated, but has been preserved in its integrity, perhaps, as much as possible. The tower at the west end is fourteenth century in the lower portion ; the upper portion and the spire have been rebuilt. Some details in the nave call to mind those at Llanthony, but an inscription in the south wall states that the columns (dividing the nave from the aisles) were pulled down in 1743 and rebuilt, which accounts for some modernisms, and would-be classic features in parts. The aisles are of the fourteenth century. There is no window showing exactly this date by its tracery, but there is a beautiful piece of fourteenth century ball flower ornament in the vestry. The chantry is of the fifteenth century. The chancel late fourteenth century work.

The various windows have been a good deal restored. The spire was rebuilt by John Kyrle, the Man of Ross, and it has again recently been rebuilt. The memory of the Man of Ross has been kept green literally in this church by the growth inside the church, at the end of the north aisle, of two elm trees, which are believed to stand in the very pew the good man used to occupy. On the south side the church has a second aisle. We seldom see a second aisle. It is fourteenth century work. The monuments deserve careful consideration. There are two altar-tombs in the aisle, just south of the chancel-arch, and an erect monument between them. The altar-tomb to the north bears the date of 1559. It commemorates Robert Warton, Bishop of Hereford, and is a very perfect specimen of monumental architecture at that time; one so well preserved is rarely seen. The other altar-tomb has two recumbent figures. This one is dated 1636, and although the architecture is changed to a classic style of design, yet in the forms and arrangements of the tomb and effigies the ancient English taste is preserved. This monument and the next belong to the family of Rudhall. The standing monument shows a great decadence in taste. It is dated 1651, and even the dress of the figure is in classical fashion. You have an English 'squire represented as a Roman gentleman."

The next stage in the journey brought the Congress to Ariconium. The principal results of this visit have been given at p. 203-218 *ante*.

At Peterston Church the Congress was received by the Rev. Canon Jebb, who proceeded to describe the church and to call attention to some points in its history. He said that the date of the original fabric was a matter of record. In the *Book of Llandaff* it is stated that in the reign of Harold, in the year of the Norman conquest, Herewald, Bishop of Llandaff, consecrated Peterston, or, as it was called, Llan Peter, and the same year the neighbouring church of Bridstow, called Llansanffraid, and both were committed to the care of the same priest, Collwyn, who was succeeded in this charge by his son; an instance, not only of plurality, but of hereditary succession, of which we have some other ancient examples in this neighbourhood, and which had been very common in the sister church of Ireland at that time. The neighbouring church of Hentland was consecrated in the time of Edward the Confessor. The parson at Hentland was also succeeded by his son. From the same record it appears that the consecrations of the neighbouring churches of Llanwarne, Kilpeck, Dewchurch, Callow, and probably Kenderchurch and Garway, were made by the same bishop in the reign of William the Conqueror. All the churches in Ergyng or Archenfield have Welsh names in the *Book of Llandaff*; and this district formed a part of the diocese of Llandaff until it was seized upon by the Bishops of Hereford, during the old age and infirmity of the above-named Bishop Herewald. One feature in the church, Dr. Jebb thought

(and his idea was confirmed by the observation of those present), can be positively said to belong to the date of the consecration, viz., a narrow round-headed window, very deeply splayed internally, in the north-west part of the nave. The external masonry of the north wall extending from this window to a fourteenth century window eastward, unquestionably also belongs to this date. It is possible that the rude piers of the chancel may be Saxon; probably rebuilt, at least on one side, when the chancel arch was widened. The window at the west end now out of the centre to the north indicated that the whole south side of the church has at some time been rebuilt to give greater width to the building; when this was done in all probability the original Saxon chancel arch underwent some of the modifications which give it the tampered and questionable aspects it bears as to date. As to the rest, this church must have been re-edified about the early time of Edward III. The original wooden roof remains, and was discovered on restoring the church in 1865. The resemblance between this church and two of the neighbouring churches may be traced in some particulars. Also, there is the shaft of a cross in the churchyard of the same style as that at Hentland, which, however, has retained its head, consisting of four rude floriated circles with a figure in each. In the neighbouring church of Bridstow, consecrated, as has been already observed, at the same time as Peterston, there is a narrow, but very fine, Norman, or rather Saxon, arch, the only relic of that style there.

After due acknowledgments made to Dr. Jebb, the party proceeded to the neighbouring house, called Gillow Manor. It is a moated manor house of the fifteenth century, now reduced to a farmhouse, and much of it wholly destroyed. A large part of the moat remains, and the bridge across it which leads to a low entrance tower, with a large archway in it. Though this apparently was the way into a quadrangular court, of which the most part on three sides yet remains. The apartment over the archway is locally called a chapel, but, on examination, it was evident that it was not so, but quite a subordinate chamber. In the cellar in a recess in the wall is placed an effigy of a male figure on a thick stone slab. It is apparently a sepulchral slab-stone brought here from some despoiled burial-place.

By invitation of the President, the party then proceeded to his residence at Harewood, being most cordially received by the President and Mrs. Hoskyns, and entertained with the most hearty hospitality. At the conclusion of the luncheon,

The President gave the health of the Queen and the Royal Family, limiting himself to this one toast, which was responded to with the heartiness of archæological loyalty; and the party, as time was pressing, was about to view the restored chapel of the Templars within the demesne, but was detained for a few minutes by the Hon. Treasurer,

Mr. Gordon M. Hills, who said : "The pressure of time imposes upon us the necessity of being brief; but I am sure that notwithstanding this, the members of the British Archæological Association will be unwilling to leave the table on the terms of a single toast. We are honoured this year by the presidency of a gentleman whose name is calculated to add in a high degree to that fame and note which the Association has reached. Mr. Hoskyns is well-known for his literary attainments; for there is scarcely any walk in literature or science which he has not touched, and with a touch which adorns whilst it instructs. No one who has accompanied us in the past week can fail to have discovered the good services he has rendered to us and to our pursuits. Nor can they fail to see with how much courtesy and delicacy he has at all times administered the duties he has undertaken. I am sure we feel proud of, and honoured by, the presidency we have been fortunate enough to obtain. In inviting Mr. Hoskyns to preside, it was peculiarly fitting that we should appeal to him, the last of the chroniclers, for, though his chronicle relates to modern times and to agriculture and not archæology, yet I will promise to every archæologist who has not yet studied it a harvest of pleasure and instruction in the *Chronicles of a Clay Farm*, from the pen of Mr. Hoskyns. Those who have not read that work by our President should do so at once. We have been received to-day with extreme kindness by Mr. and Mrs. Hoskyns; and the least we can do is to offer our sincere thanks, and wish them health, happiness, and long life."

The President warmly and politely acknowledged the compliment, and then led the way to the Chapel of the Knights Templars, upon reaching which he said : "You will at once see that this chapel has been rebuilt. The walls had so perished while it lay in ruin that no other course was possible. But every stone which could be used from the old chapel has been introduced again. We did not venture to alter the proportions of the structure. It rises to a hair's breadth the same in plan as before, excepting only a little gain in space by throwing into the church what was in the tower. As a possession of the Knights Templars, and afterwards of the Knights of St. John, chapels such as these were not subject to the Diocesan, and they still present the anomaly of being free from that jurisdiction. In the rebuilding of this chapel we endeavoured to adhere to the Norman period—the period of the power of the Templars—at the transition to the pointed or early English style, which the Temple Church in London illustrates by having the original round church in the west, the early English in the east. There were traces of a Norman work at the west end of this chapel. We have not yet done all we wish or intend, and we postpone some things lest we should leave them undone." Mr. Hoskyns then paid a compliment to the architect, Mr. A. Powell, particularly with reference

to the vaulting of the church, and said that the west stained glass window was a present of the Lord Chancellor and Lady Hatherley; the east window being the gift of Mrs. Phelps.

After renewed acknowledgments to the President, the party returned to Hereford for the closing evening meeting. Mr. W. H. Black, F.S.A., took the chair. The first paper read was on "the Bell Foundry at Gloucester," by the Rev. C. W. Lukis, which will be found at pp. 416-423 *ante*. A paper on "The Statutes affecting the Marches of Wales, from Edward III to Henry VIII," by James Davies, Esq., of Hereford, was not read, but is printed at pp. 404-415 *ante*. Mr. Gordon M. Hills then read a paper on "The Hereford Missal," by Edward Levien, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., which is printed at pp. 424-29 *ante*; and with this paper the business of the Congress terminated.

A vote of thanks was offered to the Local Committee for their aid, with especial mention of the services of Mr. J. F. Symonds, one of the Vice-Presidents; of Dr. Bull; Mr. Joseph Carless, the town clerk; Mr. Kempson, the local secretary; and Mr. Arthur Thompson; to the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter, and to their officers, Mr. Beddoe and Mr. Knight, for the ample facilities given for research in their archives. It was strongly urged that a careful and accurate cataloguing of the capitular documents should be undertaken, so as to make available so vast and valuable a collection. The services of the Rev. F. T. Havergal, and his interest in the proceedings, were also acknowledged; and the courtesy and intelligence with which, as a librarian to the Cathedral, he had opened to the Association the MS. treasures in his charge. The vote having been proposed by the Hon. Treasurer, and supported by Mr. E. Roberts, Hon. Sec., and by the Chairman, was carried by acclamation.

Mr. J. F. Symonds spoke for the citizens of Hereford, expressing their regret that a week of so much interest had drawn to a close, leaving a vast amount of exploration to be accomplished. He remarked that among several of his fellow citizens there was, he was convinced, a regret that they had not better understood, at the beginning of the week, the objects proposed by the Association. Hence it was, perhaps, inevitable that many should have lost much pleasure and instruction; and wish, as they now did, that the week could be spent afresh. It was unfortunate that the visit of a kindred society, three years ago, had left an unpleasant impression in Hereford; but this Association, he felt bound to say, had now erased the feeling of annoyance caused by a few too dogmatic archæologists. Mr. Symonds expressed a sincere hope that the British Archæological Association would repeat its visit.

Dr. H. G. Bull, the learned and active secretary of the principal local literary society, the Woolhope Club, avowed his satisfaction with the



results of the Congress, and desired to unite his acknowledgments to the Association with those of Mr. Symonds; and thus the proceedings terminated.

NOTE ON "THE MONUMENTAL BRASSES OF THE CATHEDRAL AND COUNTY OF HEREFORD," BY THE REV. HERBERT HAINES, M.A.

(See pp. 85-99, 198-203, *ante*.)

SINCE the paper on "The Monumental Brasses of the Cathedral and County of Hereford" was printed, the attention of the writer has been called by the Rev. C. J. Robinson, vicar of Norton Canon, Herefordshire, to an additional example of these memorials. In Kinnersley Church is a small bust of an ecclesiastic vested in amice and chasuble. It now is placed against the north wall of the chancel. The brass is much worn, and the name of the deceased partially obliterated:

"Hic iacet dñs Willm̃s Dermot (?) discretus Bacularius quondam Rector huj' Eccleie . qui obiit . xvj^o die Junij Anno dñi m^occcc^oxxj^o cui' aīe p'picietur deus. Amē."

At Aymestry Church is an incised alabaster slab with figures under a quadruple canopy, commemorating, apparently, Sir John Lingen (1522) and his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Burgh (1482). The design is much defaced. Another, and much later, instance of this kind of memorial remains in a very imperfect state at Dewchurch.

Biographical Memoirs.

SINCE the publication of our last obituary we have to record the decease of the following members of our Association :—

RICHARD CUMING, Esq., who died on the 15th of February, 1870, may truly be described as an old member, he having been long associated with us, and having reached the almost patriarchal age of 92 years, 10 months, and 15 days. Mr. Cuming was born in London on March 20th, 1777, and consequently drew his first breath ere the mother country had acknowledged the independence of her rebellious children in America; and his retentive memory bore a vivid impression of having seen the fierce glare of the fires kindled during the riots of '80, and of the effect produced on different parties by the news of the death of Prince Charles Edward, "the Young Pretender," in 1788. Another fact which shows how distant periods were linked together in Mr. Cuming's mind, is that three sanguinary revolutions occurred in France within the compass of his recollection; and that he well remembered conversations he had held with King George III, long before the monarch was attacked with mental disease. And it may here be remarked that our late venerable member was possibly one of the last surviving officers of the volunteers of 1798. There seem few events in Mr. Cuming's unobtrusive life upon which the biographer can dwell, and yet that life was one of unceasing activity in the pursuit of science from his early childhood until a few days of the close of his prolonged existence. On his fifth birthday, *i.e.*, in 1782, a Mrs. Coleman presented him with three pieces of the jointed stems of a fossil Pentacrinite, and an old Mogul coin in copper, and Mr. Cuming often declared that this apparently insignificant gift was really one of inestimable value to him, forming as it did, not only the nucleus of the vast and varied collection of natural and artificial curiosities which he gathered around him, but also the foundation of the extensive knowledge he acquired in so many departments of science, and which gained for him when a boy the title of "the young philosopher." Mr. Cuming's collections went on increasing, and in 1791 he constructed a cabinet for their reception of cardboard, eight drawers being devoted to minerals and fossils; and two deep boxes at top to coins and other trifles. The year 1806 may be looked upon as an important era in Mr. Cuming's scientific career, for then occurred the sale of the renowned Leverian Museum, at which he was a considerable purchaser, and from this time his accumulated stores were enriched by the dispersion of many well-known and valuable

collections. The Cuming Museum contains specimens from the Arundel, Portland, Tankerville, Walpole, Peale, Brookes, Sowerby, Brocas, Bullock, Belzoni, Salt, Burton, Dr. Athanasi, Goodall, Campanari, Hertz, Schomburgh, Dawson, and Stainforth collections; besides various relics culled from the "rarities" of Don Saltero, the Princess Christina of Waldeck and Pyrmont, the Prince of Canino, the Dean of St. Patrick, and Lola Montes; and from the Surrey, St. Helena, and other public and private museums.

Mr. Cuming was most untiring in any matter he took in hand. In early life it was his wont the greater part of the year to rise at four in the morning, and during the summer months he went forth at this hour into the green fields, commons, and quiet lanes to sketch from nature, and gather such wild plants and shells as Surrey, Kent, and Middlesex yielded, ever on the watch to pick up a curious pebble or net an insect. Mr. Cuming was one of the first, and probably the last surviving member of the old Entomological Society of London, established in 1801, under the title of the Aurelian Society; and of the Lambeth Chemical Society, founded in 1810, under the presidency of Anthony Carlisle, his lectures before which elicited the encomiums of some of the best chemists of the day; and through life Mr. Cuming continued to take the deepest interest in chemical researches.

Endowed with great ingenuity and perseverance, Mr. Cuming seemed always able to provide himself with needful apparatus for scientific investigations and experiments. Thus in 1792 he constructed a microscope, forming the sliding tubes of cardboard, carving the stand out of mahogany, and employing thin flakes of mica in place of glass for the protection of the objects he set up. In the following year he made a good-sized magic-lantern, painting a number of slides, and inventing what was afterwards known as the *phantasmagoria*, one of the subjects being the ghost of a nun who by mechanical means was made to look right and left whilst holding a dagger in one hand, and with the other pointing to her wounded bosom. Overtures were made to Mr. Cuming to enter into a partnership, with a view of bringing this ghastly spectre and some other figures before the public; but this proposal being at once declined, the credit of the ingenious invention passed to Philipstal, who opened his exhibition at the Lyceum, Strand, in 1801. In 1799 Mr. Cuming made a large electrifying machine, contriving various wonderful tricks, by which others have gained both reputation and profit. Had Mr. Cuming placed any value on his own labours, he might have taken rank with many a less able man who has risen to fame; but his services were always at the command of any who sought them, freely given whenever asked, but never with any view to remuneration. As one instance among many which might be cited of how Mr. Cuming exerted himself for others, we may mention

that the greater portion of the translation of Cuvier's *Règne Animal*, to which the name of Edward Pidgeon is attached, was in truth the work of our late associate.

Mr. Cuming's love for the fine arts brought him into connection in early life with many men of kindred tastes, but all of whom, like the subject of this memoir, have passed away. Serres, Lutherburg, Flaxman, Cosway, Opie, West, Turner, Prout, Varley, Sir Robert Ker Porter, Neal, Cristall, and Briggs are a few among the many artists with whom he held companionship. But the votaries of science and labourers in art were not the sole companions of Mr. Cuming's earlier years. His wide circle of acquaintance included many *literati* and other persons of celebrity, the variety of whom may be partly judged of by citing such names as Isaac Disraeli, the father of the late Premier; Thomas Taylor, the Platonist; Dr. Gilchrist, the Oriental scholar; John Nichols, of the *Gentleman's Magazine*; Dr. Adam Clarke; Mrs. Davenport, the actress; Charles Young, the tragedian; Blake and Puckle, the astrologers; and Anna Maria and Jane Porter, the latter of whom wrote the *Scottish Chiefs* in revenge for a slight received from our deceased member's brother.

His library presented as much variety as his acquaintance, few branches of literature being unrepresented in it; the volumes being supplemented by folios of prints explanatory of all sorts of subjects. The portion of his stores in which he took most pride was the collection of drawings, and engravings on wood, metal, and stone, arranged in chronological order, in illustration of the rise and progress of art.

Mr. Cuming was a man of cheerful disposition, inflexible integrity, of earnest piety; and his acquaintance found in him a sincere and faithful friend, ever ready to welcome them to his home with unostentatious cordiality. Ostentation was a thing he utterly abhorred; and, though scrupulously neat in his costume, the only ring he could ever be induced to wear was an old family one of gold, and this he wore, not for the sake of ornament, but because its graven motto was his heart's prayer—"God be our guide."

He rode out only a few weeks before his death; retained his intellectual faculties to the last moment of his life, and within sixty hours of its close carefully examined and descanted on an ancient skull lately found at Tottenham—the last object added to the collection he commenced eighty-eight years since. After a week's illness he sunk to rest whilst supported in the arms of his son and daughter, having survived his beloved and deeply lamented wife upwards of six years. He was interred at Norwood Cemetery on the 22nd of February.

LORD AUCKLAND, the ex-Bishop of Bath and Wells, died on the 25th April, 1870, at his residence in the latter city. Robert John Eden,

D.D., third Lord Auckland in the peerage of England and Ireland, was the youngest son of the first baron, who was for many years a Minister of State in the reign of George III. The deceased prelate was born in 1799, and succeeded his elder brother in 1849. He was educated at Eton, and Magdalene College, Cambridge, and was successively rector of Eyam, Derbyshire; of Hertingfordbury, Herts; and of Battersea, Surrey. In 1847 he was consecrated Bishop of Sodor and Man, and was translated to the see of Bath and Wells in 1854. In 1856 he joined our Association, having been one of the patrons of the annual Congress held during that year at Bridgwater and Bath, and upon that occasion he most hospitably received and entertained the members and their friends at the episcopal palace at Glastonbury. In 1860 his lordship published the *Life and Correspondence of the First Lord Auckland*. In 1869 he resigned his see, and was succeeded by Lord Arthur Hervey.

JAMES COPLAND, M.D., F.R.S., died at his residence, Hertford House, Kilburn, on Tuesday, 12th July, 1870, in the 77th year of his age. Having studied medicine in Edinburgh, he travelled through Europe and Africa for some years, and commenced practice in London in 1821. He edited several medical journals, but was best known by the production of *The Dictionary of Practical Medicine and Pathology*, a comprehensive work in four volumes. Dr. Copland had filled the offices of President of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, and of the Pathological Society of London. Further particulars respecting his life and labours, especially so far as they related to his connexion with our Association, will be found in the Treasurer's Report (pp. 263-266 *ante*), as also will notices of some other of our members who were removed from among us by the hand of death during the year 1870.

On 31st December, died JOHN LINDSAY, Esq., of Maryville, Blackrock, Cork. He was one of the oldest members of our Association, which he joined in 1846, and a notice of the exhibition by him of a bell found at Bristol appears in the second volume of our *Journal*.

Also, in December, 1870, occurred the death of one of our honorary foreign members, M. EDOUARD LAMBERT, of Bayeux. His name was well-known among antiquarians, by whom his works are much appreciated, the last effort of his pen being entitled *Épigraphie Romaine du Calvados*. The Society of Antiquaries of Normandy has published many of his productions.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

SINCE the issue of our last volume a fortnightly periodical has been established, under the name of the *Antiquary*, which is of great value to all who are interested in archæology or its cognate pursuits. It is edited by a well known authority upon such subjects, and its primary object was "to furnish a regular, complete, and trustworthy medium of intercommunication between those who have rare and valuable articles of *vertu* to dispose of, and those who wish to obtain such articles, but know not where to obtain them." In addition to this, reports of the prices realised for the most noteworthy articles connected with the fine arts, and notices of public and private sales of objects of antiquity, such as statuary, books, coins, gems, pictures, etc., are given; as well as "*a catalogue of wants*, whether of paintings, sculpture, furniture, armour, ceramic ware, coins, medals, gems," etc.; and "*a descriptive list of rare articles on sale in London and the provinces*, not forgetting the antiquarian and artistic treasures abounding in other countries." The literary portion of the paper contains reviews, communications upon antiquarian and artistic subjects, reports of proceedings of learned societies, obituary notices of deceased archæologists and artists of note, and a great variety of miscellaneous matter which will be found most useful, not only by those who are engaged in the investigation of past ages, but by all who are interested in literature, science, and art, of the present day.

In the *Rambles of an Archæologist among old Books and in old Places*, we have an admirable series of papers on art in relation to archæology, painting, art-decoration, and art-manufacture. The work is in small quarto, and is illustrated with two hundred and fifty-nine wood engravings. The essays of which it is composed originally appeared in the *Art Journal*, for which they were specially written, and are from the pen of that painstaking and accurate archæologist, the late F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A. The illustrations also were engraved from original sketches by the author. It is fortunate that the results of so much labour and research can now be still further utilised, and that these papers will obtain a wider circulation than could be secured for them in the pages of a magazine. The popular style in which the articles are written, and the fund of anecdote and curious information they contain, will render them acceptable not only to archæologists, but to a large number of general readers.

The Science of Gems, Jewels, Coins, and Medals, Ancient and Modern. By Archibald Billing, M.D., A.M., F.R.S., etc. Besides giving a short history of the rise and progress of the art of gem-engraving, this elegant volume contains a description of the various instruments and processes employed both in producing genuine modern gems, and in counterfeiting antiques. The work, which is in demy octavo, is illustrated with one hundred and sixty photographs of cameos, intaglios, medals, and coins, both ancient and modern; and almost all the photographs are of the size of the originals. A translation of the unpublished autobiography of Pistrucci, the most celebrated gem-engraver of this century, is appended.

Rural Churches; their Histories, Architecture, and Antiquities. By Sidney Corner. With coloured illustrations, from paintings by the author, of some of those churches of our country that are most interesting either from their associations or from the picturesque beauty of their situations. Each illustration is accompanied by a full descriptive account of the history, architecture, and antiquities of the church, together with information on subjects of interest in its neighbourhood. The author says: "In presenting *Rural Churches* to the public, it is the desire of the writer to embody as much information in an agreeable form as may be compatible with accuracy of delineation and description, and to avoid as much as possible the dry details of a professional book"; and these two objects he has accordingly carried out in a manner that will prove satisfactory to all readers of his work.

Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica. Edited by Joseph Jacobson Howard. Parts I to XIV. A useful and interesting collection of personal, social, political, and topographical records and anecdotes compiled from family archives.

We are glad to announce the re-issue of the following works, published by our late associate and engraver, Mr. J. Jobbins, of 3, Warwick Court, Holborn:—

1. *An Analysis of Domestic Modern Architecture*, exhibiting some of the best examples in Great Britain, from drawings and measurements taken on the spot by F. T. Dollman and J. R. Jobbins. With illustrative letter-press descriptions. In forty Parts, 4to, royal; or in two volumes, bound in cloth.

2. *Details of Gothic Architecture*, measured and drawn from existing examples. By James K. Colling, architect. In thirty-eight Parts, 4to, royal; or in two volumes, bound in cloth.

3. *Gothic Ornaments*, being a series of examples of enriched details and accessories of the architecture of Great Britain. By James K. Colling, architect. In forty-eight Parts, 4to, royal; or in two volumes, bound in cloth.

A History of the Castles of Herefordshire and their Lords, by the Rev. Charles J. Robinson, M.A., vicar of Norton Canon, is a welcome addition to the information we already possess concerning the strongholds of the county, and conveniently supplements the papers which are printed in this volume relative to the Herefordshire Congress. The work is illustrated by sketches by Lady Frances Vernon Harcourt; and the writer says that, "should he meet with sufficient encouragement, he would be glad to devote his leisure to the preparation of a companion volume upon the old manor-houses of the county, their associations, and the fortunes of the families that have dwelt within them." As the present volume gives an excellent account of the founders, tenants, and protectors, of the Herefordshire Castles, and is in every way a worthy exponent of the subject on which it treats, it is to be hoped that its author will meet with the success he deserves, so that he may be induced to undertake the other work to which he alludes.

The Homes of Other Days, by our learned Vice-President, Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., is a large and handsome book devoted to a history of domestic manners and sentiments in England from the earliest known period to modern days. It is dedicated to Lord Lytton; and the author ascribes the origin of the work to the perusal of the novelist's *Harold*, in which the every-day life of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors is minutely and accurately painted. A series of papers illustrative of English antique domestic economy and manners was the first consequence of the inspiration drawn by Mr. Wright from the historico-antiquarian fiction; and the papers were published in a volume now out of print. The present work, considerably revised and enlarged with new matter, is in essence a new edition of a book the value of which has been already fully recognised. Numerous engravings taken from old tapestries, MSS., and pictures, of the furniture, costume, amusements, and hospitalities of our ancestors down to the middle of the seventeenth century, enhance the interest and value of the book, which is in every respect worthy of its author's high reputation as an antiquarian scholar; and it will be found, both from its contents and appearance, not only a useful but an elegant addition to the library, whether of the archæological or general student.

Ancient Dorset, "being a description of the antiquities of the county, arranged under the Celtic, Roman, Saxon, and Danish periods; with an essay on its ancient mints." In one vol., folio. Illustrated with many woodcuts and copper-plate engravings. By Chas. Warne, F.S.A., author of *An Archæological Map of Dorset*; —*Dorsetshire, its Antiquities, Celtic, Roman, etc.*, —*The Celtic Tumuli of Dorset*. With an introduction to the ethnology of Dorset, and several other articles, by T. W. Wake

Smart, M.R.C.P., etc. This is a work which fully maintains the character which its authors have already acquired, as most scholar-like and trustworthy authorities, upon the subjects to which they devote themselves. It is an exceedingly valuable addition to the information we already possess with regard to the county; and being the work of one of our own members, it possesses a special interest for our Association. To adopt the words of a contemporary periodical: "Archæologists will scarcely be true to their cause unless they show their appreciation of the labours of so zealous and painstaking an antiquary as Mr. Warne, by giving their full and ready support to a volume which, we are sure, will long remain *the* book of reference on ancient Dorset."

A valuable addition has been made to the county history of Leicestershire, in two handsome folio volumes upon the Hundred of Gartree, which have been written and illustrated by the Rev. John Harwood Hill, B.A., F.S.A., rector of Cranoe, and Surrogate of the diocese of Peterborough. Vast pains and research have been expended in the production of the work, which reflects great credit upon its author. It contains, besides a general history of each town and parish treated of, descriptions of the churches, a list of the rectors and patrons of each living, with an account of the lords of the manors and their pedigrees, with an immense variety of miscellaneous information which is of the utmost value not only to those who are connected with the county, but to all who are interested in genealogical pursuits and the study of the religious, social, and domestic institutions of our country.

The Recovery of Jerusalem, an Account of the recent Excavations and Discoveries in the holy City. By Captain Wilson, R.E., and Captain Warren, R.E. With an introductory chapter by Dean Stanley. Demy 8vo; with fifty illustrations. This is a work which, independently of its intrinsic merit, will recommend itself to the public on account of the scenes which of which it treats, and as an important addition to the knowledge we already possess of the history and antiquities of Palestine. In connexion with this subject a *Society of Biblical Archaeology* has lately been established, which promises to be of the greatest value and interest, and the objects of which are set forth in the following prospectus:

"The advance of critical philology and of antiquarian research having rendered the archæology and literature of lands which group round the Bible as a centre, better understood, and given to such studies a certain and definite form, several gentlemen interested in these pursuits have considered that it would be desirable to institute an association for directing the course of future investigations, and for preserving a record of materials already obtained. The special objects which the Association contemplates are,—to collect from the fast perishing

monuments of the Semitic race illustrations of their ancient literature ; to harmonise the results of discoveries already made, and to systematise those now in progress ; to further the objects of exploring the archæology of Biblical nations, and to stimulate new researches in Biblical lands ; to accumulate data, and to preserve facts ; to give a voice to the past, a life to the future ; and assistance, publicity, and permanence, to the labours of all students in Biblical archæology.

“At the present time no such society exists. The Society of Antiquaries is mostly concerned with the study of our Roman and British antiquities ; and the two Archæological Societies apply their attention to classic, mediæval, and ecclesiastic remains. The Asiatic Society devotes its energies to Indian and Argan philology ; while the Palestine Exploration Fund has definite and limited objects, on which there is no intention to encroach. But as these Societies have cognate pursuits, it may be expected that they will fraternise and cooperate with the new Association.”

Acting upon these assumptions, a general meeting was convened at the rooms of the Royal Society of Literature, on 9th December, 1870, to initiate a Society to carry into effect the objects above proposed, and the Society is now firmly established. Among its members are—Samuel Birch, Esq., LL.D., of the British Museum ; Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B. ; Rev. George Rawlinson, Camden Professor of History at Oxford ; Rev. Payne Smith, D.D., Dean of Canterbury, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford ; Professor Donaldson ; Rev. J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., Hulsean Professor ; Joseph Bonomi, Esq., Keeper of the Soane Museum ; and several other distinguished scholars whose names are a sufficient guarantee for the high position which the Society has already attained.

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ERRATA.

- Page 10, line 33, for "Rev. S. F. Creswell, B.A.," read "B.D."
- „ 58, ll. 1, 9, 35, for "Malmsbury" read "Malmesbury"; and line 46, before "Pontificum" insert "gestis".
- „ 59, ll. 8, 17, 28, for "Malmsbury" read "Malmesbury".
- „ 60, l. 2 from bottom, before "Florence" insert "I".
- „ 81, l. 6 from bottom, *dele* "Hereford".
- „ 123, l. 21, after "Fairford Church" insert "which".
- „ 133, l. 17, for "be" read "he".
- „ 141, l. 3 from bottom, for "poppingjays" read "popinjays".
- „ 141, l. 6, for "mother-in-law" read "step-mother".
- „ 147, l. 5 from bottom, for "animorum" read "animabus".
- „ 158, l. 2, for "sarsnet" read "sarcenet".
- „ 177, l. 24, before "is" insert "it".
- „ 186, l. 12 from bottom, for "Matilda" read "Matildæ".
- „ 197, l. 25, for "this" read "that"; and l. 30, after "thought" insert "good".
- „ 213, l. 1, for "368" read "268".
- „ 228, l. 10, for "Isabella" read "Arabella".
- „ 253, l. 5 from bottom, for "man" read "men".
- „ 259, l. 11 from bottom, for "Davis" read "Davies".
- „ 385, l. 1, for "Frederick" read "Francis".
- „ 388, ll. 8, 9, from bottom, from "Broxham" read "Brixworth"; for "East-ham", "Hexham"; for "Warksworth", "York (crypt)"; and before "and other places", insert "Worth".
- „ 401, l. 12 from bottom, for "whele" read "whole".
- „ 405, l. 18, *dele* the latter "as".
- „ 408, l. 15, for "Henry VII" read "Henry VI".
- „ 481, l. 23, reference to note to be transferred to l. 20.
- „ 501, l. 7 from bottom, before "this" insert "neither".
- „ 521, l. 8, for "T. S." read "J. S."
- „ 533, l. 3, for "1871" read "1870".
- „ 542, l. 23, after "until" insert "within".



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